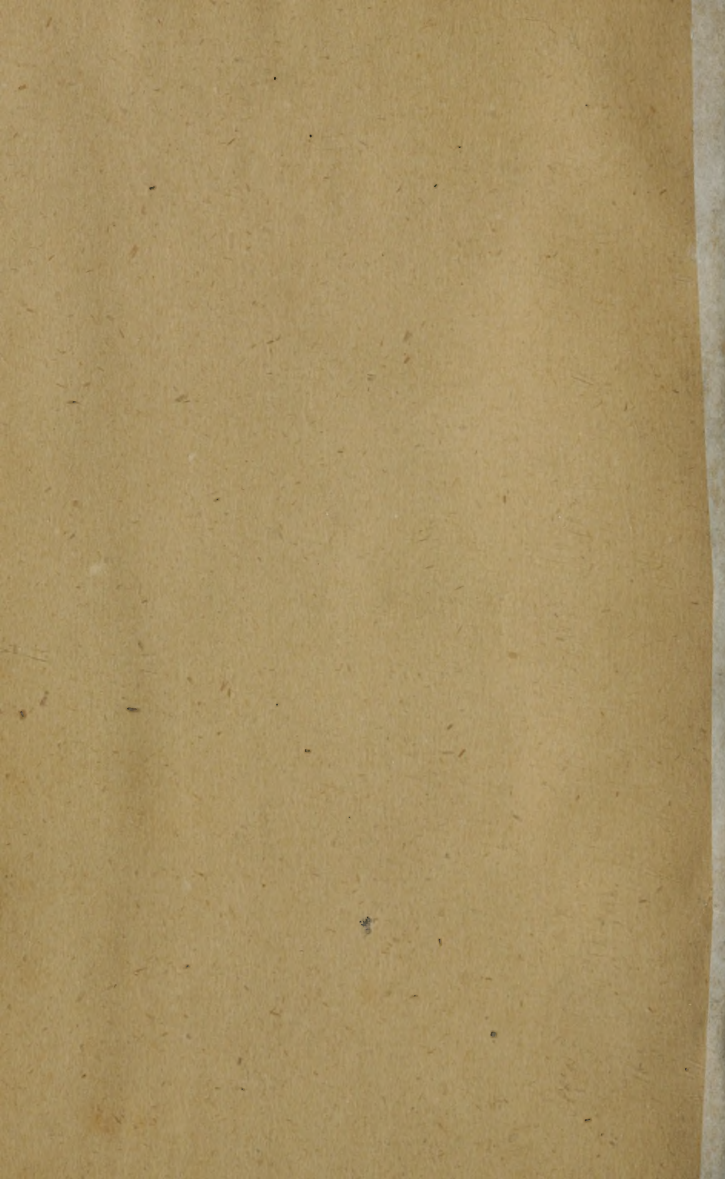


DTDA 1651

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THE
INSTITVTION OF
CHRISTIAN RELIGION,
VVITTEN IN LATINE BY M. IOHN
CALVINE, AND TRANSLATED INTO EN-
GLISH according to the authors last edition, by
THOMAS NORTON.

*Hereunto are newly added sundry Tables to finde the prin-
cipall matters entreated of in this booke, containing by
order of common places the summe of the whole doctrine
taught in the same, and also the declaration of places
of Scripture therein expounded.*



Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautrollier
for Humfrey Toy.

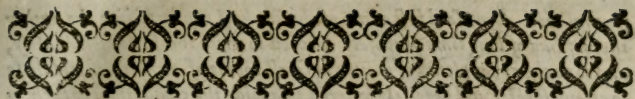
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Thomas Archer.

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T. N. THE TRANSLA- TOR TO THE READER.



Good Reader, here is now offered you the fourth time printed in English, M. Caluines booke of the Institution of Christian Religion, a booke of great labour to the author, and of great profit to the Church of God. M. Caluine first wrote it whē he was a yong man, a booke of small volume, and since that season he hath at sundry times published it with new encreases, still protesting at enery edition himselfe to be one of those qui scribendo proficiunt, & proficiēdo scribunt, which with their writing do grow in profitting, and with their profitting do procede in writing. At length hauinge in many his other workes trauailed about exposition of sundry books of the Scriptures, & in the same finding occasion to discourse of sundry common places and matters of doctrine, which being handled according to the occasiōs of the text that were offered him & not in any other methode, were not so ready for the readers vse, he therefore entred into this purpose, to enlarge this booke of Institutions & therein to treat of all those titles and common places largely, with this entent, that whensoever any occasiō fell in his other bookes to treat of any such cause, he would not newly amplifie his bookes of Commentaries and expositions therewith, but referre his reader wholly to this storehouse and treasure of that sort of diuine learning. As age and weakenesse grew vpon him, so he hastened his labour, and according to his petition to God, he in maner ended his life with his worke, for he liued not long after. So great a iewell was meete to be made most beneficiall, that is to say, applied to most common vse. Therefore in the very beginning of the Queenes Maiesties most blessed reigne, I translated it out of Latine into English, for the commoditie of the church of Christ, at the speciall request of my dere frendes of worthy memory Reginald Wolfe & Edward Whitchurch, the one her Maiesties Printer for the Hebrew, Greke, & Latine songs, the other her Highnes Printer of the bookes of common Prayer. I performed my worke in the house of my sayd frende Edward Whitchurch, a man well known of upright hart and dealing, an auncient zelous Gospeller, as plaine and true a frend as euer I knew liuing, and as desirous to do any thinge to common good, specially by the aduancement of

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true religion. As my said first editiō of this booke, I considered how the author thereof had of long time purposely labored to write the same most exactly, and to packe great plenty of matter in small roome of wordes, yea and those so circumspectly and precisely ordered, to auoide the caullations of such, as for enmity to the trueth therein contained, would gladly seeke and abuse all aduantages which might be found by any ouersight in penning of it, that the sentences were thereby become so full as nothing might well be added without idle superfluity, & againe so niely pared that nothing could be diminished without taking away some necessary substance of matter therein expressed. This maner of writinge, beside the peculiar tearmes of artes and figures, and the difficulty of the matters themselves, being throughout entercased with the schoolemens controuersies, made a great hardnes in the authors own booke, in that tong wherein otherwise he is both plentiful & easie, insonmuch that it suffiseth not to read him once, unlesse you can be content to read in vaine. This consideration encombred me with great doubtfulnesse for the whole order & frame of my translation. If I should follow the words, I saw that of necessity the hardnesse in the translation must nedes be greater than was in the tonge wherein it was originally wrytten. If I should leaue the course of wordes, and graunt my selfe liberty after the naturall maner of my owne tonge, to say that in English which I conceaued to be his meaning in Latine, I plainly perceived how hardly I might escape error, & on the other side in this matter of faith and religion, howe perillous it was to erre. For I durst not presume to warrant my selfe to haue his meaninge without his wordes. And they that were what it is to translate well and faithfully, specially in matters of religion, do know that not the only grammaticall construction of words suffiseth, but the very buildinge and order to obserue all aduantages of vehemence or grace, by placing or accent of wordes, maketh much to the true setting forth of a wryters minde. In the ende, I rested vpon this determination, to followe the wordes so neere as the phrase of the English tongue would suffer me. Which purpose I so performed, that if the English booke were printed in such paper and letter as the Latine is, it should not exceede the Latine in quantity. Whereby, beside all other commodities that a faithfull translation of so good a worke may bring, this one benefit is moreouer provided for such as are desirous to attaine some knowledge of the Latine tongue (which is at this time to be wished in many of those men for whose profession this booke most fitly serueth) that they shall not finde any more English than shall suffice to construe the Latine withal, except in such fewe places, where the great difference of the phrases of the languages enforced me: so that comparing the one with the other, they shall both profit in good matter, and furnishe themselves with vnderstanding of that speech, wherein the greatest treasures of knowledge are disclosed. In the
doing

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doing hereof, I did not only trust mine owne wit or ability, but examined my whole doinge from sentence to sentence throughout the whole booke with conference & ouerlooking of such learned men, as my translation being allowed by their iudgement, I did both satisfie mine owne conscience that I had done truly, & their approuing of it might be a good warrant to the reader, that nothing should herein be deliuered him but sound vnmixed and vncorrupted doctrine, enē in such sort as the author himself had first framed it. All that I wrote, the graue, learned & vertuous mā M. David VVhitshed (whom I name with honorable remembrance) did among other, compare with the Latine, examining euery sentence throughout the whole booke. Beside all this, I primarely required many, & generally all men with whom I euer had any talke of this matter, that if they found any thing either not truly translated, or not plainly Englished, they would enforme me thereof, promisinge either to satisfie them or to amende it. Since which time I haue not bin aduertised by any man of any thing which they would require to be altered. Neither had I my selfe, by reason of my profession beinge otherwise occupied, any leasure to peruse it. And that is the cause, why not only at the second & third time but also at this impression, you haue no change at all in the worke, but altogether as it was before. In dede I perceiued many mē well minded & studious of this booke, to require a table for their ease and furtherance. Their honest desire I haue fulfilled in the second edition, & haue added thereto a plentifull table, which is also here inserted which I haue translated out of the Latine, wherein the principall matters discoursed in this booke are named by their due titles in order of Alphabet, and vnder euery title is set forth a brieue summe of the whole doctrine taught in this booke, concerning the matter belonging to that title or cōmon place: and therewith is added the Booke, Chapter, and Section or diuision of the Chapter, where the same doctrine is more largely expressed and proued. And for the redier finding thereof, I haue caused the number of Chapters to be set vpon euery leafe in the booke, and quoted the Sections also by their due numbers with the vsuall figures of Algorithmic. And now at this last publishinge, my friendes by whose charge it is nowe newly imprinted in a Romaine letter and smaller volume, with diuersc other Tables, which since my second edition were gathered by M. Marlorate, to be translated and here added for your benefite. Moreouer, whereas in the first edition the euill maner of my scriblinge hande, the enterlininge of my Copy, and some other causes well knowne amonge workemen of that faculty, made very many faultes to passe the Printer, I haue in the second impression caused the booke to be composed by the printed copy, and corrected by the written: whereby it must needes be that it was much more truly done than the other was, as I my selfe do knowe aboue three hundred faultes amended. And now at this last

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Printinge, the composinge after a printed copy bringeth some ease, and the diligence used about the correction, hauing bin right faithfully looked vnto, it can not be but much more truly set forth. This also is performed, that the volume being smaller, with a letter fayre and legible, it is of more easie price, that it may be of more common use, and so to more large communicatinge of so great a treasure to those that desire Christian knowledge for instructiō of their faith, & guiding of their duties. Thus on the printers behalfe and mine, your ease and commodity (good readers) is provided for. Now resteth your owne diligence for your own profit in studying it. To spend many words in cōmending the worke it selfe, were nedelesse: yet thus much I thinke I may both not vntruely and not vaineley say, that though many great learned men haue written bookes of common places of our religion, as Melancthon, Sarcerius, and other, whose workes are very good and profitable to the Church of God: yet by the consenting iudgemēt of those that vnderstande the same, there is none to be compared to this worke of Caluine, both for his substantiall sufficiency of doctrine, the sounde declaration of trueth in articles of our religion, the large and learned confirmation of the same, and the most deepe and stronge confutation of all olde and new heresies: so that (the holy Scriptures excepted) this is one of the most profitable bookes for all students of Christian diuinity. Wherein (good readers) as I am glad for the glory of God, and for your benefit, that you may haue this profit of my trauell, so I beseech you let me haue this use of your gentlenesse, that my doings may be construed to such good end as I haue meant them: & that if any thinge mislike you by reason of hardnes, or any other cause that may seeme to be my default, you will not forthwith condemne the worke, but read it after: in which doing you shall finde (as many haue confessed to me that they haue found by experience) that those thinges which at the first readinge shall displease you for hardnes, shall be founde so easie as so hard matter would suffer, & for the most part more easie than some other phrase which should with greater loosenes & smooother sliding away deceiue your understandinge. I confesse in dede it is not finely & pleasantly written, nor carrieth with it such delitefull grace of speech as some great wise men haue bestowed vpon some foolisher things, yet it containeth sound truth set forth with faithfull plainnes without wrong done to the authors meaninge: and so if you accept & use it, you shall not faile to haue great profit thereby, and I shall thinke my labour very well employed.

Thomas Norton.

TO



TO THE MOST MIGHTY
AND NOBLE PRINCE,
FRANCISCE THE MOST CHRI-

STIAN KING THE FRENCH KING

his soueraigne Lorde, Iohn Caluine

wissheth peace and salua-
tion in Christ.



VHEN I did first set my hand to this worke, I thought nothing lesse (most noble King) than to write any thing that afterwarde should be presented to your maiestie. Onely my minde was to teache certaine introductions whereby they that are touched with some zeale of religion might be instructed to true godlinesse. And this trauaile I tooke principally for my contremen the Frenchemen, of whom I vnderstode very many to hunger and thirst for Christ, but I sawe very few that had rightly receiued so much as any litle knowledge of him. And that this was my meaning, the booke it selfe declareth, being framed after a simple and plaine maner of teaching. But when I perceiued, that the furious rage of some wicked men hath so farre preuailed in your realme, that in it there is no roome for sounde doctrine: I thought I should do a thing worth my trauaile, all in one worke both to geue an instruction for them, and to declare a confession to you: whereby ye may learne what maner of doctrine y^e is, against which those furious men burne in so great rage, who at this day trouble your realme with sward and fier. For I will not feare to cōfesse, that I haue in this worke comprehended in maner the summe of that selfe same doctrine, against which they crie out, that it ought to be punished with prisonment, banishment, condemnation without iudgement, and with fier, that it ought to be chased away by lande and sea. I knowe in deede with howe hainous informations they haue filled your minde and eares, to make our cause most hatefull vnto you: but this of your clemencie ought you to wey, that there shalbe no innocence, neither in wordes

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nor deedes, if it may be enough to accuse. Truly if any, to bring the same in hatred, shall allege that this Doctrine whereof I nowe go about to yelde accompt vnto you, hath bene long ago condemned by consente of all degrees, and atteinted by many iudgements already geuen in iudiciall courtes: all that he saith shall amount to no more but that it hath partly bin violently throwen downe by the bandinge and power of the aduersaries thereof, and partly bene traitorously and fraudulently oppressed with their lies and suttile practises and sclaunders. Herein is violence shewed, that without hearing the cause bloody sentences are pronounced against it: here in is fraude, that it is without deserving accused of sedition and euell doing. And that none may thinke that we wrongfully complaine of these things, you your selfe can beare vs witnesse, most noble king, with howe lieng sclaunders it is dayely accused vnto you: as, that it tedeth to no other ende but to writh from kings their scepters out of their handes, to throwe downe all iudges seates and iudgements, to subuerthe all orders and ciuile gouernements, to trouble the peace and quiete of the people, to abolish all lawes, to vndo all proprieties and possessions, finally to turne all things vpside downe. And yet you heare y^e smallest portion. For horrible things they spreade abroad among the people: which if they were true, the whole world might worthily iudge it with the maintainers thereof, worthy of a thousande fiers and galloves. Who can nowe maruell that a common hatred is kindled against it, where such most wrongfull accusations are beleued. Lo, this is the cause that all degrees agree and conspire to the condemning of vs & our doctrine. They that sit to iudge, being rauished with this affectiō pronounce for sentences their foreconceiued determinatiōs which they brought from home with them: and thinke that they haue well enough discharged their duties if they commaunde no man to be drawn to execution, but such as are founde guilty either by their owne confession or by sufficient witnesse. But of what fault of that condemned doctrine, say they. But by what lawe condemned? Herein should haue stande the succor of defense for them, not to denie the doctrine it selfe, but to mainteine it for true. But here is all libertie ones to mutter vtterly cut of from vs.

Wherefore I do not vniustly require, most victorious King, that it may please you to take into your owne hande the whole hearing of the cause which hetherto hath bene troublefomly handled or rather carelessly tossed without all order of lawe, more by outrageous heare than iudiciall grauitie. Neither yet thinke, that I here go about to make mine owne priuate defense, whereby I may procure to my selfe
a safe

To the French King.

a safe returne into my natie cōtree, to which although I beare such affection of naturall loue as becometh me: yet as the case now is, I not miscōtentedly want it. But I take vppon me the common cause of all the godly, yea and the cause of Christ himself, which at this day hauing bene by all meanes torne & troden downe in your kingdome, lieth as it were in despeired case, and that in deede rather by the tyranny of certaine Pharisees, than by your owne knowledge. But howe that cometh to passe, it is not here needefull to tell: truely it lieth in great distresse. For thus farre haue the vngodly preuailed, that the trueth of Christ, if it be not destroyed being chased away and scattered abroad, yet it lieth hidden as buried and vnregarded: as for the silly poore Church, it is either wasted with cruell slaughters, and so driuen away with banishments or dismayed with threatens and terrors that it dare not ones open her mouth. And yet still they cōtinue with such rage and fercenesse as they are wont, thrusting strongly against the wall already bending & the ruine which themselues haue made. In the meane time no man steppeth fourth, to set himselfe in defense against such furies. And they, if there be any such, that will most of all seeme to fauor the truth, say no more but that it were good to pardon the error and vnskilfulnesse of ignorant men. For thus the good natured men forsooth do speake, calling that error and vnskilfulnesse which they knowe to be the most certaine trueth of God: calling them ignorant men, whoes witt they see that Christ hath not so despised but that he hath vouchesaued to communicate to them the misteries of his heavenly wisdom. So much are all ashamed of the Gospell. It shalbe your office (most noble King) not to turne away your eares nor your minde from so iust a defense: specially when so great a matter is in question: namely howe the glorie of God may be mainteined safe in earth, howe the trueth of God may kepe her honor, howe Christ may haue his kingdome preserued whole among vs. This is a matter worthy for your eares, worthy for your iudgemēt. worthy for your royall throne. For, euen this thought maketh a true king: to acknowledge himself in the gouernance of his kingdome to be the minister of God, Neither doth he nowe vse a kingdome but a robberie, which reigneth not to this ende that he may serue the glorie of God. And he is deceiued that loketh for a lōg prosperitie of that kingdome, which is not ruled by the scepter of God, that is, by his holy word: forasmuch as the heavenly Oracle can not proue vaine, whereby it is proclaimed, that the people shalbe scattered abroad where prophecie faileth. Neither ought the contempt of our basenesse to withdrawe you frō this purpose. We verily knowe

Prouer. 29. 18.

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right well, howe poore and abiect silly men we be, namely in the sight of God miserable sinners, in the sight of men most despised persones, yea and (if you will) certaine excrements and outcastes of the world, or whatsoeuer viler thing may be named: so that there remaineth nothing for vs to glorie vpon before God, but his onely mercie whereby we are without any our deseruing receiued into the hope of eternall saluation: and before men, nothing but our weaknesse, which amōg them it is taken for a most great shame to cōfesse so much as in countenāce. But our doctrine must be auāced hy aboue all glorie of the world, must stande vnvanquishable aboue all power: because it is not oures, but the doctrine of the liuing God and of his Christ, whom the Father hath appointed king to beare rule euen from sea to sea, and from the riuers euen to the endes of the earth: and so to beare rule, that striking the whole earth with the only rod of his mouth, he may breake it with all the iron and brasen strength, with all the golden and siluer glistering thereof, as it were potters vessells: as the Prophets prophecie of the royaltie of his kingdome. Our aduersaries in deede do crie out to the contrary, and say that we falsly pretende the word of God, whereof we be most wicked corrupters. But how this is not onely a malicious sleaunders, but also a notable shamelesse, you your selfe by reading our confession, may according to your wisdome iudge. Yet here it is also good to say somewhat, either to moue you to willingnesse and heede, to heere, or at the least to prepare you a way to the reading of it. Paule, when he willed all prophecie to be framed to the agreableness of faith, hath set a most sure rule whereby the expounding of Scripture ought to be tried. Nowe if our doctrine be examined by this rule of faith, the victorie is already in our handes. For, what doth better or more fitly agree with faith, than to acknowledge our selues naked of all vertue, that of God we may be clothed? empty of all good, that of him we may be filled? the bonde seruantes of sinne, that of him we may be made fre? blinde, that of him we may be enlightened? lame, that of him we may be made streight? feble, that of him we may be vpholdē? to take from our selues all matter of glorieng, that he alone may be glorious on hy, and in him we may glorie? When we say these and such like things, they interrupt vs & cry out, that by this meane is ouerthrowen I wote not what blind light of nature, fained preparations, freewill, workes meritorious of eternall saluation, together with their supererogatiōs: because they can not abide that the whole praise & glorie of all goodnesse, vertue, righteousness, and wisdom should remaine in God. But we reade not that they were blamed that

Dan. 2.

32.

Esa. 11.

4.

Psa. 119

Rom. 12

6.

Iere. 2.

13.

haue

To the French King.

haue drawn to much out of the fountaine of liuing water : on the contrary side they are sharply rebuked which haue digged to themselves pittes , broken pittes , which are not able to holde water. Againe what is more agreable with faith , than to promise to themselves that God will be to them a fauorable Father , where Christ is acknowledged to be a brother and procurer of fauor? than assuredly to loke for al things ioiful & prosperous at his hād, whose vnspekable loue toward vs hath proceeded so farre , that he hath not spared his onely begotten sonne , but that he gaue him for vs? than to rest in sure loking for saluation & eternall life, where we thinke vpon Christ geuen of the Father, in whom such treasures are hidden? Here they steppe in against vs, and crie out that this certainty of affiance is not without arrogance and presumption. But as nothing of our selues, so all things ought we to presume of God : and we are for none other reason spoiled of vaine glory , but that we should learne to glorie in the Lorde. What is there more? Consider (most mighty Prince) all the partes of our cause, and thinke that we are worse than any kinde of wicked men , vnlesse you plainly finde that we are in trouble and railed at, bycause we put our trust in the liuing God: because we beleue that this is the eternall life, to knowe one trewe God, and him whom he hath sent Iesus Christ. For this hope , some of vs are bounde in irons, some are whipped, some are caried about in mockage, some are condemned without iudgement , some are most cruelly tormented, some escape away by flight : but all are distressed with trouble, all are most terribly accursed , torne with slaunders , and handled in most hainous wise. Nowe loke vpo our aduersaries (I speake of the degree of Priests, at whose becke and will the other exercise ennimities against vs) and consider with me a little while , with what zeale they be caried. As for the trewe religion, which is taught in the Scriptures, and which ought to be holden certaine among all men , they easily geue leaue both to themselves and other to be ignorant of it, to neglect and despise it : and they thinke that it maketh small matter what euery man beleue or not beleue concerning God and Christ, so that he do with an vnexpressed faith (as they call it) submit his minde to the iudgement of the Church : neither are they much moued, if it happen that the glorie of God be defiled with manifest blasphemies , so that no man lift vp his finger against the supremacie of the Apostolike sea, and authority of our holy mother the Church. Why therefore do they with so great crueltie & feircenesse fight for the Masse, Purgatorie, Pilgremages , and such trifles , so farre forth, that they say that without most expressed faith (as I may so call it) of

Rom. 8.
32.

1. Tim.
4. 10.
Ioh. 17.
3.

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these things, godlinesse can not stande, whereas yet they proue not that any of these things come out of the word of God? Why so, but bycause their belly is their God, their kitchen is their religion: which being taken away, they thinke that they shall not onely be no Christians, but also no men? For though some of them do plenteously glutt themselves, & other some liue with gnawing of poore crustes: yet they liue all of one pot, which without these warming helpes should not onely waxe colde, but also thoroughly freeze. Therefore how much more euery of the is carefull for his belly, so much more earnest warrier he is for their faith. Finally they all endeuer themselves to this, to kepe still either both kingdome safe, and their belly full: but of pure zeale none of them sheweth any token, be it neuer so little. Neither yet so do they cease to slander our doctrine, and by al the colours that they can, to accuse and defame it, whereby they may bring it into hatred or suspicion. They call it newe, and lately forged: they caull that it is doubtfull, & vncertaine: they demaunde by what miracles it is confirmed: they aske whether it be meete that it should preuaile against the consente of so many holy Fathers, and the most auncient custome: they presse vpon vs to confes it to be schismaticall, which moueth warre against the Church, or that the Church hath lien dead in many ages in which no such thing hath bene hearde of. Last of all they say, that there neede no arguments, for (say they) it may by the frutes be iudged of what sorte it is, namely which hath bredde so huge a heape of sectes, so many turmoiles of seditions, so great licentiousnesse of vices. Trewly full easy it is, for them, to triumph vpo a forsaken cause before the light beleuing and ignorant multitude. But if we might also haue our turne likewise allowed vs to speake, verily this sharpe heate would sone be cooled wherewith they do so with full mouth and as licentiously as unpunishedly some against vs.

Rom. 4. 25. First, wheras they call it newe, they do great wrong to God, whose holy word deserued not to be accused of newnesse. To them in dede I nothing dout that it is new, to whom Christ is newe, & his Gospel is newe. But they which knewe that preaching of Paule to be olde, that Iesus Christ died for our sinnes, and rose againe for our iustification, shall finde nothing newe among vs. Wheras it hath long lien hidden vnknownen, and buried: that is the fault of the vngodlinesse of men. Nowe sith it is by the bountifullnesse of God restored to vs, it ought at least by right of full restitution to receiue againe the title of auncientie.

Out of the same fountaine of ignorance springeth this, that they take

To the French King.

take it for doubtfull and vncertaine. This verely is it which the Lord by his Prophet complaineth, that the ox knewe his owner, and the asse his maisters stall, but his people knewe not him. But howsoever they mocke at the vncertainty of it if they were driuen to seale their owne doctrine with their owne blood, and with losse of their life, men might see howe much thy set by it. But farre other is our affiance, which dreadeth neither the terrors of death, nor yet the very iudgement seate of God.

Wheras they require miracles of vs, they deale vnreasonably with vs. For we coyne no new Gospell, but hold fast the selfe same Gospell for confirming of the truth wherof al the miracles do serue that euer Christ & his Apostles haue done. But this thing they haue special aboue vs, that they can euen to this day cōfirme their faith with continuall miracles. Yea but rather they alleage miracles, which may weaken a minde otherwise well stablished: they are so either trifling & worthy to be laughed at, or vaine & lying. And yet, although they were neuer so mōstruous, they ought not to haue bin of any value against the word of God: forasmuch as the name of God ought both in euery place & at euery time to be hallowed, whether it be by miracles or by natural order of things. This false colour might paradeūture haue made the better shew, if the Scripture did not informe vs of y^e lawful end & vse of miracles. For, Marke teacheth that the signes Mar. 16. which followed the preaching of the Apostles were set forth for the 20. confirming of it: Likewise Luke also saith y^e the Lord did beare witnes to the worde of his grace, when signes and wonders were shewed by the handes of the Apostles. Wherwith wholly agreeth that saying of Act. 14. the Apostle, that when the Gospell was preached, saluation was cō- 3. firmed by this, that the Lord did beare witnesse to it with signes, and Heb. 2. wōders, & diuerse powers. But those things which we heare to be the 4. sealings of the Gospell, shall we turne to the destroyinge of the credit of the Gospell? those things which are appointed only to stablish the trueth, shall we apply to confirming of lyes? Therefore it is mete that the doctrine, which (as the Euangelist sayth) goeth before miracles, be first examined and tried. If that be allowed, then it may law- Iohn. 7. fully take confirmation of miracles. But of a true doctrine (as Christ 18. and 8. 50. teacheth) this is the marke, if it tende not to the seekinge of the glory of men, but of God. Sith Christ affirmeth this to be the prooffe of doctrine, miracles are wrongefully esteemed which are drawn to any other end than to glorifie the name of God alone. And we ought to remēber that Sathan hath his miracles which although they be iugglingdeceites rather thā true powers, yet are such as may deceiue the

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ignorant and vnskilfull. Magicians and enchaunters haue bin alway famous in miracles : wonderfull miracles haue nourished idolatrie: which yet do not proue to vs, that the superstition of Magicians and idolaters is lawefull. And with this battringe ramme in olde time the Donatistes did shake the simplicity of the common people , for that they excelled in miracles. Therefore we do now make the same answer to our aduersaries , which Augustine then made to the Donatistes: that the Lord hath made vs ware against such miracle workers, when he foretolde that there should come false prophets, which with lying signes and diuerse wonders, should, if it were possible, bring the elect into errour. And Paule hath giuen warning that the kingdome of Antichrist should be with all power, and signes, and lying wonders. But these miracles (say they) are done not of idols, not of forserers, not of false prophets, but of the Saintes. As though we knew not that this is the craft of Satan, to transfigure himselfe into an Angel of light. In olde time the Egyptians worshipped Ieremy which was buried among them, with sacrifices and other diuine honors. Did not they abuse the holy Prophet of God to idolarry ? And yet by such worshipping of his tombe they obtained that they thought the healing of the stinging of serpentes to be the iust reward thereof. What shall we say: but that this hath bin and euer shall be the most iust vengeance of God, to send strength of illusion to them that haue not receaued the loue of trueth, that they may beleue lyinge ? Therefore we want not miracles, and those certaine, & not subiect to cauilations. As for miracles which they bring forth for themselues, they are meere illusions of Satan, forasmuch as they lead away the people from the true worshipping of their God to vanity.

Morouer, they do slaúderously set the Fathers against vs (I meane the auncient Fathers and the writers of the age as yet more vncorrupted) as though they had thē for maintainers of their vngodlinesse: by whose authority if the debate were to be ended , the better parte of the victory (to speake euen most modestly) would bend to our side. But whereas many things haue bin excellently well and wisely written of those Fathers , and in some things , that hath happened to them which is wont to happen to men: these good naturall children forsooth, according to the rightnes that they haue, both of wit, iudgement, and minde, do worship only their faultes and errours: and those things which are wel spoken, they either marke not, or faine as if they knew them not , or do corrupt them : so as a man may say that their care was altogether to gather dunge in of the golde of the Fathers. Then they oppresse vs with importunate crying out against vs , as despisers

In Ioh.

brah. 13.

Mat. 24.

24.

1. Thel.

2. 9.

2. Cor.

11. 14.

Hieron.

in prefa.

Ierem.

2. Thel.

2. 11.

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despisers & enemies of the Fathers. But we do so not despise them, that if it were the matter of my present purpose, I could very easily proue by their consenting voices, the greater part of these things that we say at this day. But we so reade their writings, that we alway remember, that all things are ours, to serue vs, not to haue dominion ouer vs: and that we are Christes alone, whom we must obey in all things without exception. Who so keepeth not this choise, (shall haue nothing certaine in religion: forasmuch as those holy men were ignorant of many things, do oftentimes strue one with an other, yea and sometimes fight with themselues. Not without cause (say they) we are warned of Salomon, that we passe not the olde boundes which our Fathers haue set. But there is not all one rule in the boundinge of fieldes, and the obedience of faith, which ought to be so framed that it forget her people and the house of her Father. If they haue so great delite to vse allegories, why do they not rather expounde the Apostles, than any other, to be their Fathers, whose appointed boundes it is not lawfull to plucke vp? for so did Hierome expounde it, whose wordes they haue registred among their Canons. But if they will haue the boundes of the same Fathers, whom they meane, to be steadfastly kept: why do they, so oft as they list, so licentiously passe them? Of the number of the Fathers were they, of whom the one said, that our God eateth not, nor drinketh, and that therefore he needeth neither cuppes nor dishes: the other said, that the holy things require not golde, and that those things please not with golde which are not bought with golde. Therefore they passe the bounde, which are in the holy things so much delited with golde, filuer, iuorie, marble, precious stones & silkes, and thinke that God is not rightly worshiped, vnlesse altogether they be dissolurely set out with exquisite gorgeousnes, or rather with outragious excessse. A Father was he, which said, that he therefore did freely eate flesh on the day in which other abstained, because he was a Christian. Therefore they passe the boundes, when they accurse the soule that tasteth fleshe in Lent. Fathers were they, of whom the one said that a Monke which laboureth not with his handes, is iudged as euill as a violent taker, or (if you wil) a robber: The other said, that it is not lawful for Monkes to liue of other mens goods, although they be continually busied in contemplations, in prayers, in studie. This bounde also they haue passed, when they placed the idle and barrell bellies of Monkes in stewes and brothelhouses to be fatted with other mens substance. A Father was he, which said, that it is a horrible abomination to se any image painted, either of Christ or of any Sainte in the temples of

Prouer.
22.28.
Pla. 45.
11.

Acacius
Tripart.
hist. libr.
11. c. 6.
Abros.
de offic.
lib. 2. ca.
28.

Spyridio
tripart.
hist. li. r.
cap. 10.
Tripart.
hist. li. 8.
cap. 1.
August.
de opere
monach.
cap. 17.

Epiphaz.
in epist.
ab Hier.
versu.

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Christians. Neither was this pronounced by the mouth of one man alone, but also decreed by an Ecclesiasticall Councell, that that which is worshipped should not be painted on walles. They are farre from holdinge themselues within these boundes, when they leaue not one corner without images. An other Father counsellied, that hauinge done the dutie of naturall kindenesse toward the deade in burying them, we should let them rest. These boundes they breake, when they cast into men a continuall carefulnesse of the deade. One of the Fathers was he, which testifieth that the substance of breade and wine in the sacrament of the Supper so remaineth and ceaseth not, as in the Lorde Christ remaineth the substance and nature of man ioined with the substance of God. Therefore they passe measure, which saie that after the wordes of the Lorde rehearsed, the substance of bread and wine ceaseth, that it may be transubstantiate into his body and blood. Fathers were they which as they deliuered to the whole Church but one Sacrament of Thankesgeuing, and as they debarred from it wicked & hainous euill doers: so did greuously condemne all those which being present, did not communicate of it. How farre haue they remoued those boundes, whe they fill not onely Churches, but also priuate houses with their masses, and admitte all men to loke vpon them, and euery man so much more gladly as he more largely payeth, howe vncleane and wicked fouler they be: but allure no man to faith in Christ and faithfull communicating of the Sacraments: yea rather do boastingly set out to sale their owne worke for the grace and merite of Christ? Fathers were they, of whom the one decreed, that they should be altogether debarred from the vse of the holy Supper of Christ, which holding themselues contented with partaking of y one kinde, abstained fro the other: And the other Father stoutly maintaineth, that to the christian people the blood of the Lord ought not to be denied, for the confession wherof they are commaunded to shedde their owne blood. These boundes also they haue taken away: when they haue by an inuioable lawe comaunded the selfe same thing which the one of these Fathers punished with excommunication, and the other reprobued with a strong reason. A Father was he, which affirmed it to be rashenes to determine any thing of a doubtfull matter on the one side or the other, without cleare & euident witnessings of the Scripture. This bonde they forgot, when they stablished so many constitutions, so many canons, so many maisterly determinations, without any word of God. A Father was he, which among other heresies reproched Montanus with this, that he was the first that had charged men with lawes of Fastinges.

This

*Concil.
Eliberti.
cap. 36.
Ambro.
de A.
bra. lib.
1. ca. 9.*

*Gelasius
Pap in
Concil.
Roma.*

*Christof.
in 1. cap.
Ephes.
Calix.
Papa de
consecra.
dist. 2.*

*Gelasius
canon.
Comperi
mus. De
consecra.
dist. 2.
Cypria.
episto. 3.
lib. 1. de
Lapsis.*

*August.
lib 2. de
peccat.
mer. cap
vlt.*

*Apolon.
ecclesia.
hist. li 5.
cap. 12.*

To the French King.

This bounde also they haue farre passed, when they commaunded fasting with most strait lawes. A Father was hee, which denied that mariage ought to be forbidden to ministers of the Church, and pronounced a mans lieng with his owne wife to be chaste: & Fathers were they, which agreed to his authoritie. Beyond these boundes haue they gone, when they seuerely enioined vnmarried life to their sacrificers. A Father was he which iudged, that onely Christ ought to be hearde, of whom it is said, Heare him: and that wee ought not to haue regarde, what other men which were before vs, haue said or done, but what Christ (which is the first of all) hath commaunded. This bounde neither do they appointe to themselues, nor do suffer other to haue it appointed them, when they set both ouer themselues and other any maisters whatsoeuer they be rather than Christ. A Father was he, which affirmed that the Church ought not to set it selfe before Christ, bycause he alway iudgeth trewly: but the iudges of the Church, as men, are commonly deceaued. They breaking through this bound also, sticke not to affirme that the whole authoritie of the Scripture, hangeth vpon the awardement of the Church. All the Fathers haue with one heart accursed, & with one mouth pronounced it abhominable, that the holy word of God should be entangled with the subtilties of Sophisters, and brawlings of Logitiās. Do they holde themselues within these boundes, when they go about nothing else in their whole life, but with endles strifes, and more then Sophisticall brablings to wrappe and encombre the simplicitie of the Scripture? so that if the Fathers were nowe raised to life againe, and should heare such an arre of brawling, which these men call Speculative Diuinitie, they would beleue that nothing lesse is done than any disputation had of God. But my talke should spred it selfe beyond due boundes, if I woulde reckon vp howe boldly these men shake of the yoke of the Fathers, whose obediēt children they would seeme to be. Trewly both monethes and yeares would be to litle for me. And yet they are of so extreme and desperate shamelesnesse, that they dare blame vs for that we sticke not to passe the ancient boundes.

But now whereas they cal vs to Custome, they nothing preuaile. For we should be most vniustly dealt with, if we should be driuen to yelde to custome. Truly if the iudgementes of men were right, Custome should be taken of the good. But it oftētimes happeneth that men do otherwise. For, that which is seene to be done of many, by-and-by obtaineth the right of a Custome. But the state of men hath scarcely at any time bin in so good case, that the better things pleased the greater number. Therefore for the most part of the priuate vices

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of many hath bin made a publike error, or rather a cōmon consent of vices, which now these good men would haue to stand for a lawe. Who so haue eyes do see that not only one sea of euils hath ouerflowed, many poysonous pestilences haue innaded the world, that all thinges runne headlong to ruine: so that either the matters of men must be viterly despeired, or we must lay hand vnto, or rather vse violence vppon so great euils. And remedy is by no other reason driuen away, but because we haue now longe time accustomed vs to euils. But be it that publike error haue place in matters of cōmon weale: yet in the kingdom of God his only trueth is to be heard and regarded, to which by no succeeding course of yeares, by no custome, by no conspired agreement, may any prescription be limited. So in olde time Esay taught the elect of God, that they should not say Conspiringe, to all thinges in which the people said Cōspiring: that is to say, that they should not conspire together to the wicked agreemēt of the people, nor should feare and dread the peoples feare: but rather that they should sanctifie the Lord of hostes, & he should be their feare & dread. Now therefore let them as much as they list obiect against vs both passed and present ages, if we sanctifie the Lord of hostes, we will not be much afraid. For whether it be that many ages haue consented to like vngodlines, he is strong to take vengeance to the third & fourth generation: or if the whole world together conspire into one selfe same wickednesse, he hath by experience taught what is the end of them that offende with the multitude, when he did with a generall ouerflowing destroy the whole kinde of mē, preseruing Noe with a smal household, which should by his faith being but one man condemne the whole world. Finally an euill custome, is none other than a common pestilence, in which they do neuer thelesse dye that dye with company of a multitude. Moreouer they ought to haue considered that which Cyprian sayth in certaine places, that they which sinne by ignorance, although they can not cleare themselves from al fault, yet may seeme after some maner excusable: but who so obstinately refuse the trueth offred by the grace of God, they haue nothing to pretend for their excuse.

As for their double horned argument, they do not driue vs to so hard a streight with it, to cōpell vs to confesse, that either the Church hath lyen dead a certaine time, or that we haue controuersie against the Church. Truly the Church of Chrīt hath liued and shall liue, so long as Chrīt shall reigne at the right hande of the Father: by whose hande she is vpholden, by whose succour she is defended, by whose power she keepeth her safetie. For he will vndoubtedly performe that
which

*Decret.
dist. 8. ca.
si. ex de
consuet.*

*Esa. 8.
12.*

*Gen. 7. 1
He. 11. 7*

*Epist. 3.
lib. 1. &
epist. ad
Iulian.
de here.
baptiza.*

To the French King.

which he hath once promised, that he will be present with his euen Mat. 28
vntill the endinge of the worlde. Against it now we haue no warre 20.
at all. For we do with one consent together with all the people of
the faithfull honor and worship the one God and Christ the Lorde,
in like sorte as he hath alway been worshipped of all the godly. But
they themselues not a litle way erre from the trueth, when they ac-
knowledge no Church, but which they see with present eie, and go
about to compasse it about with those boundes in which it is not en-
closed. Vpon these pointes hangeth our controuersie: First that they
affirme that the forme of the Church is alway appearinge and to be
seene: then, that they set the same forme in the see of the Church of
Rome, & in the order of their prelates. We on the contrary side af-
firme, both that the Church may consist of no appearinge forme,
and that the forme it selfe is not contained in that outward shining
shewe, which they foolishly haue in admiration, but hath a farre o-
ther marke, namely the pure preachinge of the worde of God, and
the right ministration of Sacramentes. They are in a rage, vnlesse the
Church may be alwayes pointed out with a finger. But how oft hap-
pened it in the people of the Iewes to be so deformed, that there ap-
peared no forme at all? What forme thinke we to haue shined, when
Helias bewailed that he alone was left? How long since the comming 1. King.
of Christ hath it lyen hidden without forme? Howe since that time 19. 11.
hath it bin so oppressed with warres, seditions, and heresies, that it shi-
ned out on no side? If they had liued at y^e time, would they haue bele-
ued that there was any Church? But it was sayd to Helias, that there
were preserued seuen thousand mē, which had not bowed their knee
before Baal. Neither ought it to be doubtful to vs but that Christ hath
alway reigned in earth since he ascended into heauen. But if the god-
ly had then sought any discernable forme with their eies, should they
not by and by haue bin discouraged? And verily Hylarie accompted Contra
it euen already in his time for a most great fault, that beinge occu- Auxen-
pied with the foolish admiration of the dignity of Bishops, they mar- tium.
ked not a deadly pestilence lurking vnder that visor. For thus he sayth:
One thinge I warne you, beware of Antichrist: for you are ill taken
with the loue of wals: ye do ill worship the Church of God in houses
and buildinges: vnder them ye do ill thrust in the name of Peace. It
is doutfull that in those Antichrist shall sitte? Mountaines and woods,
and lakes, and prisons, and caues are safer for me. For in these the
Prophetes when they were either abiding or throwen into them, did
prophecy. But what doth the worlde at this day honor in his horned
Bishoppes, but that it thinketh them to be holy prelates of religion,

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whom it seeth to be heades ouer great cities? Away therefore with
 2. Tim. 2 such foolish esteeming. But rather let vs leaue this to the Lord, for as-
 19. much as he alone knoweth who be his, & sometime also taketh away
 from the sight of men the outward knowledge of his Church. That
 is (I graunt) a horrible vengeance of God vpon the earth. But if the
 wickednes of men so deserue, why do we seeke to withstand the iust
 vengeance of God? In such wise the Lord hath in times past taken
 vengeance of the vnthankfulnesse of men. For because they would
 not receiue his trueth, and had quenched his light, he suffered them
 being blinded in sense, both to be mocked with lyes full of absurdity,
 & to be drowned in deepe darkenes, so that there was no face of
 the true Church to be sene. Yet in the meane time he saued his both
 being scattered abroad & lying hidden in the midst of errours &
 darkenesse, from destruction. And no maruel. For he can skill to saue
 both in the very confusion of Babylon, & in the flame of the burning
 ouen. But whereas they would haue the forme of the Church to be
 iudged by I wote not what vaine pompous shew: how perillous that
 is, I will rather point vnto than declare, least I shoulde drawe out my
 tale into infinite length. The Pope (say they) which holdeth the A-
 postolike see, and the Bishoppes that are annointed and consecrate by
 him, so that they be trimmed with fillets and miters, do represent the
 Church, and ought to be taken for the Church: & therefore they can
 not erre. How so? because they are pastors of the church, & cōsecrate
 to the Lord. And were not Aaron and the other rulers of Israell also
 Exo. 3: 2 Pastors? But Aaron & his sonnes after that they were made priestes,
 4. did yet erre when they made the calfe. After this reason, why should
 not the foure hundred Prophets which lyed to Achab, haue repre-
 1 Kin. 22: 11. sented the Church. But the Church was on Micheas side, beinge in
 Ier. 18: 18. deede but one man alone, and vnregarded, but out of whose mouth
 18. came trueth. Did not the false prophetes in resemblance beare both
 the name and face of the Church, when they did with one violent
 assault rise vp against Ieremy, & with threatning boasted that it was
 not possible that the law should perish from the priest, counsell from
 the wiseman, the word from the Prophet? Ieremy alone was sent a-
 gainst the whole company of the Prophetes, to declare from the
 Lorde, that it should come to passe, that the law should perishe from
 the priest, counsell from the wiseman, and the worde from the Pro-
 phet. Did not such a glisteringe shewe shine in that Councell which
 the bishops, Scribes, and Pharisees assembled, to take aduises toge-
 ther for the killing of Christ. Now let them go and sticke fast in the
 outward visour, that they may make Christ and all the Prophetes of
 God,

To the French King.

God, schismtikes: and on the other side make the ministers of Satan, the instruments of the holy Ghost. If they speake as they thinke, let them faithfully answer me, in what nation and place they thinke that the Church remained since the time that by the decree of the Council at Basile, Eugenius was thrust downe and depriued from the estate of Pope, and Aymee set in his place. They cannot, though they woulde burst for it, deny that the Councell, for so much as concerneth outward solemnities, was lawfull, and summoned not onely of one Pope, but of two. Eugenius was there condemned of schisme, rebellion, and obstinacy, with the whole flocke of Cardinals and Bishops, which had with him practised the dissolution of the Councell. Yet afterward beinge borne vp by the fauour of Princes, he recouered his papacy safe againe. That election of Aymee, which had bin orderly made by the authority of a generall and holy Synode, vanished away in a smoke: sauinge that he himselfe was appeased with a Cardinalls hat, as it were a barking dog with a pece of bread cast vnto him. Out of the bosome of these heretikes, rebels, & obstinates, are proceeded all the Popes, Cardinalls, Bishops, Abbots, & Priestes that haue bin since. Here they are taken and can go no further. For, to whether side will they giue the name of the Church? Will they deny that the Councell was generall, which wanted nothinge to the outward maiestie: namely, which beinge solemnely summoned by two bulles, and well framed in the order of all thinges, continued in the same dignitie to the last ende? Will they confesse Eugenius with all his company a schismatike, by whom they are all sanctified? Therefore either lette them otherwise define the forme of the Church, or they all as many as are of the shalbe of vs accompted schismatikes, which wittingly & willingly haue bin ordered of heretikes. If it had neuer before bin knowen, that the Church is not bounde to outward pompes, they themselues may be to vs a large prooffe, which vnder that glorious title of the Church haue so longe so proudly boasted theselues, whereas yet they were the deadly pestilences of the church. I speake not of their maners, and those tragicall doinges wherewith their whole life swarmeth full: because they say that they be the Pharisees which are to be heard, not to be followed. But if ye will spare some of your leasure to read our writings, you shall plainly know that the very doctrine, y^e doctrine it selfe, for the which they say that they be the Church, is a deadly butchery of soules, the firebrand, ruine, & destruction of the Church.

Finally they do not vprightly enough, when they do spitefully rehearse howe great troubles, vprores, and cōtentions the preaching

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of our doctrine hath drawē with it, and what fruites it now beareth in many. For the blame of these euels is vnworthily laide vpon it, which ought rather to haue bene imputed to y^e malice of Satan. This is as it were a certaine naturall proprietie of the word of God, that whensoever it riseth vp, Satan is neuer quiet or sleeping. This is the most sure and most trusty marke, whereby it is discerned from lieng doctrines, which do easily shewe forth themselues when they are receiued with fauorable eares of all men, and are heard of the world reioicing at them. So in certaine ages past, when all things were drowned in deepe darknesse, the Lorde of this world made a sport and a play in maner of all men, and lay idle and toke his pleasure like a certaine Sardanapalus in sounge peace. For, what should he els do but laugh and play being in quiet and peasible possession of his kingdom? But when the light shining from about somewhat scattered abroad his darknesse, when that strong man troubled and assailed his kingdom, then he began to shake of his wonted drowines, & hastily to arme himselfe. And first he stirred vp the force of men, whereby he might violently oppresse the truth beginning to shine. By which whē he nothing preuailed, he turned to suttile entrappings. He stirred vp dissentions and disagreements of doctrines by his Catabaptistes, and other monstrous lewde men, whereby he might darken it and at length vtterly quenche it. And now he cōtinueth to assaile it with both engines. For he trauaileth both by the force and power of men to plucke vp that seede, & with his darnell (as much as in him lieth) to choke it, that it may not growe & beare frute. But all this he doth in vaine, if we heare the warning of God, which both hath long before opened his craftes vnto vs, that he should not take vs vnware, & hath armed vs with sufficient defences against all his engins. But how great maliciousefne is it to lay vpon the word of God the hatred either of the seditions, which noughty and rebellious men do stirre vp, or of the sectes which deceiuers do raise against it? Yet it is no new example. Elias was asked whether it were not he that troubled Israel. Christ was esteemed of the Iewes a seditious man. The Apostles were accused of making a cōmotion among the people. What other thing do they which at this day do father vpon vs all the troubles, vprores and cōrentions that boile vp against vs? But what is to be aunswered to such. Elias hath taught vs: namely that it is not we that scatter errors or stirre vp vprores: but it is they theselues that wraastle against the power of God. But as that one thing alone is sufficient to beate backe their rashnesse, so againe we ought to mere with the weaknesse of other, who oftentimes happen to be moued with such offences,

and

To the French King.

and in their dismayeng to wauer. But let them, to the ende, that they may not faint with this dismayeng and be discouraged, knowe that the Apostles in their time felte by experiēce the same things that nowe happen vnto vs. There were vnlearned and vnstedfast men, which wrested to their owne destruction, those things the Paul had written by the inspiration of God, as Peter saith. There were despisers of God, which when they heard that sinne abounded to the end that grace might more abounde, by and by obiected, We will then abide in sinne, that grace may abound. When they heard that the faithfull are not vnder the lawe, they by and by, answered, We will then sinne, because we are not vnder the lawe, but vnder grace. There were that accused him as an exhorter to euell. There entred priuily many false Apostles to destroy the Churches which he had builded. Some by enuie and contention, and not purely, yea and maliciously preached the Gospell, thinking to adde more affliction to his bandes. Somewhere the Gospell not much profited. All sought their owne, and not the thinges of Iesus Christ. Some wente backwarde, dogges to their vomite, and swine to their wallowing in the mire. The most parte did drawe the liberty of the Spirit to the licentiousnesse of the flesh. Many brethren crept in, by whom there came afterwarde great dangers to the godly. Amōg the brethren themselues were many strifes raised vp. What should the Apostles haue done in this case? Should they not either haue dissembled for a time, or rather altogether haue geuen ouer and forsaken the Gospell which they sawe to be the sedeploitt of so many contentions, the matter of so many dangers, the occasion of so many offences? No. But for helpe in such distresses this came in their minde that Christ is the stone of stumbling and rocke of offence, set vnto the ruine and rising againe of many, and for a signe that should be spoken against. With which affiance they being armed went forward boldly through all dangers of vprores and offences. With the same thought we also ought to be vpholden, forasmuch as Paul testifieth that this is the perpetuall proprietie of the Gospell, to be the sauer of death vnto death to the y perish, although it were ordeined to this vse that it should be the sauer of life vnto life, and the power of God vnto the saluation of the faithfull: which verily we should also feele, if we did not with our vnthākfulnes corrupt this so singular a benefit of God, & turne y to our owne destruction which ought to haue bin to vs the only defence of our safetie.

But nowe I returne to you, my soueraigne Lorde. Let those false reportes nothing moue you, by which our aduersaries trauaill to cast you in feare of vs, with saying that by this newe Gospell (for so they

The Preface

call it) nothing is hunted for and sought but fit occasion of seditions, and vnpunished libertie of vices. For our God is not the author of diuision, but of peace: and the sonne of God is not the minister of sinne, which came to destroy all the workes of the Deuill. And we are vnworthily accused of such desires, whereof we neuer gaue any suspicion were it neuer so small. It is likely that we forsooth do practise the ouerthrowing of kingdomes, of whom there hath neuer bene heard any one sedicious word, whoes life hath euer bene knowne quiet and simple, when we liued vnder you, and which nowe being chased from home yet cesse not to pray for all things prosperous to you and your kingdome. It is likely forsooth that we hunt for licentiousnesse of vices, in whoes behauors although many things may be founde faulty, yet there is nothing worthy of so great reproching: neither haue we with so ill successe (by the grace of God) profited in the Gospell, but that our life may be to these backbyters an exemplar of chastitie, liberalitie, mercy, temperance, patience, modestie, and whatsoeuer other vertue. Verily it is by the prooffe it selfe euident that we do vnfaignedly feare and worshippe God, forasmuch as we desire that his name be halowed both by our life and our death, and enuy it selfe is compelled to beare of some of vs a witnesse of innocence & ciuile vprightnesse, in whom this onely thing was punished with death which ought to haue bene accõpted for a singular praise. But if any vnder pretence of the Gospell do stirre vp tumultes (as hetherto it hath not bene founde that there haue bene any such in your Realme) if any pretende the libertie of the grace of God to defende the licetiousnesse of their vices (of which sort I haue knowne many) there be lawes and penalties of lawes, by which they may according to their deseruings be sharply punished: yet so that in the meane time the Gospell of God be not euell spokẽ of for the wickednesse of naughty men. Thus haue you (O King) the venimous vniustice of the sclaunderors largely enough declared, that you may not with an eare of to easy beliefe bende to their reportes. I feare me also least it be to largely set out, forasmuch as this preface is in a manner come to the quantitie of a whole booke of defense. whereby I intended not to make a defense in deede, but onely to mollify your minde aforehande to geue audience to the disclosing of our cause: which your minde, though it be now turned away and estranged from vs, yea and enflamed against vs, yet we trust that we shall be able to recouer the fauor thereof, if you shall ones haue without displeasure and troublous affection red ouer this our confession, which we will to be in steede of a defense for vs to your maiesty. But if the whisper-
inges

To the French King.

inges of the malicious do so possesse your eares, that there is no place for accused men to speake for themselves: and if those outrageous furies do still with your winking at them, exercise cruelty with prisoning, tormenting, cutting, and burning: we shall in dede, as shepe appointed to the slaughter, be brought to all extremities, yet so that in our patience we shall possesse our soules, and waite for the stronge hande of the Lord: which shall without dout be present in time, and stretch forth it selfe armed, both to deliuer the poore out of affliction, and to take vengeance on the despisers, which now triumphe with so great assurednesse.

The Lord the King of Kings stablish your throne with righteousness, and your seate with equity, most noble King.

At Basile the first day of August, in the yeare.

1536.





IOHN CALVINE TO THE READER.

AT the first setting out of this worke, because I did not loke for that successe, which the Lorde of his vnmeasurable goodnes hath giue, I had (as mē vse to do in smal workes) for the more part lightly passed it ouer. But whē I vnderstode that it was receiued with that fauor of al the godly, which I neuer durst haue desired, much lesse haue hoped for: as I verily felt in my hart that much more was giuen to me than I had deserued, so I thought it should be a great vnthankfulness if I should not at the least after my sclēder ability endeuor to answere so fauorable affections toward me, & which of themselues prouoked my diligēce. And this I attempted not only in the second setting forth of it: but how oft since that time the worke hath bin emprinted, so oft it hath bin enriched with some encrease. But although I did not then repent me of the labor that I had employed: yet I neuer held my selfe contented till it was disposed into that order which is now set before you. Now I trust I haue giue you that which may be allowed by all your iudgementes. Truly with how great endeuor I haue applied my selfe to the doinge of this seruice to the Church of God, I may bring forth for an euident witnesse, that this last winter, when I thought that the feuer Quartane had summoned me to death, how much more the sicknes enforced vpon me, so much lesse I spared my selfe, till I might leaue this booke to ouerliue me, which might make some part of thankfull recompense to so gentle prouoking of the godly. I had rather in dede it had bin done sooner: but it is soone enough if well enough. And I shall then thinke that it is come abroade in good season, when I shall perceiue that it hath brought yet more plentifull fruite thā it hath done heretofore to the Church of God. This is my only desyre. And truly full ill it were with me, if I did not, holding my selfe contented with the allowance of God alone, despise the iudgements of men, whether they be the foolish & froward iudgementes of the vnskilfull, or the wrōgfull & malicious of the wicked. For although God hath thoroughly settled my minde to the endeuor both of enlarging his kingdome, and of helping the common profit: & though I am cleare in mine owne conscience, & haue himselfe & the Angels to witnesse with me, that since I tooke vpon me the office of a teacher in the Church, I haue tended to none other purpose
but

To the Reader.

but that I might profit the Church in maintaining the pure doctrine of godlines: yet I thinke there is no man, that hath bin snatched at, bitten, & torne in sunder with moe sclaunders than I. When my epistle was now in printing, I was certainly enformed that at Augsburch where the assēby of the states of the Empire was holden, there was a rumor spread abroad of my reuoltinge to the Papacy, and the same was more greedely receiued in the courtes of Princes than was meete. This forsooth is their thankefulnes who are not ignorant of many trialls had of my stedfastnes, which trialls as they shake of so foule a sclander, so they should with all indifferēt & gētle iudges haue defended me from it. But the Deuill with his whole route is deceiued if in oppressing me with filthy lies, he thinke that by his vniust dealinge I shalbe either the more discouraged or made the lesse diligent: because I trust that the Lord of his unmeasurable goodnes will graunt me that I may with euen sufferance continue in the course of his holy calling. Whereof I giue to the godly readers a new prooffe in this settinge forth of this booke. Now in this trauaill this was my purpose so to prepare and furnish them that be studious of holy Diuinity to the reding of the word of God, that they may both haue an easie entry into it, and go forward in it without stumblinge: for I thinke that I haue in all pointes so knit vp together the summe of religion, and disposed the same in such order, that whosoeuer shall well haue it in minde, it shal not be hard for him to determine both what he ought chiefly to seeke in the Scripture, and to what marke to apply whatsoeuer is contained in it. Therefore, this as it were a way being once made plaine, if I shall hereafter set forth any expositions of Scripture, because I shall not neede to enter into long disputations of articles of doctrine, & to wander out into common places: I will alway knit them vp shortly. By this meane the godly reader shalbe eased of great paine and tediousnesse, so that he come furnished aforehande with the knowledge of this present worke as with a necessary instrument. But because the entent of this purpose, doth clearely as in mirrors appeare in so many commentaries of mine, I had rather to declare in deede what it is, than to set it out in wordes. Farewell friendly Reader, and if thou receiue any fruite of my labors, helpe me with thy prayers to God our Father.

At Geneua the first day of August in the yeare. 1559.

Augustine in his vij. Epistle.

I professe my selfe to be one of the number of them, which
wryte in profiting, and profit in writing.

WHAT CHAPTERS ARE CONTAINED in the bookes of this Institution.

In the first booke which entreateth of the knowledge of God the Creator: Are contained xviii. Chapters.

- 1  Hat the knowledge of God, & of our selues, are things conioyned: & how they be lincked the one with the other.
- 2 What it is to knowe God, & to what ende tendeth the knowledge of him.
- 3 That the knowledge of God is naturally planted in the mindes of men.
- 4 That the same knowledge is either choked or corrupted, partly by ignorance, & partly by malice.
- 5 That the knoweledge of God doth shiningely appeare in the making of the world, and in the continuall gouernment thereof.
- 6 That to attaine to God the creator, it is needefull to haue the Scripture to be our guide and maiestresse.
- 7 By what testimonie the Scripture ought to be stablished, that is, by the witnesse of the holy Ghost, that the authority thereof may remaine certain: And that it is a wicked inuention to say that the credit thereof doth hange vpon the iudgement of the Church.
- 8 That so faras mans reason may beare, there are sufficient proues to stablish the credit of the Scripture.
- 9 That those fantastickall menne, which forsakinge Scripture, resorte vnto reuelation, do ouerthrowe all the principles of godlinesse.
- 10 That the Scripture, to correct all superstition, doth in comparison set y^e true God against all the Gods of the Gentils, reckeninge him for none of them.
- 11 That it is vnlawful to attribute vnto God a visible forme, and that generally, they forsake God, so many as do erect to themselues any images.
- 12 That God is seuerally discerned from idols, that he may be only & wholly worshipped.
- 13 That there is taught in y^e Scriptures one essence of God from the very creation, which essence containeth in it three persons.
- 14 That the Scripture euen in the creatiō of the world & of al things, doth by certaine markes put difference betwene the true God, and fained Gods.
- 15 What a one man was created: wherein there is entreated of the powers of the soule, & of the image of God, of free will, and of the first integritie of nature.
- 16 That God by his power doth nourish and maintaine the worlde, which himselfe hath created, & by his prouidence doth gouerne al the partes

The Table

partes thereof.

17 Where to and to what end this doctrine is to be applied, that we may be certaine of the profit thereof.

18 That God doth so vse the seruice of wicked men, and so boweth their mindes to put his iudgement in execution, that yet still himselfe remaineth pure from all spot.

In the second Booke which entreateth of the knowledge of God the Redemer in Christ, vvhich knowvledge vvas first opened to the fathers in the time of the lawe, and then to vs in the Gospell:

Are contained xvij. Chapters.

1 **T**hat by Adamas sin and falling away, mankind became accursed, and did degenerate from his first estate: wherein is entreated of Originall sinne.

2 That man is nowe spoiled of the freedome of will, and made subiect to miserable bondage.

3 That out of the corrupt nature of mā procedeth nothing but damnable.

4 How God worketh in the hartes of men.

5 A confutation of the obiections that are wont to be brought for the defence of free will.

6 That man being lost, must seke for redemption in Christ.

7 That the lawe was geuen, not to holde still the people in it, but to nourishe the hope of saluation in Christ vntill his comming.

8 An expositiō of the Moral law.

9 That Christ although he was knowē to the Iewes vnder the law, yet was he deliuered onely by the

Gospell.

10 Of the likenesse of the olde and newe Testament.

11 Of the difference of the one Testament from the other.

12 That it behoued, that Christ to performe the office of the Mediator, should be made man.

13 That Christ tooke vpon him the true substāce of y flesh of man.

14 Howe the natures of the Mediator do make one person.

15 That we may knowe to what ende Christ was sent of his father, & what he brought vs: three things are principally to be considered in him, his Prophetical office, his kingdome, & his Priesthode.

16 Howe Christ hath fulfilled the office of Redemer, to purchase saluation for vs, wherein is entreated of his Death and Resurrection, and his Ascending into heauen.

17 That it is truely and properly sayd, y Christ hath deserued Gods fauour and saluation for vs.

In the third Boke which entreateth of the maner howe to receiue the grace of Christ, and vvhath fruite come thereof to vs, and vvhath effectes follooue of it: Are contained xxv. Chapters.

1 **T**hat those things which are vs, by secret working of the holy spoken of Christ do profit Ghost.

The Table

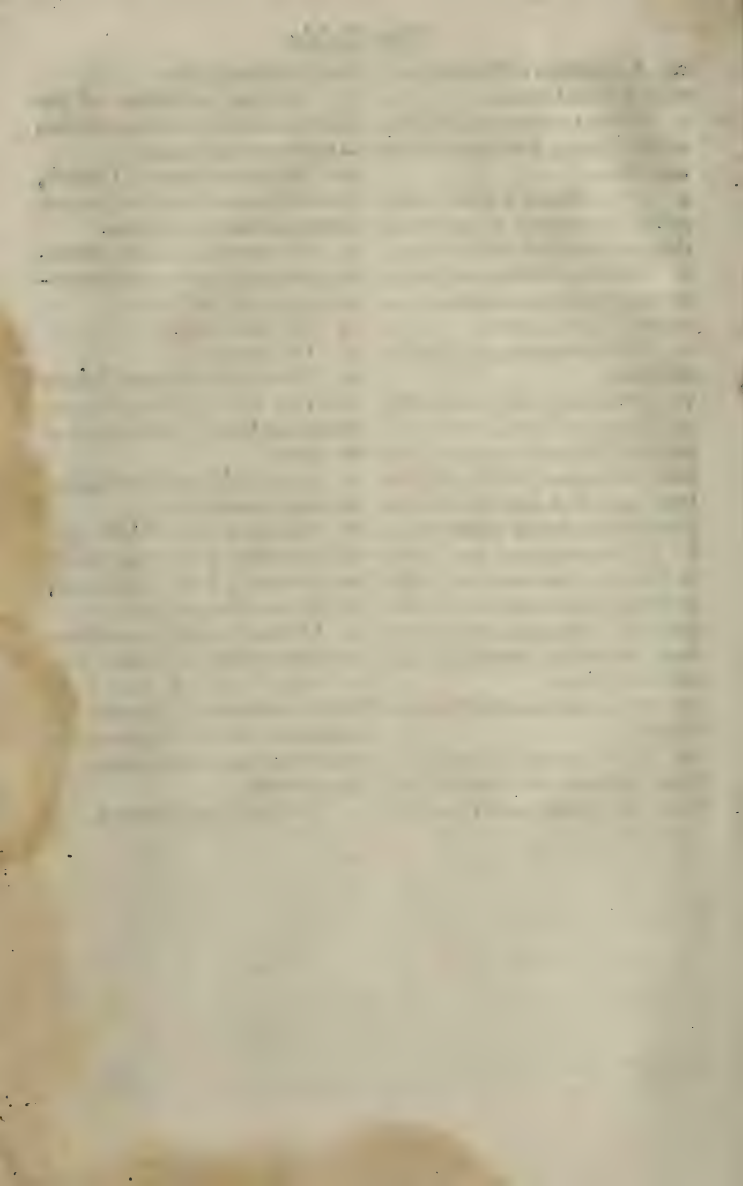
- 2 Of faith, wherein both is the definition of it, & the properties that it hath are declared.
- 3 That we are regenerate by faith, wherein is entreated of Repentance.
- 4 That all that the Sophisters babble in their Schooles of penance, is farre from the purenes of the Gospell: where is entreated of confession and Satisfaction.
- 5 Of the supplyings which they adde to satisfactions, as Pardons and Purgatory.
- 6 Of the life of a Christian man. And first by what arguments the scripture exhorteth vs thereunto.
- 7 The summe of a Christian life: where is entreated of the forsaking of our selues.
- 8 Of the bearing of the Crosse, which is a parte of the forsaking of our selues.
- 9 Of the meditation of the life to come.
- 10 Howe we ought to vse this present life, and the helpes therof.
- 11 Of the Iustification of faith, & first of the definitiō of the name and of the thing.
- 12 That to the ende we may be fully perswaded of the free Iustification, we must liste vp our mindes to the iudgement seate of God.
- 13 That there are two things to be marked in free Iustification.
- 14 What is the beginning of Iustification, and the continuall proceeding thereof.
- 15 That those things that are commonly boasted cōcerning the merites of workes, do ouerthrowe as well the praise of God in geuing of righteousness, as also the assurednesse of saluation.
- 16 A cōfutation of the slaunders, whereby the Papistes go about to bring this doctrine in hatred.
- 17 The agreemēt of the promisses of the Lawe and the Gospell.
- 18 That of the reward, the righteousness of workes is ill gathered.
- 19 Of Christian liberty.
- 20 Of Prayer which is the chiefe exercise of faith, and whereby we daily receiue the benefites of God.
- 21 Of the eternall electiō, whereby God hath predestinate some to saluation, some other to destruction.
- 22 A cōfirmation of this doctrine by the testimonies of Scripture.
- 23 A confutation of the slaunders, wherewith this doctrine hath alway bene vniustly charged.
- 24 That Election is stablished by the calling of God: & that the reprobate do bring vpō theselues the iust destruction, to which they are appointed.
- 25 Of the last Resurrection.

*In the fourth Booke which entreateth of the outward meanes or helpes
vwhereby God calleth vs into the fellowvship of Christ, and
holdeth vs in it: Are contained xx. Chapters.*

- 1 **O**F the true Church with vnitie, bicause it is the mother of which we ought to keepe all the godly.

The Table

- 2 A cōparison of ſ̄ falſe Church with the true Church.
- 3 Of the teachers and miniſters of the Church, & of their Election and office.
- 4 Of the ſtate of ſ̄ olde Church, and of the maner of gouerning that was in vſe before the Papacy.
- 5 That the old forme of gouernment is viterly ouerthowen by the tyranny of the Papacy.
- 6 Of the Supremacy of the See of Rome.
- 7 Of the beginning & encreasing of ſ̄ Papacy of Rome, vntill it aduāced it ſelfe to this height, wherby both ſ̄ libertie of the Church hath bene oppreſſed, and all the right gouernment thereof ouerthrowen.
- 8 Of the power of the Church as touching the articles of faith: and with howe vnbrideled licentiousneſſe it hath in the Papacy bene wreſted to corrupt all pureneſſe of doctrine.
- 9 Of Councells and of their authoritie.
- 10 Of the power in making of lawes wherein the Pope and his haue vſed a moſt cruell tyranny &
- butchery vpon ſoules.
- 11 Of the iuriſdiction of the Church, and the abuſe thereof, ſuch as is ſene in the Papacie.
- 12 Of ſ̄ diſcipline of ſ̄ Church, whereof the chiefe vſe is in the cenſures and excommunication.
- 13 Of vowes, by raſhe promiſing whereof eche man hath miſerably entangled himſelfe.
- 14 Of Sacramentes.
- 15 Of Baptiſme.
- 16 That the Baptiſme of Infants doth very well agree with the inſtitution of Chriſt, & the nature of the ſigne.
- 17 Of the holy Supper of Chriſt: and what it auaileth vs.
- 18 Of the Popiſhe Maſſe, by which ſacrilege ſ̄ ſupper of Chriſt hath not onely bene prophaned, but alſo brought to nought.
- 19 Of the ſiue falſely named Sacramentes: where is declared, that the other ſiue which haue bene hitherto commonly taken for Sacramentes, are not Sacramentes: and then is ſhewed what maner of things they be.
- 20 Of Ciuile gouernements.



THE FIRST BOOKE OF
THE INSTITVTION OF
CHRISTIAN RELIGION, WHICH
intreateth of the knowledge of
God the Creator.

The first Chapter.

*That the knowledg of God, and of our selues, are things conioyned:
and howv they be linked the one with the other.*

THE whole summe in a maner of all our wisdom, which onely ought to be accompted true and perfect wisdom, consisteth in two parts, that is to say, the knowledge of God, & of our selues. But wheras these two knowledges be with many bonds linked together: yet whether goeth before or engendreth the other, it is hard to discern. For first no man can looke vpon him selfe, but he must needs by and by turne all his senses to the beholding of God, in whom he liueth & is moued: because it is playne that those giftes wherwith we be indued are not of our selues, yea euen that that we haue being is nothing els but an essence in the one God. Finally, by these good things that are as by dropmeale powred into vs from heauen, we are led as it were by certaine streames to the spring head. And so by our owne needinesse, better appeareth that infinite plentie of good things that abideth in God. Specially that miserable ruine, whereinto the fall of the firste man hath throwen vs, compelleth vs to lift vp our eyes, not onely beyng foodeles and hungry, to craue from thence that which we lacke, but also being awakened with feare, to learne humilitie. For as there is found in man a certaine world of all miseries, & since we haue bene spoyled of the diuine apparell, our shamefull nakednesse discloseth an infinite heape of filthy disgracements: it must needs be that euery man be pricked with knowledge in conscience of his own unhappinesse to make him come at least vnto some knowledge of God. So by the vnderstanding of our owne ignorance, vanitie, beggery weakenes, perversnes, and corruption, we learne to reknowledge that no where else but in the Lord abideth the true light of wisdom, sound vertue, perfecte abundance of all good things, and puritie of righteousness. And so by our owne euils we are stirred to consider the good things of God: and we cannot earnestly

Cap. i.

Of the knowledge of

aspire towarde him, vntill we beginne to mislike our selues. For of all men what one is there, that would not willingly rest in him selfe? yea who doth not rest, so long as he knoweth not him selfe, that is to say, so long as he is contented with his owne gifts, and ignorāt or vnmindfull of his owne misery? Therefore euery man is by the knowledge of him selfe, not onely pricked forward to seeke God, but also led as it were by the hand to finde him.

2 Agayne it is certaine, that man neuer commeth vnto the true knowledge of himselfe, vnles he haue first beholden the face of God, and from beholding therof do descend to looke into himselfe. For (such is the pride that is naturally planted in vs) we alway thinke our selues righteous, innocent, wise and holy, vntill that with manifest proues we be couinced of our vnrighteousnes, filthines, folly and vncleannes. But we are not conuincied therof, if we looke vpon our selues onely, & not vpon God also, who is the only rule wherby this iudgement ought to be tryed. For because we are naturally inclined to hypocrisie, therefore a certaine vayne resemblance of righteousness doth abundantly content vs in stead of righteousness in deede. And because there appeareth nothing among vs, nor about vs, that is not defiled with much filthines, therefore that which is somewhat lesse filthy pleaseth vs as though it were most pure, so long as we holde our selues within the boundes of mans vncleannes. Like as the eye that is vsed to see nothing but black, thinketh that to be pure white, which yet is but darkish white, or browne. Yea, we may yet more playnely discern by our bodily sense how much we are blinded in considering the powers of the soule. For if at midday we either looke down vpon the ground, or behold those things that rounde about lye open before our eyes, then we thinke our selues to haue a very assured and percing force of sight: but when we looke vp to the sunne, & behold it with fixed eyes, then that same sharpnesse that was of great force vpon the ground, is with so great brightnes by and by daseled and confounded, that we are compelled to confesse that the same sharp sight which we had in considering earthly things, when it commeth to the sunne is but meere dulnesse. Euen so commeth it to passe in weying our spirituall good things. For while we looke no further then the earth, so long beyng well contented with our own righteousness, wisdom and strength, we do sweetely flatter our selues, and thinke vs in maner halfe gods. But if we once beginne to rayse vp our thought vnto God & to wey what a one he is, and howe exact is the perfection of his righteousness, wisdom and power, after the rule wherof we ought to be framed: then that which before dyd please vs in our selues with false pretence of righte-

righteousnes, shall become lothsome to vs as greatest wickednesse: the that which did marueilously deceiue vs vnder colour of wisdom, shall stinke before vs as extreme folly: then that which did beare the face of strength, shall be proued to be most miserable weaknes. So slenderly doth that which in vs seemeth euen moste perfect, answer in proportion to the purenes of God.

3 Hereof proceedeth that trembling & amasednes, wherewith the scripture in many places reciteth that the holy men were stricken and astonished so oft as they perceyued the presence of God. For when we see that they which in his absence did stand assured & vnmoued, so sone as he discloseth his glory, begin so to quake and are so dismayd, that they fall downe, yea are swallowed vp & in maner as destroyed with feare of death: it is to be gathered therby that man is neuer sufficiently touched and inwardly moued with knowledge of his owne basenes, vntill he haue compared himselfe to the maiestie of God. But of such dismayng we haue often examples both in the Iudges & in the Prophets: so that this was a common saying among the people of God: We shall dye because the Lord hath appeared vnto vs. And therefore the history of *Iob*, to throw men downe with knowledge of their owne folly, weaknes, & vncleannes, bringeth alway his principall prooffe from describing Gods wisdom, strength and cleannes. And that not without cause. For we see how *Abraham*, the nerer that he came to behold the glory of God, the better acknowledged himselfe to be earth and dust. We see how *Elias* could not abide to tary his comming to him with vncouered face: so terrible is the beholding of him. And what maie man do that is but corruption & a worme, when euē the Cherubins for very feare muste hide their faces? Euen this is it that the Prophet *Esa* speaketh of: The sunne shall blushe, & the moone shall be ashamed, when the Lord of hostes shall raigne, that is to say, when he displayeth his brightnes, and bringeth it nearer to sight, then in comparison thereof the brightest thing of all shall be darkened. But howsoeuer the knowledge of God and of our selues, are with mutuall knotte linked together, yet the order of right teaching requireth that first we intreate of the knowledge of God, and after come downe to speake of the knowledge of our selues.

Iud. 13.

22.

Esa. 6. 5

Eze. 2. 1

Gen. 18

17.

1. King

19. 13.

Esa. 14.

23.

Esa. 2. 10

and 19.

The second Chapter.

What it is to knowe God, and to what ende tendeth the knowledg of him.

I Meane by the knowledge of God, not only that knowledge, whereby we conceiue that there is some God, but also that, whereby we learne so much as behoueth vs to know of him, & as is profitable

Cap. 2. Of the knowvledge of

for his glorie, finally so much as is expedient. For, to speake properly, we can not say that God is knowen where there is no religion nor godlinesse. But heere I do not yet touch that speciall kinde of knowledge whereby those men that are in themselves reprobate and accursed do conceiue God the redeemer in Christ the mediator: but I speake onely of that first and simple maner of knowledge, whervnto the very order of nature would haue led vs, if Adam had continued in state of innocēcie. For although no man, sith mankinde is in this ruine, can perceiue God to be eyther a father, or author of saluation, or in any wise fauourable, vnles Christ come as a meane to pacifie him towarde vs: yet it is one thing to feele that God our maker doth by his power sustaine vs, by his prouidence gouerne vs, by his goodnes nourish vs, & endue vs with all kinds of blessings: & an other thing to embrace the grace of reconciliatiō offered vs in Christ. Whereas therfore the Lord first simply appeareth as well by the making of the world, as by the generall doctrine of the scripture, to be the Creator, & then in the face of Christ to be the redeemer. hervpō arise two sorts of knowing him, of which the former is now to be intreated of, & then the other shall orderly follow in the place fit for it. For although our mind can not conceiue the knowledge of God, but that it must giue to him some kind of worship, yet shall it not be sufficient simply to know that it is he only that ought to be honored & worshipped of all men, vnles we be also perswaded that he is the fountaine of all good things, to the end that we should seeke for no thing elsewhere but in him. I meane hereby, not only for that as he hath once created this world, so by his infinite power he susteineth it, by his wisdom he gouerneth it, by his goodnes he preserueth it, & specially mankind he ruleth by his righteousness & iudgement, suffreth by his mercy, & sauegardeth by his defence: but also because there can no where be found any one drop either of wisdom, or of light, or of righteousness, or of power, or of vprightnes, or of sincere truth, which floweth not frō him or whereof he is not the cause: to this end verely, that we should learne to looke for & craue all these things at his hand, & with thanksgeuing accompt them receiued of him. For this feeling of the powers of God is to vs a mete scholemaster of godlines, out of which springeth religion: Godlines I call a reuerence of God ioined with loue of him which is procured by knowledge of his benefits. For men will neuer with willing obedience submit thēselues to God, vntill they perceiue that they owe all things to him, that they are nourished by his fatherly care, that he is to them the author of all good things, so that nothing is to be sought elsewher than in him. Yea they will neuer yeld thēselues truely & with all their

heart wholly to him, vnles they assuredly beleue that in him is perfect felicitie reposed for them.

2 Therefore they do but trifle with vaine speculations, which in entreating of this question, do make it their purpose to discusse, what thing God is, where it rather behoueth vs to know what maner one he is, and what agreeth with his nature. For to what end serueth it to confesse as Epicure doth, that ther is a God which doth only delight him selfe with idlenes, hauing no care of the worlde? Finally, what profiteth it to knowe such a God with whom we may haue nothing to do? But rather the knowledge of him ought to serue to this ende, first to frame vs to feare & reuerence: then that by it guiding and teaching vs, we may learne to craue all good things at his hand, & to accompt them receiued of him. For how can any thought of God enter into thy mind, but that thou must therewithall byandby thinke, that forasmuch as thou art his creature, therefore thou art of right subiect and bound to his authoritie, that thou owest him thy life, that whatsoeuer thou enterprisest, whatsoeuer thou doest, ought to be directed to him? If this be true, then truely it foloweth that thy life is peruersely corrupted if it be not framed to obeying of him, forasmuch as his will ought to be our law to liue by. Agayn, thou canst not cleerely see him, but that thou must needs know that he is the fountain and originall of all good things, wherevpon should grow both a desire to cleaue vnto him, and an assured trust in him, if mans owne corruptnes did not drawe his minde from the right searching of him. For first of all, the godly minde doth not as by a dreame imagine to her selfe any God at aduenture, but stedfastly beholdeth the onely one and true God: and doth not falsely forge of him whatsoeuer her selfe liketh, but is content to beleue him to be such a one as he discloseth himselfe, and doth alway with greate diligence beware that with presumptuous rashnesse she passe not beyond his wil, and so wander out of the way. And when she so knoweth him, because she vnderstandeth that he gouerneth all thinges, she assuredly trusteth that he is her safe-keeper and defender, and therefore wholly committeth her selfe to his sayth? Because she vnderstandeth that he is the author of all good things, therefore if any thing trouble her, or if shee want any thing, byandby she flyeth to him for succour, looking for helpe at his hand. Because shee is perswaded that he is good and mercifull, therefore with assured confidence shee resteth on him, and doubteth not in all her euills to finde readie remedy in his mercifull kindnesse. Beceause shee knoweth him to be her Lord and father, therefore shee determineth that he is worthy that shee should in all thinges haue regard

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to his authoritie, reuerence his maiestie, procure the aduancement of his glorie, and obey his commaundements. Because shee seeth that he is a ryghteous Iudge, & armed with his seueritie to punish sinners, therefore she alway setteth his iudgement seate before her eyes, and with feare of him withdraweth & restrayneth her selfe from prouoking his wrath. Yet is she not so afraide with the feeling of his iudgement, that shee would conuey her selfe from it, although there were a way open to escape it: but rather shee doth no lesse loue him, whyle he extendeth vengeance vpon the wicked, than while he is beneficiall to the godly, forasmuch as she vnderstandeth that it doth no lesse belong to his glory that he hath in store punishment for the wicked and euill doers, than that he hath reward of eternal life for the righteous. Moreouer shee doth not for onely feare of punishment refraine her selfe from sinning: but because shee loueth and reuerenceth him as her father, attendeth on him and honoreth him as her Lord, therefore although there were no hell at all, yet shee dreadeth his only displeasure. Nowe behold what is the pure and true religion, euen faith ioyned with an earnest feare of God: so that feare may contayne in it a willing reuerence, and drawe with it a right forme of worshipping such as is appointed in the lawe. And this is the more heedfully to be noted, because all men generally do worship God, but fewe doe reuerence him, while ech where is great pompous shewe in Ceremonies, but the purenes of hart is rare to be found.

3 Truly, they that iudge rightly, will alway hold this for certaine, that there is grauen in the mindes of men a certaine feeling of the Godhead, which neuer can be blotted out. Yea that this perswasion, that there is a God, is euen from their generation naturally planted in them, and deeply rooted within their bones, the very obstinacie of the wicked is a substantiall witnesse, which with their furious struiing yet can neuer winde themselues out of the feare of God. Although *Dirigoras* and such other doe iest and laugh at all that hath in all ages bene beleueed concerning religion: although *Dyonisius* doe scoffe at the heauenly iudgemēt: yet that is but a laughter from the teeth forward, because inwardly the worme of conscience gnaweth the much more sharply than all hot searing irons. I alleage not this that *Cicero* sayth, that errors by continuance of time growe out of vse, & religion daily more and more encreaseth and waxeth better. For the worlde (as a litle hereafter we shall haue occasion to shew) trauaileth as much as in it lieth to shake of all knowledge of God, and by all meanes to corrupt the worshipping of him. But this only I say, that whē the dull hardnes, which the wicked doe desirously labor to get to despise God with-

withall, doth lie piningly in their harts, yet the same feeling of God, which they woulde most of all desire to haue vtterly destroyed, luerth still, and sometime doth vtter it selfe: whereby we gather that it is no such doctrine as is first to be learned in schooles, but such a one whereof euery man is a teacher to himselfe euen from his mothers womb, & such a one as nature suffreth none to forget, although many bend all their endeouore to shake it out of their minde. Now, if all men be borne & do liue to this end, to know God, & the knowledge of God is but fickle and lightly vanisherh away, vnlesse it proceede thus farre: it is euident, that they all swarue out of kinde from the lawe of theyr creation, that doe not direct to this marke all the whole thoughts & doings of their life. Of which the Philosophers themselues were not ignorant. For *Plato* ment nothing else, when he oftentimes taught, that the soueraign good of the soule is the likenesse of God, when the soule hauing throughly cōceiued the knowledge of him is wholly transformed into him. Therefore very aptly doth *Grillus* reason in *Plutarche*, where he affirmeth, that men, if religion be once taken frō their life, are not only nothing better than brute beasts, but also many waies much more miserable, for that being subiect to so many sorts of euils they continually draw forth a troublesome vnquiet life: and that therfore the worshipping of God is the only thing that maketh them better than brute beastes, by which alone they aspire to immortality.

In Phedrone
& theetico.

The iij. Chapter.

That the knowledge of God is naturally planted in the mindes of men.

WE hold it out of controuersie, that there is in the mind of man, euen by naturall instinctiō, a certaine feeling of the Godhead. For to the ende that no man should flee to the pretence of ignorāce, God himselfe hath planted in all men a certaine vnderstanding of his diuine maiestie: the remembrance whereof, with powring in now and then as it were new droppes, he continually reneweth: that when all, not one excepted, do know that there is a God, and that he is their maker, they may all be condemned by their owne testimonie, for that they haue not both worshipped him, and dedicate their life to his will. But truely if the not knowing of God be any where to be found, it is likely that there can no where else be any example of it more thā among the grossest sorts of peoples and furthest from ciuill order of humanitie. But (as the heathen man sayeth) there is no nation so barbarous, no kinde of people so sauage, in whom resteth not this persuation that there is a God. And euen they that in other parts of their life seeme very litle to differ

Cicero
de nat.
Deorū.

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from brute beastes, yet do continually keepe a certaine seede of Religion. So thoroughly hath this common principle possessed all mens mindes, and so fast it sticketh within all mens bowels. Sith then from the beginning of the world there hath bin no countrey, no Citie, yea no house, that could be without religion, in this is emplied a certaine secret confession that a feeling of the Godhead is written in the hearts of all men. Yea and idolatrie it selfe is a substantiall prooofe of this perswasion. For we know how vnwillingly man abaseth him selfe to honor other creatures aboue himselfe. Therefore when he had rather worship a block and a stone, than he would be thought to haue no God, it appeareth that this imprinted perswasion of God is of most great force, which is impossible to be raced out of the mind of man, that it is much more easie to haue the affectiō of nature broken, as in deede it is broken whē mā from his own natural swelling pride of his own will stoupeth downe euen to the basest creatures to honor God.

2 Wherfore it is most vayne which some doe say, that religion was deuised by the fitteltie and craft of a few, by this policie to keepe the simple people in awe, whereas they them selues that procured other to worship God, beleueed nothing lesse than that there was any God at all. I graunt in deede that fittle men haue inuented many things in religion, whereby to bring the people to a reuerēce, and cast them in a feare, to make their minds the more pliable to obediēce: But this they could neuer haue brought to passe, vnles the mindes of men had bin already before hand perswaded that there was a God, out of which perswasion as out of seede springeth that ready inclinatio to religion. Neither is it likly that euē they which fittelly deceived the simple sort with colour of religion, were them selues altogether without knowledge of God. For though in times past there haue bene some, and at this day there arise vp many, that denie that there is any God: yet whether they will or no, they oftentimes feele that which they are desirous not to know. We reade of none that euer did breake forth into more presumptuous and vnbridled despising of God, than Caius Caligula: yet none more miserably trembled when any token of Gods wrath appeared. And so agaynste his will he quaked for feare of him whom of wilfull purpose he endeuored to despise. And the same may a man commonly see to happen to such as he was. For the bolder despiser of God that any man is, the more is he troubled at the very noyse of the falling of a leafe. And whence commeth that, but from the reuengement of Gods maiestie, which doth so much the more vehemently strike their consciences as they more labor to flie away from it? They do in deede looke about for all the starting holes that
may

may be, to hide them selues from the presence of the Lord: but whether they will or no, they are still holden fast tyed. For howsoever sometime it seemeth to vanish away for a moment, yet it oft returneth againe, and with new assault doth runne vpon them: so that the rest which they haue, if they haue any at all, from torment of conscience, is much like to the sleepe of drunkards or frantike men, which euen while they sleepe do not quietly rest, because they are at euery momēt vexed with horrible and dreadfull dreames. Therefore the very vngodly themselves serue for an example to proue that there alway lyeth in all mens mindes some knowledge of God.

The iiij. Chapter.

That the same knowledg is eyther choked, or corrupted, partly by ignorance, and partly by malice.

BVt as experience teacheth that God hath sowed the seede of religion in all men, so scarcely may be founde the hundreth mā, that hauing it conceyued in his heart doth cherish it, but no mā in whom it ripeneth, so far is it of that any frute appeareth in due time. Therefore whether it be that some become vaine in their owne superstitions, or that some do of set purpose maliciously reuolt from God, yet all doe runne out of kind from the true knowledge of him. So commeth it to passe that there remaineth no true godlinesse in the worlde. But whereas I sayd that some by error fall into superstition, I meane not thereby as though their simplicity might excuse them from blame, because the blindness that they haue, is commonly alway mingled both with proud vanity, & with stubbornesse. Vanity and the same ioyned with pride appeareth in this, that they miserable men both in the seeking of God do not climbe aboue themselves as they ought to haue done, but measure him according to the proportion of their owne fleshly dulnesse, and also neglecting the sound manner of searching for him, do curiously fly to vayne speculations. And so they conceiue him not such a one as he offreth himselfe, but do imagine him such a one as of their owne rashe presumption they haue forged him. Which gulf being once opened, what way soeuer they stirre their feete, they must needs alway runned long into destruction. For whatsoeuer afterward they goe about toward the worshipping or seruice of God, they can not accompt it done to him, because they worship not him, but rather the deuise of their own heart, & their owne dreame in steade of him. This peruersnes doth *Paule* expressly touche, where he sayth, that they were made fooles when they coueted to be wise. He had before sayd, that they were

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made vaine in their imaginations : but least any man should thereby excuse them from blame , he addeth further , that they are worthily blinded because not contented with sobrietie, but presumptuously taking vpon themselves more than they ought , they wilfully bring darknesse vpon them, yea with vaine & froward pride do make themselves fooles. Wherupō followeth, that their foolishnes is not excusable, wherof the cause is not only vaine curiosity, but also a gredines to knowe more than is meete for them, ioyned with a false confidence.

2 As for this that *Dauid* sayth , that the wicked & mad mē thinke in their hearts, that there is no God: First that is meant only of those that choking the light of nature , do of purpose make themselves senselesse, as we shall see againe a litle hereafter . Euen as we see that many after that they haue bin hardened with boldenesse and custome of sinning, do furiously put from them all the remembrance of God which yet is by very feeling of nature inwardly ministred vnto their mindes. Nowe *Dauid*, to make their madnes the more detestable , bringeth them in as though they precisely denied , that there is any God : although they take not from him his being, but because in taking from him his iudgement and prouidence , they shut him vp idle in heauen. For whereas nothing les agreeth with the nature of God, than to throw away the gouernement of the world , and leaue it to fortune, to winke at the sinnes of men , so as they may liue in licentious outrage vnpunished : whosoever he be that quenching the feare of the heauenly iudgement, doth carelessly folow his owne affections, he denieth that there is a God. And this is the iust vengeance of God, to draw a fatnes ouer their hartes, so that the wicked when they haue once closed their eyes, euen in seeing may not see . And *Dauid* in an other place is the best expounder of his owne meaning , where he sayeth: That the feare of God is not before the eyes of the wicked: Again, that in their euill doinges they proudly reioyce at them selues, because they persuaade themselves, that God doth not loke vpon them. Therefore although they be compelled to acknowledge some God, yet they do rob him of his glorie, in withdrawing frō him his power. For as God (as *Paule* witnesseth) cannot denie himselfe, because he continually abideth like himselfe : so is it truely sayd , that these men in faining God to be a dead and vaine image doe denie God. Moreouer it is to be nored that although they wrastle against their own naturall feeling , and do desire not onely to shake out God from thence , but also to destroy him in heauen: yet their dull hardnes can neuer so farre preuaile , but that God sometime draweth them backe to his iudgement seat . But forasmuch as they are not withholden with any fear from

Psa. 13.

1.

Psa. 30.

6. 1.

Psa. 10.

11.

2. Tim. 1

13.

from running violently against God: therefore it is certaine that there raigneth in them a brutish forgetfulness of God, so long as that blind pang of rage doth so forcible carie them.

3 So is that vaine defense ouerthrowne, which manie are wont to pretende for excuse of their superstition. For they thinke, that any deuotion to religion suffiseth, whatsoever it be, though it be neuer so much contrarie to order and truth. But they consider not, that true religion ought to be framed according to the will of God, as by a perpetuall rule: and that God himselfe abiderh alway like himselfe, and is no imagined Ghost or fantasie, that maie be diuersly fashioned after euery mannes liking. And truely we may plainly see with how lying decentes superstition mocketh God, while she goeth about to do him pleasure. For catching holde of those thinges in a manner only, which God hath testified that he careth not for, she eyther contemptuously vseth, or openly refuseth those things that he appoynteth and sayeth to be pleasant vnto him. Therefore whosoever do set vp new inuented formes of worshipping God, they worship & honor their own doting deuises: because they durst not so trifle with God, vnles they had first fayned a God agreeing with the follies of the trifeling toyes. Wherefore the Apostle pronounceth, that that vnstayed and wandering opinion of the maiestie of God, is a very not knowing of God. When (sayeth he) ye knewe not God, ye serued them that in nature were no gods. And in an other place he sayeth that the Ephesians were without a God at such time as they strayed from the right knowledge of the one God. And at least in this case, it differeth not much, whether thou beleue one God or many, because in both cases thou departest from & forsakeest the true God: whom whē thou hast once forsaken, there is nothing left with thee but a detestable Idol. It soloweth therefore, that we must determine with Lactantius, that there is no lawfully allowable religion, but that which is ioyned with truth. Ga. 4. 8. Ep. 2. 12

4 There is also a second fault, that they neyther haue at any time any consideration of God, but against their wills, nor do approche toward him, till for all their holding backe they be forcibly drawn to him: and euen then also they haue not a willing feare that proceedeth from reuerence of Gods maiestie, but onely a seruile and constraigned feare, which the iudgement of God wringeth out of them: which iudgement because they can not escape, therefore they dread it, but yet so as therewithall they abhorre it. And so that saying of Statius, that feare first made gods in the world, may be fitly spoken of vngodlinesse, and of this kinde of vngodlines onely. They that haue a minde abhorring from the iustice of God, do hartily wish to haue his throne of

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iudgement ouerthrowen, which they know to stand for punishment of offences agaynst his iustice by which affectiō they warre against God, who can not be without his iudgement. But when they vnderstand that his power impossible to be auoyded, hangeth ouer them: because they can neyther by force remoue it, nor by flight escape it, therefore they feare it. So least they should in all things seeme to despise him, whose maiestie still presseth vpon them, they vse a certaine outward forme of religion, such as it is: but in the meane tyme they cease not to defile them selues with all kinde of vices, to ioyne outragious mischeues to mischeues, vntill they haue in all pointes violate the holy lawe of the Lord, and destroyed his whole ryghteousnesse or at least they are not so holden backe with that fayned feare of God, but that they sweetely rest in their sinnes, and flatter themselues, and had rather to folow the intemperāce of their flesh than restraints it with the bridle of the holy Ghost. But forasmuch as the same is but a voyde and lying shadowe of religion, yea scarcely worthy to be called a shadow: hereby againe is easily gathered howe much the true godlines, which is powred onely into the heartes of the faithfull, I meane that out of which religion springeth, doth differ from this confuse knowledge of God. And yet the hypocrites would obtaine by crooked compasses to seeme nygh vnto God, whom they flye from. For whereas there ought to haue bin one continuall vnbroken course of obedience in their whole life, they in a maner in all their doinges carelessly rebelling against him, labour with a fewe sacrifices to appease him. Whereas they ought to haue serued him with holines of life and sincerenesse of heart, they inuent triflings and obseruāces of no value, to procure his fauour withall: yea they do the more licentiouslly lye dull in their owne dreggs, because they trust that they may be discharged against him with their owne mockeries of propiciatory satisfactions. Finally whereas their affiaunce ought to haue bin fastened in him, they neglecting him do rest in themselues, or in creatures. At length they entangle themselues with such a heape of errors, that the darke mist of malice doth choke, and at last vterly quench those sparkes, that glimmeringly shined to make them see the glory of God. Yet that seede still remaineth which can by no meane be plucked vp by the roote, to beleue that there is a certaine godhead: but the same seede is so corrupted, that it bringeth forth of it none other but very euill frutes. Yea therby is that which I trauaile to proue more certainly gathered, that there is a feeling of godhead naturally grauen in the heartes of men, forasmuch as the very reprobate themselues are of necessity enforced to confesse it. In quiet prosperitie they pleasantly mocke at God, yea they are full of

talke

talke and praying to diminish the greatnesse of his power : but if once any desperation touche the, it stirreth them vp to seeke the same God, and ministreth them sodaine short prayers : by which it may appeare, that they were not vterly ignorant of God, but that the same which ought sooner to haue bene vttered, was by obstinacie suppressed.

The fifth Chapter.

That the knowledge of God doth shiningly appeare in the making of the world and in the continuall gouernement thereof.

Moreouer because the furthest ende of blessed life standeth in the knowledge of God : that the way to felicitie should be stopped to none, therefore God hath not only planted in the minds of men that seede of religion which we haue spoken of, but also hath so disclosed himselfe in the whole workmanship of the world, and daily so manifestly presenteth himselfe, that men can not open their eyes but they must needs behold him. His substance in deede is incomprehensible, so that his diuine maiestie farre surmounteth all mens senses; but he hath in all his works grauen certaine marks of his glorie, and those so plaine and notably discernable, that the excuse of ignorance is taken away from me, be they neuer so grosse and dull witted. Therefore the Prophet rightfully crieth out, that he is clothed with light as with a garment: as if he should haue sayd, that then he first began to come forth to be seene in visible apparel, since the time that he first displayed his ensignes in the creatiō of the world; by which euen now what way soeuer we turne our eies, he appeareth glorious vnto vs. In the same place also the same Prophet aptly compareth the heauens as they be displayed abroad, to his royall pauillion: he sayth that he hath framed his parlours in the waters, that y^e cloudes are his chariots, that he rideth vpon the wings of the windes, that the winds and lightnings are his swift messengers. And because the glory of his power and wisdom doth more fully shine aboue, therefore commonly the heaven is called his pallace. And first of all, what way soeuer thou turne thy eyes, there is no peece of the world be it neuer so small, wherein are not seene at least some sparkles of his glory to shine. But as for this most large and beutifull frame, thou canst not with one viewe peruse the wide compasse of it, but that thou must needs be on euery side ouerwhelmed with the infinite force of the brightnes thereof. Wherefore the author of the Epistle to the *Hebrues* doth very well call the ages of the worlde the spectacle of inuisible thinges, for that the so orderly framing of the worlde serueth vs for a mirror wherein we may behold God which otherwise is inuisible.

Ps. 104
2.

He. 11. 3.

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For which cause the Prophet assigneth to the heavenly creatures a language that all nations vnderstand, for that in them there is a more euident testification of the Godhead, than that it ought to escape the consideration of any nation be they neuer so dull. Which thing the

Psa.19.1

Ro.1.19

Apostle declaring more plainly sayth that there is disclosed vnto men so much as was behouefull to be knowen concerning God: because all men without exception, do thoroughly see his inuisible things euen to his very power and Godhead, which they vnderstand by the creation of the world.

2 As for his wonderfull wisdom, there are innumerable proues both in heauen and in earth that witnesse it: I meane not only that secreter sort of thinges, for the nerer marking whereof *Astrologie*, *Physike*, and all naturall Philosophie serueth, but even those things that thrust them selues in sight of euerie one, euen of the rudest vnlearned man, so that men can not open their eyes but they must needs be witnesses of them. But truely they that haue digested, yea or but tasted the liberall arts, being holpen by the ayd thereof do proceede much further to looke into the secrets of Gods wisdom. Yet is there no man so hindred by lacke of knowledge of those arts, but that he thoroughly seeth abundantly enough of conning workmanship in Gods works, to bring him in admiration of the workeman thereof. As for example: to the searching out of the mouings of the starres, appointing of their places, measuring of their distances, & noting of their properties, there needeth art and an exacter diligence: by which being thoroughly perceiued, as the providence of God is the more manifestly disclosed, so it is conuenient, that the mind rise somewhat the hier thereby to behold his glory. But forasmuch as the vnlearned people, yea and the rudest sort of them, such as are furnished with the only helpe of theyr eyes, can not be ignorant of the excellencie of Gods cunning workmanship, which in this innumerable and yet so seuerally well ordered and disposed variety doth of it selfe shewe forth it selfe: it is euident that there is no man to whom God doth not largely open his wisdom. Likewise it requireth a singular sharpenes of wit, to wey with such cunning as *Galen* doth, the knitting together, the proportionall agreement, the beautie, and vse in the frame of mans body: but by all mens confession, the body of man doth vtter in very shewe of it selfe so cūning a compacting together, that for it the maker of it may worthily be iudged wonderfull.

In libr.
de visu
part.

3 And therefore certaine of the Philosophers in olde time did not without cause call man a litle world, because he is a rare representation of the power, goodnesse, and wisdom of God, and conteineth in him selfe

selfe miracles enowe to occupie our mindes, if we will be content to
 marke them. And for this reason *Paul*, after that he had sayd that the
 very blind men may find out God by groping for him, by and by sayth A.C. 17.
27.
 further, that he is not to be sought farre of, because all men do feele
 vndoubtedly within themselues the heavenly grace wherewith they be
 quickned. But if we neede to go no further than our selues, to finde and
 take hold of God: what pardon shall his slouthfulnes deserue that will
 not vouchsafe to descend into himselfe to finde God? And the same is
 the reason why *David*, when he had shortly spoken in the aduance-
 ment of the wonderfull name & honor of God that do euery where Psa. 8. 5
 gloriously shine, by and by crieth out: What is man that thou art mind-
 full of him? Againe, out of the mouth of infantes and sucking babes
 thou hast stablished strength. For so he pronounceth that not only in
 the whole kinde of man is a mirror of the workes of God, but also
 that the very infantes, while they yet hang on their mothers brestes,
 haue tongues eloquent enough to preache his glory, so that there
 nedeth no other orators. And therefore he doutheth not to set their
 mouthes in the vauuarde, as being strongly armed to subdue their
 madnesse that would according to their deuillish pride couet to extin-
 guish the name of God. And herupon riseth that which *Paul* allegeth A.C. 17.
38.
 out of *Aratus*, that we are the offspring of God: because he garnishing
 vs with such excellencie, hath testified that he is our father. Like as euē
 by cōmon reason, & as it were by information of experience, the pro-
 phane Poets called him the father of men. And truly no mā will assen-
 tingly and willingly yeelde him selfe to serue God, but he that hauing
 tasted his fatherly loue, is mutually allured to loue and worship him.

4 And here is disclosed the foule vnthankfulnesse of men, which
 while they haue within them selues a workehouse gloriously furnished
 with innumerable workes of God, and also a shop stuffed with inesti-
 mable plentie of riches, and whē they ought to burst forth into pray-
 sing of him, are contrariwise puffed vp and doe swell with so much the
 greater pride. They feele how diuersly in maruelous wise God wor-
 keth in them: they are taught by experience it selfe, how great variety
 of gifts they possesse by his liberalitie: whether they will or no, they
 are enforced to knowe that these are the tokens of his godhead: and
 yet they suppress it close within them. Truly they nede not to goe
 out of them selues, so that they would not in presumptuously taking
 vpon them selues that which is giuen from heauen, bury within the
 ground that which brightly giueth light to their minds to see God.
 But euen at this day the earth beareth many mōsterous spirites, which
 sticke not to abuse the whole seede of Godhead that is sown in mā

nature, and to emploie it to oppresse the name of God. How detestable, I pray you, is this madnes, that man finding God a hundred times in his body and his soule, should by the very same pretence of excellence deny that there is a God? They will not say, that they are by chaunce made different from brute beast. But they pretend a cloke of nature, whom they accompt the maker of all things, and so do conuey God away. They see that exquisite workmāship in all their members, from their mouth and their eyes euen to the nailes of their toes, and yet here also they put nature in place of God. But specially the so swift motions, the so excellent powers, the so rare gifts of the soule, do represent a diuine nature that doth not easily suffer it selfe to be hid: vnlesse the Epicureans like the Giauntes Cyclopes would bearing them selues bold vpon this hie degree outrageously make warre against God. Do the whole treasures of the heauenly wisdom so meete together, to rule a worme of fīue feete long: and shall the whole vniuersalitie of the world be without this prerogatiue? First to agree that there is a certaine instrumentall thing that aunswereth to all the parts of man, doth so serue nothing at all to obscure the honour of God, that it rather doth more gloriously set it out. Let Epicure aunswere me, what meeting of vndiuisable bodies, boiling the meat and drinke in man, doth dispose part into excrements and part into blood, and bringeth to passe that there is in all the members of man such an endeuoring to do their office, euen as if so many seuerall soules did by common aduise rule one bodie.

5 But I haue not now to do with that stie of swine. I rather speake vnto them, that being geuen to suttelties would by croked conueyance wryth that cold saying of *Aristotle*, both to destroy the immortalitye of the soule, and also to take from God his right. For because there are instrumentall powers of the soule, by pretence thereof they bind the soule to the body, that it can not continue without the body & with prayses of nature they do as much as in them is, suppress the name of God. But the powers of the soule are farre from being enclosed in those exercises that serue the body. For what pertaineth it to the body, for a man to measure the skie, to gather the number of the starres, to learne the greatnesse of one, to know what space they be distant one from an other, with what swiftnesse or slownesse they go their courses, how many degrees they decline this way or that way? I graunt in deed that there is some vse of Astrologie: but my meaning is onely to shew that in this so depe searching out of heauenly things, it is not an instrumentall measuring, but that the soule hath her offices by it self seuerall frō the body. I haue shewed one example, by which

it shalbe

it shalbe easie for the readers to gather the rest. Truly the manifold nimbleness of the soule, by which it surueieth both heauen & earth, ioyneth things past with things to come, kepeth in memorie things heard long before, and expresseth ech thing to it self by imagination, also the ingenioufnes by which it inuēteth things incredible, & which is the mother of so many maruelous arts, are sure tokens of diuine nature in man. Beside that, euen in sleeping it doth not onely roll and turne it selfe, but also conceiueth many thinges profitable, reasoneth of many thinges, and also prophecieth of thinges to come. What shal we in this case say, but that the signes of immortalitie that are emprinted in man, can not be blotted out? Now what reason may beare that man shalbe of diuine nature, and not acknowledge his Creator? Shall we forsooth by iudgement that is put into vs discerne betweene right and wrong, and shall there be no iudge in heauen? Shall we euen in our sleepe haue abiding with vs some remnant of vnderstanding, & shall no God be waking in gouerning the world? Shall we be so compted the inuenters of so many artes and profitable thinges, that God shalbe defrauded of his praise, whereas yet experience sufficiently teacheth, that from an other and not from our selues, all that we haue, is in diuerse wise distributed amōg vs? As for that, which some do babble of the secret inspiration that geueth liuelines to the world, it is not only weake, but also vngodly. They like well that famous saying of Vergile:

*First heauen and earth, and flowing fields of seas,
The shining globe of Moone, and Titans stars,
Spirite feedes within, and throughout all the lims,
Infused minde the whole huge masse doth moue,
And with the large bigge bodie mixe it selfe.
Thence come the kindes of men and eke of beasts,
And lines of flying foules, and monsters strange,
That water beares within the marble Sea.
A fyre liuelinesse and heauenlie race there is
Within those sedes. &c.*

Aen. 6.

Forsooth, that the world which was created for a spectacle of the glorie of God, should be the creator of it selfe. So in an other place the same author folowing the common opinion of the Greeks and Latins, sayeth:

*Some say that bees haue parte of minde diuine,
And heauenly draughts. For eke they say that God
Gothe through the coasts of land, and creeks of sea,
And through depe skie. And hence the flocks and herdes:
And men, and all the kindes of sanage beasts,*

Geo. 4.

Ech at their birth receive their sutable lines.

And therto are they rendered all at last,

And all resolved are retourned againe.

No place there is for death:but liuely they,

Flie into number of the starres above,

And take theyr place within the lofty skie.

Loe, what that hungry speculatiō of the vniuersall minde that geueth soule and liuelinesse to the world, auaieth to engender & nourish Godlines in the harts of men. Which doth also better appeare by the blasphemous sayings of the filthy dogge Lucretius, which are deriued from the same principle. Euen this is it, to make a shadowish God, to driue farre away the true God whom we ought to feare & worship. I graūt in deede that this may be godlily sayd, so that it proceede from a godly minde, that Nature is God: but because it is a hard & an vnproper maner of spech, forasmuch as Nature is rather an order prescribed by God: therefore in things of so great weight and to which is due a singular religiousnesse, it is hurtfull to wrap vp God confusely with the inferior course of his works. Let vs therefore remember, so oft as any man considereth his owne nature, that there is one God which so gouerneth all natures, that his will is to haue vs to looke vnto him, our faith to be directed to him, and him to be worshipped and called vpon of vs: because there is nothing more against conueniēce of reason than for vs to enioy those excellēt gifts that saour of diuine nature in vs, and to despise the author that freely doth geue them vnto vs: Now as concerning his power, with how notable examples doth it forceable draw vs to consider it vnlesse perhapps we may be ignorant, of how great a strength it is with his only word to vphold this infinite masse of heauen and earth, with his only beck, sometime to shake the heauen with noise of thunders, to burne vp ech thing with lightnings, to set the aire on fier with lightning flames, sometime to trouble it with diuers sorts of tempests, and by and by the same God whē he list in one moment to make faire wether: to hold in the Sea as if it hanged in the aire, which with his heighth seemeth to threaten continuall destruction to the earth, sometime in horrible wise to raise it vp with outragious violence of winds, and sometime to appease the waues & make it calme again. For prose hereof do serue all the praises of God gathered of the testimonies of nature, specially in the booke of Iob & in Esay, which now of purpose I ouerpasse, because they shal els where haue an other place fiter for them, where I shall entreat of the creation of the world according to the Scriptures. Only my meaning was now to touch, that both strangers & they of the household

of God haue this way of seeking God common to them both, that is, to follow these first draughts which both aboue and beneth do as in a shadow set forth a liuely image of him. And now the same power leadeth vs to consider his eternitie. For it must needs be that he from whom all things haue their beginning, is of eternall continuance, and hath his beginning, of himselfe. But now if any man enquire the cause whereby he both was once lead to create all these things, & is now moued to preserue them: we shall finde that his only goodnes was it that caused him. Yea and although this only be the cause, yet ought the same abundantly to suffice to allure vs to the loue of him, forasmuch as there is no creature (as the Prophet sayth) vpon which his mercy is not poured out. Psa. 145.
9.

6 Also in the second sort of his works, I meane those that come to passe beside the ordinary course of nature, there doth appeare no lesse eident prooffe of his powers. For in gouerning the fellowship of men he so ordereth his prouidence, that wheras he is by innumerable means good and bountifull to all men, yet by manifest and daily tokens he declareth his fauorable kindnesse to the Godly, and his seuerity to the wicked and euell doers. For not doutfull are the punishments that he layeth vpon haynous offences: like as he doth openly shew himselfe a defendor and reuenger of innocencie, while he prospereth the life of good men with his blessing, helpeth their necessity, affwageth and comforteth their sorowes, relieueth their calamities, and by all meanes prouideth for their safety. Neither ought it any thing to deface the perpetuall rule of his iustice, that he oftentimes permitteth wicked men and euell doers for a time to reioice vnpunished: and on the other side suffereth good and innocent to be tossed with many aduersities, yea and to be oppressed with the malice and vniust dealing of the vngodly. But rather a much contrary consideratiō ought to enter into our mindes: that when by manifest shew of his wrath he punisheth one sinne, we should therefore thinke that he hateth all sinnes: and when he suffereth many sinnes to passe vnpunished, we should thereupon thinke that there shalbe an other iudgement to which they are differred to be then punished. Likewise howe great matter doth it minister vs to consider his mercy, while he oftentimes cesseth not to shew his vnueried bountifulnesse vpon miserable sinners in calling them home to him with more than fatherly tenderneffe, vntill he haue subdued their frowardnesse with doing them good?

7 To this end, where the Prophet particularly rehearseth, how God in cases past hope, doeth sodenly and wonderfully and beside all Psa. 107

hope, succour men that are in miserie and in a maner lost, whether he defend them wandering in wildernesse from the wild beastes and at length leadeth them into the way againe, or ministreth foode to the needy and hungry, or deliuereth prisoners out of horrible dongeons and yron bandes, or bringeth men in perill of shipwrack safe into the hauen, or healeth the half dead of diseases, or scorseth the earth with heat and drienesse, or maketh it frutefull with secret watering of his grace, or aduanceth the basest of the rascall people, or throweth downe the noble Peeres from the hie degree of dignitie: by such examples shewed forth he gathereth that those thinges which are iudged chaunces happening by fortune, are so many testimonies of the heauently prouidēce, and specially of his fatherly kindenesse, and that therby is geuen matter of reioycing to the Godly, and the wicked and reprobate haue their mouthes stopped. But because the greater parte infected with their errors are blinde in so clere a place of beholding, therefore he crieth out that it is a gift of rare and singular wisdom, wisely to wey these works of God: by sight wherof they nothing profit that otherwise seme most clere sighted. And truely how much soeuer the glorie of God doeth apparantly shine before them, yet scarcely the hundreth man is a true beholder of it. Likewise his power & wisdom are no more hid in darknesse: wherof the one, his power, doth notably appeare, when the fierce outragiousnesse of the wicked being in all mens opinion vnconquerable is beaten flat in one momēt, their arrogancie tamed, their strongest holdes rased, their weapons and armour broken in pieces, their strengthes subdued, their deuises overthrowne, and themselues fall with their owne weight, the presumptuous boldnesse, that auanced it selfe about the heauens is throwen downe euen to the bottome point of the earth: againe, the lowly are lifted vp out of the dust, & the needy raised from the donghill, the oppressed and afflicted are drawn out of extreme distresse, men in despaired state are restored to good hope, the vnarmed beare away the victory from the armed, few from many, the feeble from the strong. As for his wisdom, it selfe sheweth it selfe manifestly excellent, while it disposeth euery thing in fittest oportunitie, confoundeth the wisdom of the world be it neuer so pearcing, findeth out the subtile in their subtiltie, finally gouerneth all things by most conuenient order.

8 We see that it nedeth no long or laborfome demōstration, to fetch out testimonies, to serue for the glorious declaratiō and prooffe of Gods maiestie: for by these few that we haue touched it appeareth that which way soeuer a man chaunce to looke, they are so common and ready that they may be easily marked with eye, and pointed out with

Psa. 113.
7.

1. Cor.
3. 19.

with the finger. And here againe is to be noted, that we are called to the knowledge of God, not such as contented with vaine speculation, doth but flie about in the braine, but such as shalbe sound and frute-full, if it be rightly conceiued and take roote in our harts. For the Lord is declared by his powers, the force whereof because we feele within vs, and doe enioy the benefits of them, it must nedes be that we be inwardly moued much more liuely with such a knowledge, than if we shoulde imagine God to be such one, of whom we should haue no feeling. Wherby we vnderstand that this is the rightest way and fittest order to seek God, not to attempt to enter depely with presumptuous curiositie throughly to discusse his substance, which is rather to be reuerently worshipped then scrupulously serched: but rather to behold him in his workes, by which he maketh himselfe nere and familiar, and doth in a maner communicate himselfe vnto vs. And this the Apostle meant, when he sayd, that God is not to be sought a farre off, Aa. 17.
27. forasmuch as he with his most present power dwelleth within euery Psa. 145 one of vs. Wherfore Dauid, hauing before confessed his vnspeakeable greatnesse, when he descendeth to the particular reherfall of his workes, protesteth that the same will shew forth it selfe. Therefore we also ought to geue our selues vnto such a searching out of God, as may so hold our wit suspended with admiration, that it may therewithall throughly moue vs with effectuall feeling. And, as Augustine teacheth in an other place, because we are not able to cōceiue him, In Psal.
144. it behoueth vs as it were fainting vnder the burden of his greatnesse, to looke vnto his workes, that we may be refreshed with his goodnes.

9 Then such a knowledge ought not only to stirre vs vp to the worshipping of God, but also to awake vs, and raise vs to hope of the life to come. For when we consider that such examples as God sheweth both of his mercifulnesse, and of his seueritie, are but begun and not halfe full: without dout we must thinke, that herein he doth but make a shew aforehand of those things, whereof the open disclosing and full deliuerance is differred vnto an other life. On the other side, when we see that the godly are by the vngodly greued with afflictions, troubled with iniuries, oppressed with sclaunders, and vexed with despitefull dealings and reproches: contrarywise that wicked doers do flourish, prosper, and obtaine quiet with honor, yea and that unpunished: we must by and by gather that there shalbe an other life, wherein is layd vp in store both due reuenge for wickednesse, and reward for rightuousnesse. Moreouer when we note that the faithfull are often chastised with the rodde of the Lord, we may most certainly determine that much lesse the vngodly shal escape his scourges.

Cap. 5.

Of the knowvledge of

De ciui.
dei cap.
8.

For very well is that spoken of Augustin. If euery sinne should now be punished with open peine, it would be thought that nothing were referued to the last iudgement. Again, if God should now openly punish no sinne, it would be beleued, that there were no prouidence of God. Therefore we must confesse, that in euery particular woorke of God, but principally in the vniuersall generalitie of them, the powers of God are sette forth as it were in painted tables, by which all mankinde is prouoked and allured to the knowledge of him, and from knowledge to full and perfect felicitie. But where as these his powers do in his workes most brightly appeare, yet what they principally tende vnto, of what valoure they be, and to what end we ought to weie them: this we then only attaine to vnderstand when we descende into our selues, and do consider by what meanes God doth shew forth in vs his life, wisdom, and power, and doth vse toward vs his righteousness, goodnesse, and mercifull kindnesse. For though Dauid iustly complaineth, that the vnbeleuing do dote in folly, because they weie not the deepe counsailes of God in his gouernance of mankinde: yet that is also most true, which he saith in an other place, that the wonderfull wisdom of God in that behalfe exceedeth the heares of our heade. But because this point shall hereafter in place conuenient be more largely entreated, therefore I do at this time passe it ouer.

Psa. 92.
7.

Psa. 40.
13.

10 But with howe great brightnes soeuer God doth in the mirror of his works shewe by representation both himselfe and his immortal kingdome: yet such is our grosse blockishnesse, that we stand dully amazed at so plaine testimonies, so that they passe away from vs without profit. For, as touching the frame and most beautifull placing of the world, howe many a one is there of vs, that when he either listeth vp his eyes to heauen, or casteth them about on the diuers countries of the earth doth direct his mind to remembrance of the creator, and doth not rather rest in beholding the workes without having regard of the workman. But as touching those things that daily happen beside the order of natural course, how many a one is there that doth not more thinke that men are rather whirled about and rowlled by blind vnadvisednesse of fortune, than gouerned by prouidence of God. But if at any time we be by the guiding & directio of these things driuen to the consideration of God (as all men must needes be) yet so soone as we haue without aduisement conceiued a feeling of some Godhead, we by and by slide away to the dotages or erroneous inuentions of our flesh, and with our vanity we corrupt the pure verity of God. So heerein in deede we differ one from an other, that euery man priuately by himselfe procureth to himselfe some peculiar error:

but

but in this point we all are most like together, that we all, not one excepted, doe depart from the one true God to monstrous trifles. To which disease not onely common and grosse wits are subiect: but also the most excellent and those that otherwise are endued with singular sharpnes of vnderstanding, are entangled with it. How largely hath the whole sect of Philosophers bewraied their owne dullnes and beastly ignorance in this behalfe? For, to passe ouer all the rest, which are much more vnreasonably foolish, Plato himselfe the most religious & most sober of all the rest, vainly erreth in his round globe. Now what might not chance to the other, when the cheefe of them, whose parte was to geue light to the rest, do themselues so erre and stumble? Likewise where Gods gouernance of mens matters doth so plainly proue his prouidence, that it can not be denied, yet this doth no more preuail with men, than if they beleued that all things are tossed vp and down with the rash will of Fortune: so great is our inclination to vanity and error. I speake now altogether of the most excellent, and not of the common sort, whose madnes hath infinitely wandered in prophaning the truth of God.

II Heereof proceedeth that vnmeasurable sink of errors, where-with the whole world hath bin filled and ouerflowne. For ech mannes wit is to himselfe as a maze, so that it is no maruell that euery seuerall nation was diuersly drawen into seuerall deuises, and not that only, but also that ech seuerall man had his seuerall gods by himselfe. For since that rash presumption and wantonnes was ioined to ignorance & darkenesse, there hath bin scarcely at any time any one man found, that did not forge to himselfe an idole or fansie in steede of God. Truly even as out of a wide and large spring do issue waters, so the infinite number of Gods hath flowed out of the wit of man, while euery man ouer licenciously straying, erroneously deuisseth this or that concerning God himselfe. And yet I nede not here to make a register of the superstitions, wherewith the world hath bin entangled: because both in so doing I should neuer haue end, and also though I speake not one word of them, yet by so many corruptions it sufficiently appeareth how horrible is the blindnes of mans minde. I passe ouer the rude & vnlearned people. But among the Philosophers, which enterprised with reason & learning to pearce into heauē, how shamefull is the disagreement? With the higher wytte that any of the was endued, and filled with arte and science, with so much the more glorious coloures he seemed to paint out his opinion. All which notwithstanding, if one do narrowly looke vpon, he shall finde them to be but vanishing false coloures. The Stoickes seemed in their owne con-

ceite to speake very wisely, that out of all the partes of nature may be gathered diuers names of God, and yet that God being but one is not thereby torne in sunder. As though we were not already more than enough enclined to vanity, vnlesse a manifold plenty of gods set before vs should further and more violently draw vs into errour. Also the Ægyptians mysticall science of diuinity sheweth, that they all diligently endeouored to this end, not to seeme to erre without a reason. And it is possible, that at the first sight some thing seeming probable, might deceiue the simple and ignorant: but no mortall man euer inuented any thing, wherby religiō hath not bin fowly corrupted. And this so confuse diuersity emboldned the Epicures & other grosse despisers of godlinesse, by little and little to cast of all feeling of God. For when they saw the wisest of all to striue in contrary opiniōs, they sticke not out of their disagreements, & out of the foolish or apparantly erroneous doctrine of ech of them, to gather, that men do in vaine & fondly procure torments to themselues while they serche for God, which is none at all. And this they thought that they might freely do without punishment, because it was better breiefely to deny vtterly, that there is any God, than to fayne vncertaine Gods, and so to raise vp contentions that neuer should haue ende. And to much fondly do they reason, or rather cast a mist, to hide their vngodlinesse by ignorance of men, whereby it is no reason that any thing should be taken away from God. But forasmuch as all do confesse, that there is nothing, about which both the learned and vnlearned do so much disagree, thereupon is gathered that the wittes of men are more than dull and blinde in heauēly misteries, that do so erre in seeking out of God. Some other do praise that answere of Symonides, which being demaunded of king Hieron what God was, desired to haue a dayes respite graunted him to study vpon it. And when the next day following, the king demaunded the same question, he required two daies respite, and so oftentimes doubling the number of dayes at length he answered: How much the more I consider it, so much the harder the matter seemeth vnto me. But graunting that he did wisely to suspend his sentence of so darke a matter, yet hereby appeareth, that if men be only taught by nature, they can know nothing certainly, soundly, & plainly concerning God, but only are tyed to confused principles to worship an vnknown God.

12 Now we must also hold, that all they that corrupt the pure religiō (as all they must needes do that are giuē to their owne opinion) do depart frō the one God. They will boast that their meaning is otherwisc: but what they meane, or what they persuade theselues maketh

not

not much to the matter, sith the holy Ghost pronounceth, that all they are Apostates, that according to the darknes of their own minde do thrust deuils in the place of God. For this reason, Paule pronounceth that the Ephesians were without a God, till they hadde learned by the Gospel, what it was to worship the true God. And we must not thinke this to be spoken of one nation only, for as much as he generally affirmeth in an other place, that all menne were become vaine in their imaginations, sith that in the creation of the world, the Maiestie of the Creator was disclosed vnto them. And therefore the scripture, to make place for the true and one only God, condemneth of falsehood and lying, whatsoever godhead in old time was celebrate among the Gentiles, and leaueth no God at all, but in the mount Sion, wher flourished the peculiar knowledge of God. Truly among the Gentiles the Samaritans in Christes time seemed to approche nighest to true godlinesse: and yet we heare it spoken by Christes owne mouth, that they knew not what they worshipped. Whervpon foloweth, that they were deceiued with vaine error. Finally although they were not all infected with grosse faultes, or fell into open idolatries, yet was there no true and approued religion that was grounded only vpon common reason. For all be it, that there were a few that were not so madde as the common people were, yet this doctrine of Paule remaineth certainly true, that the princes of this world conceiue not the wisdom of God. Now if the most excellent haue wandred in darknesse, what is to be said of the very dregges? Wherefore it is no meruayle, if the holy Ghost do refuse as bastard worshippinges all formes of worshipping deuised by the will of men. Bycause in heavenly misteries opinion conceiued by witt of men, although it do not alway brede a heape of errours, yet is alway the mother of error. And though there come no worse of it, yet is this no small fault, at aduenture to worship an vnknown God: of which fault all they by Christes own mouth are pronouced guilty, that are not taught by the law what God they ought to worship. And truly the best lawmakers that euer were, proceeded no further, than to saie that religion was grounded vpon common consent. Yea and in Xenophon Socrates praised the answer of Apollo, wherein he willed that euery man should worship gods after the maner of the countrey, and the custome of his owne citie. But how came mortall men by this power, of their owne authoritie to determine that which farre surmounteth the world? or who can so reste in the decrees of the elders, or common ordinaunces of peoples, as to receaue without douting a God deliuered by mannes deuise? Euery man rather will stand to his owne iudgement, than yeld him selfe to

Eph. 2.
12.Rom. 7.
21.Abac. 2.
18. 20.
Ioh. 4.
22.1. Cor. 9
8.Iohn 4.
22.

Cap. 5.

Of the knowledge of

the will of an other. Sith therfore it is to weake and feble a bonde of godlinesse, in worshipping of God to folow either a custom of a citie, or the consent of antiquitie, it remaineth that God him selfe must testifie of him selfe from heauen.

13 In vaine therfore so many lampes lightned do shine in the edifice of the world, to shew forth the glory of the creator, which do so euery way display their beames vpon vs, that yet of them selues they can not bring vs into the right way. In deede they raise vp certaine sparkles, but such as be choked vp before that they can sprede abroad any full brightnesse. Therfore the Apostle in the same place where he calleth the ages of the world images of thinges inuisible, saith further, that by faith is perceyued, that they were framed by the word of God: meaning therby that the inuisible godhead is in deede represented by such shewes, but that we haue no eyes to se the same thoroughly, vnles they be enlightned by the reuelation of God through faith. And Paule, where he teacheth that by the creation of the world was disclosed that which was to be knowne concerning God, doth not meane such a disclosing as may be comprehended by the wit of men: but rather sheweth, that the same procedeth no further but to make them vnexcusable. The same Paule also, although in one place he saith, that God is not to be sought as farre of, as one that dwelleth within vs: yet in an other place teacheth to what end that nereenesse awayleth. In the ages past (saith he) God suffred the nations to walke in their owne waies: yet he left nor him selfe without testimonie, doing good from heauen, geuing showres and fruitfull seasons, fillying the hartes of men with foode & gladnesse. Howsoeuer therfore the Lord be not without testimonie, while with his greate and manyfold bountyfulnessse he sweetly allureth men to the knowledge of him: yet for all that, they cesse not to folow their owne waies, that is to say, their damnable errors.

14 But although we want natural power, wherby we can not climbe vp vnto the pure and cleare knowledge of God, yet by cause the fault of our dulnesse is in our selues, therfore all colour of excuse is cutte away from vs. For we can not so pretende ignorance, but that euen our conscience doth still condemne vs of slouthfulnessse and vnthankfulnessse. It is a defense forsooth right worthy to be receiued, if man will allege that he wanted eares to heare the truth, for the publishing wherof the very dombe creatures haue lowde voices: if man shall say that he can not see those thinges with his eyes, which the creatures without eyes do shew him: if man shall lay for his excuse the feblenessse of his wit, where all creatures without reason do instruct him:

Wher-

Wherefore sith all things do shew vs the right way, we are worthily put from all excuse of our wandering and straying out of the way. But how soeuer it is to be imputed to the fault of men, that they do by and by corrupt the seede of the knowledge of God, sown in their mindes by maruelous workmanship of nature, so that it groweth not to good & cleane fruite: yet it is most true, that we are not sufficiently instructed by that bare and simple testimony, that the creatures do honorably declare of Gods glory. For so soone as we haue taken by the beholding of the world a smale tast of the Godhead, we leauing the true God do in steade of him raise vp dreames and fancies of our own brayne, and do conuey hither and thither from the true fountaine the praise of righteousnes, wisdom, goodnesse and power. Moreouer we do so either obscure, or by ill esteeming them, depraue his daily doings, that we take away both from them their glory, and from the author his due praise.

The vj. Chapter.

That, to attaine to God the Creator, it is needfull to haue the Scripture to be our guide and maiestie.

THerefore although that same brightnesse, which both in heauen and earth shineth in the eyes of all men, doth sufficiently take away all defence from the wickednesse of men, euen so as God, to wrap all mankind in one giltines, doth shew his diuine maiestie to all without exception as it were portrayed out in his creatures: yet is it necessary that we haue also an other & a better helpe that may rightly direct vs to the very creator of the world. Therefore not in vaine he hath added the light of his word, that thereby he mought be knowen to saluacion. And this prerogative he hath vouchsafed to giue to vs, whom it pleased him more nerely and more familiarly to draw together to himselfe. For because he saw the mindes of all men to be caried about with wandering and vnstedfast motion, after he had chosen the Iewes to his peculiar flocke, he compassed them in as it were with barres, that they should not wander out in vanity as other did. And not without cause he holdeth vs with the same meane in the true knowledge of himselfe. For otherwise euen they should quickly swarue away that seeme to stand stedfast in comparison of other. For as old men, or poore blind, or they whose eyes are dimme sighted, if you lay a fayre booke before them, though they perceiue that there is somewhat wrytten therin, yet can they not read two words together: but being holpé with spectacles set betwene the & it, they begin to read distinctly: so the Scripture gathering vp toge-

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ther in our minds the knowledge of God, which otherwise is but cōfused, doth remoue the mist, and plainly shew vs the true God. This therfore is a singular gift, that to the instructiō of his church god vseth not only dumme teachers, but also openeth his own holy mouth: not only publisheth that there is some God to be worshipped, but also therewithall pronounceth that he himselfe is the same God whom we ought to worship: and doth not only teache the elect to looke vpon God, but also presenteth himselfe vnto them to be looked vpon. This order hath he kept frō the beginning toward his church, beside these common instructions to giue them also his word. Which is the right-ter & certainer marke to know him by. And it is not to be doubted, that Adam, Noe, Abraham and the rest of the fathers by this helpe attained to that familiar knowledge, which made them as it were seuerally different from the vnbeleuers. I speake not yet of the proper doctrine of faith, wherewith they were enlightened into the hope of eternall life. For, that they might passe from death to life, it was nedefull for them to know God not onely to be the creator, but also the redemer: as doubtlesse they obtained both by the word. For that kinde of knowledge wherby was giuen to vnderstand who is the God by whom the world was made and is gouerned, in order came before the other: and then was that other inward knowledge adioyned, which onely quickneth dead soules, whereby God is knowen not only to be the maker of the world and the only author & iudge of all things that are done, but also to be the redemer in the person of that mediator. But because I am not yet come to the fall of the world and corruption of nature, I will omit also to entreate of the remedy thereof. Therefore let the readers remember that I do not yet speake of the couenaunt whereby God hath adopted to himselfe the children of Abrahā, & of that special parte of doctrine whereby the faithfull haue alway bin peculiarly seuered from the prophane natiōs: because that doctrine was founded vpon Christ: but I speake how we ought to learne by the Scripture, that God which is the creator of the world, is by certaine markes seuerally discerned from the counterfait multitude of false Gods. And then the order it selfe shall conueniently bring vs to the redemer. But although we shall alleage many testimonies out of the newe Testament, & some also out of the law & the Prophets, wherein is expresse mencion made of Christ: yet they shall all tend to this end, to proue that in the scripture is disclosed vnto vs God the creator of the world, & in the Scripture is set foorth what we ought to think of him, to the end that we should not seke about the bush for an vncertain godhead.

2 But whether God were knowen to the fathers by oracles & visi-

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ons, or whether by the mean & ministration of mé he informed them of that which they should from hand to hand deliuer to their posterity: yet it is vndoubtedly true that in their harts was engrauen a stedfast certainty of doctrine, so as they might be perswaded & vnderstād, that it which they had learned came frō God. For God alwayes made vndoubted assurance for credit of his word, which farre exceeded all vncertaine opinion. At length that by cōtinuall proceeding of doctrine, the trueth suruiuing in all ages might still remaine in the worlde, the same oracles which he had left with the fathers, his pleasure was to haue as it were enrolled in publike tables. For this entent was the law published, whereunto after were added the Prophets for expositors. For though there were diuerse vses of the law, as herafter shall better appeare in place cōuenient: and specially the principall purpose of Moises and all the Prophets was to teach the manner of recōciliation betwene God and men, for which cause also Paule calleth Christ the end of the law: yet, as I say once againe, beside the proper doctrine of faith and repentance which sheweth forth Christ the mediatour, the Scripture doth by certaine marks and tokens paint out the onely and true God, in that that he hath created and doth gouerne the world, to the end he should be seuerally knowen and not reckned in the false number of fained Gods. Therefore although it behoueth man earnestly to bend his eyes to consider the works of God, forasmuch as he is set as it were in this gorgeous stage to be a beholder of them: yet principally ought he to bend his eares to the word, that he may better profit thereby. And therefore it is no maruell that they which are borne in darknesse do more & more waxe hard in their amased dulnes, because very fewe of thé do giue themselues pliable to learne of the word of God, whereby to kepe them within their boundes, but they rather reioise in their own vanity. Thus thé ought we to hold, that to the end true religion may shine amōg vs, we must take our beginning at the heavenly doctrine. And that no man can haue any tast be it neuer so little of true and sound doctrine, vnlesse he haue bin scholer to the Scripture. And from hense groweth the originall of true vnderstanding, that we reuerently embrace whatsoever it pleaseth God therein to testifie of himselfe. For not only the perfect & in all pointes absolute faith, but also all right knowledge of God springeth from obedience. And truly in this behalfe God of his singular prouidēce hath prouided for men in and for all ages. Ro. 10. 4

3 For if we consider how slippery an inclinatio mans minde hath to slide into forgetfulnes of God, how great a redines to fall in to all kinde of errors, how great a lust to forge ostentimes new & cōterfait

religions, we may therby perceiue how necessarie it was to haue the heauenly doctrine so put in writing, that it should not either perish by forgetfulnes, or grow vaine by error, or be corrupted by boldnes of men. Sith therefore it is manifest that God hath alway vsed the helpe of his word, toward all those whom it pleased him at any time frutefully to instruct, because he foresaw that his image emprinted in y^e most beautiful forme of the world was not sufficiently effectuell: Therefore it behoueth vs to trauaile this straight way, if we earnestly couet to attaine to the true beholding of God. We must, I say, come to his word, wherein God is well and liuely set out by his workes, when his workes be weyed not after the peruersnesse of our owne iudgement, but according to the rule of the eternall trueth. If we swarue from that word, as I saied euen now, although we runne neuer so fast, yet we shall neuer attain to the marke, because the course of our running is out of the way. For thus we must thinke, that the brightnesse of the face of God, which the Apostle calleth such as cannot be attained vn-

1. Tim. 6
16.

to, is vnto vs like a maze, out of which we cannot vnwrap our selues, vnlesse we be by the line of the word guided into it: so that it is much better for vs to halt in this way, than to runne neuer so fast in an o-

Psa. 9. &
96. 97.
99. &c.

ther. And therefore Dauid often times when he teacheth that superstitions are to be taken away out of the world, that pure religion may flourish, bringeth in God reigning: meaning by this word reigning, not the power that he hath, but the doctrine wherby he chalengeth to himselfe a lawfull gouernemēt: because errors can neuer be rooted out of the hartes of men, till the true knowledge of God be planted.

Psa. 19.
21.

4 Therefore the same Prophete, after that he hath recited that the heauens declare the glory of God, that the firmamēt sheweth fourth the workes of his handes, that the orderly succeeding course of daies and nightes preacheth his maiestie, then descendeth to make mentiō of his word. The law of the Lord (saith he) is vndefiled, conuerting soules: the witnesse of the Lord is faithfull, geuing wisdom to little ones: the righteousnesse of the Lord are vpriight, making harts cherefull: the commandement of the Lord is bright geuing light to the eyes. For although he comprehendeth also the other vses of the law, yet in generalitie he meaneth, that forasmuch as God doth in vaine call vnto him all nations by the beholding of the heauen and earth. therfore this is the peculiar schoole of the children of God. The same meaning hath the xxix. Psalme, where the Prophet hauing preached of the terrible voice of God, which in thunder, windes, showres, whirlewindes and stormes, shaketh the earth, maketh the mountaines to tremble, and breaketh the cedre trees: in the ende at last he goeth

further

further and saith, that his praises are song in the sanctuarie, because the vnbeleuers are deafe and heare not all the voices of God that resounde in the aire. And in like manner in an other Psalm, after that he had described the terrible waues of the Sea, he thus concludeth: 5. thy testimonies are verified, the beauty of thy temple is holynesse for euer. And out of this meaning also proceded that which Christ said to the woman of Samaria, that her nation and the rest did honor that which they knew not, and that onely the Iewes did worship the true God. For whereas the wit of man by reason of the febleness therof can by no meane attain vnto God, but being holpen and lifted vp by his holy word, it folowed of necessitie, that all men, excepte the Iewes, did wander in vanite and error, because they sought God without his word. Psa. 93.
Iohn 4.
22.

The vij. Chapter.

By what testimonie the Scripture ought to be established, that is by the witnesse of the holy Ghost, that the authoritie therof may remaine certain. And that it is a vniuersall inuention to say that the credit therof doeth hang upon the iudgement of the Church.

BVt before I go any further, it is nedefull to say somewhat of the authoritie of the Scripture, not only to prepare mens mindes to reuerence it, but also to take away all dout therof. Now, when it is a matter confessed that it is the word of God that is there sette forth, there is no man of so desperate boldnesse, vnlesse he be void of all common sense and naturall wit of man, that dare derogate the credit of him that speaketh it. But because there are not daily oracles geuen from heauen, and the only Scriptures remaine wherein it hath pleased the Lord to preferue his truth to perpetual memorie, the same Scripture by none other meanes is of full credit among the faithfull, but in that they do beleue that it is as verely come from heauen as if they heard the liuely voice of God to speake therein. This matter in deede is right worthy both to be largely entreated of and diligently weyed. But the readers shall pardon me if herein I rather regarde what the proportion of the worke which I haue begon may beare, than what the largenesse of the matter requireth. There is growen vp among the most part of men a most hurtfull error, that the Scripture hath only so much authority as by common consent of the Church is geuen vnto it: as if the eternall and inuolable trueth of God did rest vpon the pleasure of men. For so, to the great scorne of the holy Ghost, they aske of vs who can assure vs that these Scriptures came from God: or who can assestaine vs that they haue conti-

nued vnto our age safe and vncorrupted: who can perswade vs, that this one booke ought to be reuerently receiued, and that other to be striken out of the number of Scripture, vnles the church did appoint a certaine rule of all these things? It hangeth therefore (say they) vpon the determination of the church, both what reuerence is due to the Scripture, & what bookes are to be reckened in the canon therof. So these robbers of Gods honor, while they seeke vnder colour of the church to bring in an vnbrideled tyranny, care nothing with what absurdities they snare both themselves and other, so that they may enforce this one thing to be beleued among the simple, that the church can do all things. But if it be so: what shall become of the poore consciences that seeke stedfast assurance of eternall life, if all the promises that remaine thereof stand and be staid onely vpon the iudgement of men? When they receiue such answere, shall they cease to wauer and tremble? Again to what scornes of the vngodly is our faith made subiect? into how great suspicion with all men is it brought, if this be beleued that it hath but as it were a borrowed credit by the fauour of men.

2 But such bablers are well confuted euen with one word of the Apostle. He testifieth that the church is builded vpon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles. If the doctrine of the Prophets, and Apostles be the foundation of the Church: then must it needes be, that the same doctrine stode in stedfast certaintie, before that the Church began to be. Nether can they well cauil, that although the Church take her first beginning therof, yet it remaineth doutfull what is to be sayed the writings of the Prophetes and Apostles, vnlesse the iudgement of the Church did declare it. For if the Christian Church were at the beginning builded vpon the writings of the Prophetes and preaching of the Apostles: wheresoeuer that doctrine shalbe found, the allowed credite therof was surely before the Church, without which the Church it selfe had neuer bin. Therefore it is a vaine forged deuise, that the Church hath power to iudge the Scripture, so as the certaintie of the Scripture should be thought to hang vpon the will of the Church. Wherefore when the Church doth receiue the Scripture and sealeth it with her consenting testimonie, she doth not of a thing doutfull, and that otherwise should be in controuersie, make it autentike and of credit: but because she acknowledgeth it to be the trueth of her God, according to her dutie of godlinesse without delay she doth honor it. Whereas they demaünd, how shall we be perswaded that it came from God, vnlesse we resort to the decree of the Church? This is all one as if a man should aske, how shall we learne to know light from

from darknesse, white from blacke, or swete from sower. For the Scripture sheweth in it selfe no lesse apparaunt sense of her truth, than white and blacke things do of theyr colour, or swete & sower things of their tast.

3 I know that they commonly alleage the saying of Augustine, where he sayth that he would not beleue the Gospell, saue that the authority of the church moued him therto. But how vntruely & cauilously it is alleged for such a meaning, by the whole tenor of his writing it is easy to perceiue, He had to do with the Manichees, which required to be beleued without gaine saying, when they vaunted that they had the truth on their side, but proued it not. And to make their Manicheus to be beleued, they pretended the Gospell. Now Augustine asketh the what they would do, if they did light vpon a man that would not beleue the Gospell it selfe, with what maner of perswasion they would draw him to their opiniō. Afterward he sayeth. I my self would not beleue the Gospell. &c. saue that the authority of the church moued me therto. Meaning that he himselfe, when he was a straunger frō the faith, could not otherwise be brought to embrace the Gospel for the assured trueth of God, but by this that he was ouercom with the authority of the church. And what maruell is it, if a man not yet knowing Christ, haue regarde to men? Augustine therefore doth not there teach that the faith of the godly is grounded vpon the authority of the church nor meaneth that the certainty of the gospel doth hang therupon: but simply & only, that there should be no assurednes of the Gospell to the infidels, whereby they might be won to Christ vnlesse the cōsent of the church did driue them vnto it. And the same meaning a little before he doth plainly cōfirme in this saying. Whē I shall praise that which I beleue, & scorne that which thou beleuest, what thinkest thou mete for vs to iudge or do? but that we forsake such men as first call vs to come & know certaine truethes and after commaunde vs to beleue things vncertaine: and that we follow them that require vs first to beleue that which we are not yet able to see, that being made strōg by beleuing we may attaine to vnderstād the thing that we beleue: not men now, but God himselfe inwardly strengthening and giuing light to our minde. These are the very words of Augustine: wherby euery mā may easely gather, that the holy man had not this meaning, to hang the credite that we haue to the Scriptures vpon the will and awarment of the church, but onely to shew this, (which we our selues also do confesse to be true) that they which are not yet lightned with the spirite of God, are brought by the reuerēce of the church vnto a willingness to be taught, so as they can finde in their hartes to learne the

Contra
epist. fū
damentalem.
cap. 5.

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epist. fū
damentalem.
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faith of Christ by the Gospell : and that thus by this meane the authority of the church is an introduction, whereby we are prepared to beleue the Gospell. For, as we see, his minde is that the assurance of the godly be stayed vpon a far other foundation. Otherwise I do not deny but that he often preffeth the Manichees with the consent of the whole church, when he seketh to proue the same Scripture which they refused. And from hence it came, that he so reproched Faustus for that he did not yeld himselfe to the trueth of the Gospell so grounded, so stablished, so gloriously renomed, & from the very time of the Apostles by certaine successions perpetually commended. But he neuer trauaileth to this end, to teach that the authority which we acknowledge to be in the Scripture, hangeth vpon the determination or decree of men. But only this, which made much for him in the matter yhe disputed of, he bringeth forth the vniuersall iudgement of the church, wherein he had the auantage of his aduersaries. If any desire a fuller profe herof, let him reade his booke concerning the profit of beleuing. Where he shall finde that there is no other redinesse of beleife commended vnto vs by him, but that which only giueth vs an entrie, and is vnto vs a conuenient beginning to enquire, as he termeth it: & yet not that we ought to rest vpon bare opinion, but to leane to the certaine and sound trueth.

4 We ought to holde, as I before sayd, that the credit of this doctrine, is not establisht in vs, vntil such time as we be vndoubtedly perswaded that God is the author thereof. Therefore the principall profe of the Scripture is commonly taken of the person of God the speaker of it. The Prophetes and Apostles boist not of their owne sharpe wit or any such things as procure credit to men that speake: neither stand they vpon proues by reason, but they bring foorth the holy name of God, therby to cōpell the whole world to obedience. Now we haue to see how not only by probable opinion, but by apparant trueth it is euidēt, that in this behalfe the name of God is not without cause nor deceitfully pretended. If then we will prouide well for consciences, that they be not cōtinually caried about with vnstedfast douting, nor may wauer, nor stay at euery smale stop, this maner of persuation must be fetched deper then from either the reasons, iudgements or the cōiectures of men, euen from the secrete testimony of the holy Ghost. True in deede it is, that if we list to worke by way of argumentes, many thinges might be alleged that may easily proue, if there be any God in heauen, that the law, the prophecies and the Gospell came from him. Yea although men learned and of depe iudgement would stand vp to the contrary, and would employ & shew foorth the whole force

Contra
Faustū
lib. 32.

Aug. de
utilita-
te cred.

force of their wits in this disputation : yet if they be not so hardened as to become desperately shamelesse, they would be compelled to confesse, that there are seene in the Scripture manifest tokens that it is God that speaketh therein: whereby it may appeare that the doctrine therof is frō heauē. And shortly herafter we shal see, that all the books of the holy Scripture do far excel all other writings what soeuer they be. Yea if we bring thither pure eyes & vncorrupted senses, we shall forthwith finde there the maiestie of God, which shall subdue all hardnesse of gaine saying and enforce vs to obey him. But yet they do disorderly, that by disputation trauel to establish the perfect credit of the Scripture. And truly although I am not furnished with great dexterity, nor eloquence: yet if I were to cōtend with the most suttile despisers of God, that haue a desire to shew themselues witty and pleasant in febling the authority of Scripture, I trust it should not be hard for me to put to silēce their babblings. And if it were profitable to spēd labour in confuting their cauillations, I would with no great busines shake in sunder the bragges that they mutter in corners. But though a man do deliuer the sound word of God from the reproches of men, yet that sufficeth not forthwith to fasten in their hartes that assurednesse that godlines requireth. Prophane men because they thinke religion standeth only in opiniō, to the end they would beleue nothing fondly or lightly, do couet and require to haue it proued to them by reason, that Moises & the Prophetes spake from God. But I answere that the testimony of the holy Ghost is better than all reason. For as only God is a conuenient witnesse of himselfe in his owne worde, so shall the same word neuer finde credit in the hartes of men, vntill it be sealed vp with the inward witnes of y^e holy Ghost. It behoueth therefore of necessity that the same holy Ghost which spak by the mouth of the Prophetes, do enter into our hartes to perswade vs that they saythfully vttered that which was by God commaunded them. And this order is very aptly set forth by Esay in these wordes. My spirite Esay 51. which is in thee and the words that I haue put in thy mouth & in the 16. mouth of thy sede shall not faile for euer. It greueth some good men, that they haue not ready at hand some cleare prose to allege, when the wicked do without punishmēt murmur against the word of God: As though the holy Ghost were not for this cause called both a seale and a pledge, because vntill he do lighten mens mindes they do alway wauer among many doutings.

5 Let this therefore stand for a certainly perswaded truth, that they whom the holy Gost hath inwardly taught, do wholly rest vpon the Scripture, and that the same Scripture is to be credited for it selte

Cap. 7. Of the knowledge of

sake, and ought not to be made subiect to demonstration & reasons: but yet that the certainerie which it getteth among vs, it attaineth by the witnesse of the holy Ghost. For though by the only maiesty of it selfe it procureth reuerence to be giuen to it: yet then only it thoroughly perceth our afflictions, when it is sealed in our hartes by the holy Ghost. So being lightened by his vertue, we do then beleue, not by our owne iudgement, or other mens, that the Scripture is from God: but aboue all mans iudgement we hold it most certainly determined, euen as if we beheld the maiesty of God himselfe there present, that by the ministry of men it came to vs frō the very mouth of God. We seeke not for argumentes & likelihodes to rest our iudgement vpon: but as to a thing without all compasse of cōsideration, we submit our iudgement & wit vnto it. And that not in such sorte as some are wont sometime hastily to take holde of a thing vnknown, which after being thoroughly perceiued displeaseth them: but because we are in our consciences well assured that we hold an inuincible trueth. Neither in such sorte, as silly men are wont to yeld their minde in thralldom to superstitions: but because we vndoubtedly perceiue therein the strength & breathing of the diuine maiestie, wherewith we are drawn & stirred to obey, both wittingly and willingly, and yet more liuely and effectually than mans will or witte can attaine. And therefore for good cause doth God cry out by Esay, that the Prophetes with the whole people do beare him witnesse, because being taught by prophecies they did vndoubtedly beleue without guile or vncertainty that God himselfe had spoken. Such therefore is our perswasion, as requireth no reasons: such is our knowledge, as hath a right good reason to maintaine it, euē such a one, wherein the minde more assuredly & stedfastly resteth thā vpō any reasons: such is our feeling, as can not proceede but by reuelation from heauen. I speake now of none other thing but that which euery one of the faithfull doth by experiēce finde in himselfe, sauing that my words do much want of a full declaration of it. I leaue here many things vnspokē, because there wil be elswhere againe a conuenient place to entreate of this matter. Only now let vs know, that only that is the true faith which the spirite of God doth seale in our hartes. Yea with this only reason will the sober reader and willing to learne, be contented. Esay promisseth, that al the children of the renewed church shalbe the scholers of God. A singular priuilege therin doth God vouchsaue to graunt to his elect onely, whom he seuereth from all the rest of mankind. For what is the beginning of true doctrine, but a ready cherefulness to here the voice of God? But God requireth to be heard by the mouth of Moises, as it is wrytten: say not

Esa. 43.
 10.

Esa. 54.
 13.

in thy harte, who shall ascend into heauen, or who shall descend into the depe? the word is euen in thine owne mouth. If it be the pleasure of God that this treasure of vnderstanding be layd vp in store for his children, it is no maruell nor vnlikely, that in the common multitude of men is seene such ignorance and dulnesse. The common multitude I call euen the most excellent of the, vntil such time as they be grafted into the body of the church. Moreouer Esay giuing warning that the Prophets doctrine should seeme incredible not only to strangers but also to the Iewes that would be accompted of the household of God addeth this reason: because the arme of God shal not be reueled to all men. So oft therfore as the smallnesse of number of the beleuers doth trouble vs, on the other side let vs call to minde, that none can comprehend the misteries of God but they to whom it is giuen.

Deu. 30

12

Ro. 10. 6

Esa. 53. 1

The viij. Chapter.

*That so farre as mans reason may beare, there are sufficient proues to
stablish the credit of Scripture.*

VNlesse we haue this assurance, which is both more excellent & of more force than any iudgement of man, in vaine shall the authority of Scripture eyther be strengthened with argumentes, or stablished with consent of the church, or confirmed with any other meanes of defence. For vnlesse this foundation be layd, it still remayneth hanging in doute. As on the other side when exempting it from the common state of thinges, we haue embraced it deuoutly and according to the worthinesse of it: then these things become very fit helpes, which before were but of small force to grasse and fasten the assurance thereof in our mindes. For it is maruelous, how great establishment groweth hereof, when with earnest study we consider howe orderly and well framed a disposition of the diuine wisdom appeareth therein, how heauenly a doctrine in euery place of it, and nothing fauoring of earthlynnesse, how beautifull an agreement of all the partes among themselues, and such other thinges as auaille to procure a maiesty to wrytings. But more perfectly are our hartes confirmed when we consider, howe we are euen violently caried to an admiration of it rather with dignity of matter, than with grace of words. For this also was not done without the singular prouidence of God, that the hye misteries of the heauely kingdom should for the most part be vttered vnder a contemptible basenes of wordes, least if it had bin beautified with more glorious speache the wicked should cauill that the onely force of eloquence doth raigne therein. But when that rough and in a maner rude simplicity doth raise vp a

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greater reuerence of it selfe than any Rhetoricians eloquence; what may we iudge, but that there is a more mighty strength of truth in the holy Scripture, than that it nedeth any art of wordes? Not without cause therefore the Apostle maketh his argument, to proue that the
1. Cor. 2
4. faith of the Corinthians was grounded vpon the power of God and not vpon mans wisdom, because his preaching among them was set forth not with enticing spech of mans wisdom, but in plaine euidence of the spirite and of power. For the trueth is then sette free from all douting, when not vpholden by foraine aides it selfe alone suffiseth to susteine it selfe. But how this power is properly alone belonging to the Scripture, hereby appeareth, that of all the wrytinges of men, be they neuer so cunningly garnished, no one is so farre able to pearce our affections. Read Demosthenes or Cicero, read Plato, Aristotle, or any other of all that sorte: I graunt they shall maruelously allure, delight, moue, and rauish thee. But if from them thou come to this holy reading of Scriptures, wilt thou or not, it shall so liuely moue thy affections, it shall so pearce thy hart, it shall so settle within thy bones, that in cōparison of the efficacy of this feeling, all that force of Rhetoricians and Philosophers shall in manner vanish away: so that it is easie to perceiue that the Scriptures, which do far excell all gifts and graces of mans industrie: do in deede breath out a certayne diuinitie.

2 I graunt in deede, that som of the Prophets haue an elegāt cleare yea & a beautifull phrase of speche, so as their eloquence giueth not place to the prophane wryters: & by such examples it pleased the holy Ghost to shew that he wanted not eloquence, though in the rest he vsed a rude and grosse stile. But whether a man reade Dauid, Esay, and such like, who haue a swete and pleasant flowing speech, or Amos, the heardman, Hieremie and Zacharie, whose rougher talke sauoreth of countrey rudenesse: in euery one of them shall appeare that maiesty of the holy Ghost that I spake of. Yet am I not ignorāt, that as Sathan is in many things a counterfaiiter of God, that with deceitfull resemblance he might the better creepe into simple mens mindes: so hath he craftily spread abroad with rude and in maner barbarous speech, those wicked errors wherewith he deceived sely men, and hath oft times vsed discontinued phrases, that vnder such visour he might hide his deceites. But how vaine and vncleanly is that curious counterfai-
Schole-
men &
Cano-
nistes.
ring, all men that haue but meane vnderstanding do plainly see. As for the holy Scripture, although froward men labour to bite at many thinges, yet is it full of such sentences as could not be conceiued by man. Let all the Prophetes be looked vpon, there shall not one be
found

found among them, but he hath farre excelled all mans capacity, in such sorte that those are to be thought, to haue no iudgement of tast to whom their doctrine is vsfauorie.

3 Other men haue largely entreated of this argument, wherefore at this time it suffiseth to touch but a fewe thinges, that chiefly make for the principall summe of the whole matter. Beside these points that I haue already touched, the very antiquity of the Scripture is of great weight. For how soeuer the Greke wryters tell many fables of the Ægyptian diuinity: yet there remaineth no monument of any religion, but that is farre inferiour to the age of Moses. And Moses deuifeth not a new God, but setteth foorth the same thing which the Israelites had receiued in long processe of time, conueied to them by their fathers as it were from hand to hand concerning the euerlasting God. For what doth he else but labour to call them backe to the couenaunt made with Abraham. If he had brought a thing neuer hearde of before, he had had no entrie to begin. But it must needs be that the deliuerance from bondage, wherein they were deteyned, was a thing well and commonly knowen among them, so that the hearing of the mention thereof did forthwith raise vp all their mindes. It is also likely that they were informed of the number of the CCCC. yeares. Now it is to be considered, if Moses which himselfe by so long distance of time was before all other wryters, do from a beginning so long before himselfe fetch the originall deliuerance of his doctrine: how much the holy Scripture then is beyonde all other wrytinges in antiquity.

4 Vnlesse perhappe some liste to beleue the Ægyptians, that stretch their auncienty to sixe thousand yeares before the creation of the world. But sith their vaine babbling hath bin alway scorned euen of all the prophane wryters themselues, there is no cause why I should spend labour in confuting of it. But Iosephus against Ap-
pion, alleageth testimonies worthy to be remembred out of auncient wryters, whereby may be gathered, that by consent of all nations the doctrine that is in the lawe hath bin famous euen from the first ages, although it were neither redde nor truely knowen. Now, that neither there should remaine to the malicious any cause of suspicion, nor to the wicked any occasion to cauill, God hath for both these daungers prouided good remedies. When Moises rehearseth what Iacob almost three hundred yeares before had by heauenly inspiration pronounced vpon his owne posterity, how doth he set forth his owne tribe? yea in the person of Leui he spotteth it with Ge. 49. 5
eternall infamie. Symeon (sayth he) & Leui the vessels of wickednesse.

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My soule come not into their counsell, nor my toug into their secret. Truly he might haue passed ouer that blot with silence, in so doing not onely to please his father, but also not to staine himselfe and his whole family with parte of the same shame. How can that wryter be suspected, which vnconstrainedly publishing by the oracle of the holy Ghost, that the principall auncestor of the family whereof himselfe descended was an abhominable doer, neither priuately provided for his owne honor, nor refused to enter in displeasure of all his owne kinsmen, whom vndoubtedly this matter greued? When also he rehearseth the wicked murmuring of Aaron his owne brother, & Mary his sister: shall we say that he spake after the meaninge of the flesh, or rather that he wrote it obeying the commaundement of the holy Ghost? Moreouer sith himselfe was hyest in authority, why did he not leaue at least the office of the hye priesthode to his owne sonnes, but appointeth them to the basest place? I touche here onely a few thinges of many. But in the law it selfe a man shall eche where mete with many argumentes that are able to bring full profe to make men beleue that Moises without all question commeth from heauen as an Angell of God.

5 Now these so many & so notable miracles that he recompteth, are euen as many establishments of the law that he deliuered, and the doctrine that he published. For, this that he was caried in a cloude vp into the mountayne: that there euen to the foretyeth day he continued without company of men: that in the very publishing of the law his face did shine as it were besette with sonnebeames: that lightnings flashed rounde about: that thunders and noises were hearde eche where in the ayre: that a trompette sounded being not blowen with any mouth of man: that the entrie of the tabernacle by a cloude sette betweene was kept from the sight of the people: that his authority was so miraculously reuenged with the horrible destruction of Chore, Dathan and Abiron, and all that wicked faction: that the rocke stricken with a rodde did byandby powre foorth a riuer: that at his prayer it rayned Manna from heauen: did not God herein commende him from heauen as an vndouted Prophet? If any man object agaynst me, that I take these thinges as confessed, which are not out of controuersie, it is easie to answer this cauillation. For seeing that Moses in open assembly published all these thinges, what place was there to fayne before those witnessees that had themselues seene the thinges done? It is likely forsooth that he would come amonge them, & rebuking the people of infidelity, stubbornes, vnthankfulnes & other sinnes, would haue boasted that his doctrine was established

Num. 12
1.

Exo. 14
18.

Exo. 34
29.

Exo. 19.
16.

Exo. 40
34.

Nu. 16.
24.

Nu. 20.
10.

Nu. 11.9

in their own sight with such miracles, which in deede they neuer saw.

6 For this is also worthy to be noted, so ofte as he telleth of any miracles, he therewithall odiously ioyneth such thinges as might stirre the whole people to crie out against him, if there had bin neuer so litle occasion. Wherby appeareth, that they were by no other meane brought to agree vnto him, but because they were euer more than sufficiently conuincd by their owne experience. But because the matter was plainlier knowen, than that the prophane coulde deny that miracles were done by Moses: the father of lyeng hath ministred them an other cauillation, saying that they were done by Magicall artes and forcerie. But what likely prooffe haue they to accuse him for a forcerer, which so farre abhorred from such superstition, that he commaundeth to stone him to death, that doth but aske counsell of forcerers and soothsaiers? Truly no such deceiuer vseth his iuggling castes, but that he studieth to amase the mindes of the people to get himselfe a fame. But what doth Moses? by this that he crieth out, that himselfe and his brother Aaron are nothing, but doth onely execute those thinges that God hath appointed, he doth sufficiently wipe away all blottes of thinking euil of him. Now if the thinges themselues be considered, what enchantement coulde bring to passe that Manna dayly raining from heauen, should suffice to feede the people? and if any man kept in store more than his iuste measure, by the very rotting therof he should be taught, that God did punish his want of beleefe? Beside that, with many great proues God suffred his seruauant so to be tried, that now the wicked can nothing preuayle with prating against him. For how oft did sometime the people prowdeley and impudently make insurrections, sometime diuers of them conspiryng among them selues wente about to ouerthrow the holy seruauant of God: how could he haue begyled their furour with illusions? And the end that folowed plainly sheweth, that by this meane his doctrine was stablished to continue to the ende of all ages.

Exod. 7.
11.

Leu. 20
Exo. 16.

7 Moreouer where he assigneth the chiefe gouernement to the tribe of Iuda in the persone of the Patriarch Iacob, who can denie that this was done by spirite of prophecie, specially if we wey in consideration the thing it selfe, how in commyng to passe it proued true? Imagine Moses to haue bin the first author of this prophecie: yet from the time that he did first put it in writing, there passed fower hundred yeares wherein there was no mencion of the sceptre in the tribe of Iuda. After Saule was consecrate king, it seemed that the kingdom should rest in the tribe of Benjamin. When Dauid was annointed by Samuel, what reason appeared there why the course of inheritaunce

Gen. 49

Sam. 11.

15.

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Sam. 16 of the kingdome should be chaunged? who would haue looked that there should haue come a king out of the base house of a herdman? And when there were in the same house seuen brethren, who would haue said that that honour should light vpon the yongest? By what meane came he to hope to be a king? who can say that this annointment was gouerned by any art, trauaile or policie of man, and not rather that it was a fulfilling of the heauenly prophecie? Likewise those thinges that Moses afore speaketh, albeit darkely, concerning the Gentiles to be adopted into the conuenaunt of God, seing they came to passe almost two thousand yeres after, do they not make it plaine that he spake by the inspiration of God? I ouerskip his other tellinges aforehand of thinges, which do so evidently sauoure of the reuelation of God, that all men that haue their sounde wit may plainly perceiue that it is God that speaketh. To be shorte, that same one song of his, is a clere looking glasse, wherein God evidently appeareth.

Deuter. 32.

8 But in the other prophetes the same is yet also much more plainly seene. I will choose out only a few examples, because to gather them all together were to greate a laboure. When in the time of Esaie the kingdom of Iuda was in peace, yea when they thought that the Chaldees were to them some stay and defence, then did Esaie prophecie of the destruction of the cite and exile of the people. But admitte that, yet this was no token plaine enough of the instinct of God, to tell long before of such thinges as at that time seemed false, and afterward proued true: yet those prophecies that he vttereth concerning their delyueraunce, whense shall we say that they proceded but from God? He nameth Cyrus by whom the Chaldees should be subdued, and the people restored to libertie. There passed more than a hundred yeaes from the time that Esaie so prophecied before that Cyrus was borne: for Cyrus was borne in the hundreth yeaer or therabouts after the death of Esaie. No man could then gesse that there should be any such Cyrus, that should haue warre with the Babyloñiás, that should bring subiect so mightie a monarchie vnder his dominiõ, and make an ende of the exile of the people of Israell. Doth not this bare tellyng without any garnishment of wordes evidently shew, that the thinges that Esaie speaketh, are the vndoubted oracles of God, and not the coniectures of men? Again, when Ieremie a little before that the people was caried awaie, did determine the ende of the captiuitie within threscore and tenne yeaes, and promised returne and libertie, must it not needes be that his tongue was gouerned by the spirite of God? What shamelesnesse shall it be to denie, that the credite

Iere. 25 11.

Esa. 42. of the prophetes was stablished by such proues, & that the same thing was

was

was fulfilled in dede, which they them selues do reporte to make their sayings to be beleued? Beholde, the former thinges are come to passe, and new thinges do I declare: before they come forth, I tell you of them. I leaue to speake how Hieremie and Ezechiell beyng so farre asonder, yet prophecying both at one time, they so agreed in all their sayings as if either one of them had endited the wordes for the other to write. What did Daniel? Doth he not write continuuing prophcies of thinges to come for the space of fixe hundred yeares after, in such sorte as if he had compiled an historie of thinges already done and commonly knowen? These thinges if godly men haue well considered, they shall be sufficiently well furnished, to appease the barkings of the wicked. For the plaine prooffe hereof is to cleare to be subiect to any cauillations at all.

9 I know what some learned men do prate in corners, to shew the quicknesse of their witte in assaltynge the truth of God. For they demaunde, who hath assured vs that these thinges which are red vnder title of their names, were euer written by Moses and the prophetes. Yea, they are so hardy to moue this questiō, whether euer there were any such Moses or no. But if a manne should call in doubt whether euer there were any Plato, or Aristotle, or Cicero, who would not say, that such madnesse were worthy to be corrected with strokes and strypes? The law of Moses hath bin meruaylously preserued rather by heauenly prouidence then by diligence of men. And though by the negligence of the Priestes it laie buried a littell while: yet sins the time that the godly king Iosias found it, it hath still by continuall succession from age to age bin vsed in the handes of men. Neyther did Iosias bring it forth as an vnknown or new thing, but such a thing as had bin euer commonly published, and wherof the remembraunce was at that time famous. The originall booke it selfe was appointed to be sacredly kept in the temple, and a copie written out thereof, to remaine with the keepers of the kinges Recordes. Only this had happened, that the Priestes had ceased to publish the law according to the old accustomed maner, and the people them selues had neglected their wounted reading of it. Yea there in maner passed no age wherein the establishment therof was not confirmed and renued? They that had Dauid in their handes, knew they not of Moses? But to speake of them all at ones, it is most certaine that their writings came to posteritie none otherwise but from hand to hand (as I may terme it) by continuall orderly course of yeres deliuered from their fathers, which had partly heard them speake, & partly while the remembraunce was fresh of it, did lerne of them which herd them that they had so spoken.

1. Mac. 1

2. Mac.

1. 59.

10 As for that which they obieſt out of the hiftorie of the Machabees, to minifh the credite of ſcripture, it is ſuch a thing as nothing can be deuifed more fitte to ſtabliſh the ſame. But firſt let vs wipe away the colour that they lay vpon it, and then let vs turne vpon them ſelues the engine that they raiſe vp againſt vs. When Antiochus (ſaie they) commaunded all the bookes to be bourned, whence are come theſe copies that we now haue? On the other ſide I aſke them, in what ſhop they could ſo ſone be made? It is euident, that after the crueltie appeaſed they were immediatly abroad again, and were without controuerſy knowen to be the ſame of all godly men, that hauing bin brought vp in the doctrine of them did familiarly know them. Yea when all the wicked men beyng as it were conſpired together, did inſolently triumphe with reproches vpon the Iewes, yet neuer was there any that durſt lay to their charge falſe changing of their bookes. For what ſoeuer they thinke the Iewes religion to be, yet ſtill they thinke Moſes to be the authour of it. What then do theſe praters els, but bewraie their owne more then doggish frowardeneſſe, while they falſely ſay that theſe bookes are chaunged, and new put in their places, whoſe ſacred antiquitie is approued by conſente of all hiftories? But to ſpende no more labour vainly in cōfuting ſuch fooliſh cauillations: let vs rather hereby conſider how great a care God had for the preſeruation of his word, when beyonde the hope of all men, he ſaued it from the outrage of the moſt cruell tyrant, as out of a preſent fire: that he endewed the godly prieſtes and other with ſo great cōſtancie, that they ſticked not to redeeme this booke euen with loſſe of their life if neede were, and ſo to conuey it ouer to poſteritie: that he diſappointed the narrow ſearch of ſo many gouernours and ſouldiours. Who can but acknowledge the notable and miraculous worke of God, that theſe ſacred monumētes which the wicked verely thought to haue bin vtterly deſtroyed, by and by came abroad againe as fully reſtored, and that with a greate deale more honour. For by and by ſolowed the tranſlating of them into Greke, to publiſh them throughout the world. And not in this only appeared the miraculous working, that God preſerued the tables of his couenauent from the bloody proclamations of Antiochus: but alſo that among ſo manyfold miſerable afflictions of the Iewes, wherewith the whole nation was ſometime worne to a ſewe and waſted, and laſt of all, brought in maner to vtter deſtruction, yet they remained ſtill ſafe and extant. The Hebrue tongue lay not only vneſteemed, but almoſt vnknown. And ſurely had not bin Gods pleaſure to haue his religion provided for, it had periſhed altogether. For how much the Iewes that were ſince their

retourne

retourne from exile, were swarued from the naturall vse of their mother tongue, appeareth by the Prophetes, that liued in that age, which is therefore worthy to be noted, because by this comparifon the antiquitie of the law and the prophetes is the more plainly perceyued. And by whom hath God preferred for vs the doctrine of saluation conteyned in the law and the prophetes, to the end that Christ might in his appointed time be openly shewed? euen by the most cruelly bente enemies of Christ, the Iewes, whom Saint Augustine doeth therefore woorthily call the keepers of the Librarie of Christian Church, because they haue ministred vnto vs that thing, to reade wherof, themselues haue no vse.

II Now if we come to the new Testament, with how sounde pillars is the trueth thereof vpholden? The three Euangelistes write the historie in base and simple speach. Manie prowde menne do loeth that simplicitie, because they take no heede to the chiefe pointes of doctrine therin, whereby it were easie to gather, that they entreate of heauenly misteries aboue mannes capacitie. Surely who so euer haue but one droppe of honest shame will be ashamed if they reade the first chapter of Luke. Now, the sermons of Christ, the summe wherof is shortly comprised by these three Euangelistes, do easely deliuer their writings from all contempte. But Ihon thundering from on hie, those whom he cōpelleth not to obedience of faith, he throweth downe their stubbournesse more mightily than any thunderbolt. Now let come forth all these sharpnosed faultfinders, that haue a great pleasure to shake the reuerence of scripture out of their owne and other mens heartes, let them reade Iohns Gospell: Will they or no, they shall there finde a thousande sentences that may at least awaken their sluggishenesse, yea that may printe a horrible brande in their consciences to restraine their lawghyng. The same is to bee thought of Peter and Paul, in whose writings although the more part be blinde, yet the very heauenly maiestie in them holdeth all men bounde, and as it were fast tied vnto it. But this one thing doth sufficiently aduance their doctrine aboue the world, that Mathew being before all geuen to the gaine of his money boorde, Peter & Iohn brought vp in their fisher boates, all grosse vnlearned men, had learned nothing in mens schoole that they might deliuer to other. Paule, not onely from a professed, but also from a cruell and bloudy ennemy conuerted to a new man, with sodaine and vn hoped change doeh shew, that being compelled by heauenly authoritie he now maintaineth that doctrine, which before he had fought against. Now let these dogges denie, that the holy Ghost came downe vpon the Apostles, or let them discredite

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the historie: yet still the trueth it selfe openly crieth out, that they were taught by the holy Ghost, which beyng before time despised men among the raskall people, sodeinly began so gloriously to entreate of heavenly misteries.

12 There be yet also furthermore many very good reasons, why the consente of the Church should not be esteemed without weight. For it is to be accompted no smalle matter, that sins the Scripture was first published, the willes of so many ages haue constantly agreed to obey it. And that how soeuer Sathan with all the worlde hath trauallyed by maruaylous meanes, either to oppresse it, or ouerthrow it, or vterly to blotte and deface it out of mennes remembraunce, yet euer still like a palme tree, it hath risen vp aboue, and remained inuincible. For there hath not lightly bin in old time any sophister or Rhetorician that had any more excellēt wit than other, but he hath bente his force against this Scripture: yet they all haue nothing preuayled. The whole power of the earth hath armed it selfe to destroy it, and yet all their enterprises are vanished away, as in smoke. How coulde it haue resisted being so mightily on eche side assailed, if it hadde had none other defence but mannes? Yea rather it is hereby proued, that it came from God himselfe, that all the trauailes of men struiuing against it, yet it hath of her owne power still risen vp. Beside that, not one citie alone, nor one onely nation hath agreed to receiue and embrace it: but so farre as the worlde extendeth in length and breadth, the Scripture hath attained her credite, by one holy conspiracie of diuers nations, which otherwise were in nothing agreable one with an other. And forasmuch as such agreement of mindes so diuers and disagreeing in maner in all thinges elles, ought much to moue vs, because it appeareth, that the same is brought about none other way, but by working of the heauenly maiestie: no small estimatiō groweth vnto it, when we beholde their godlineffe, that do so agree, I meane not of them all, but only of those, with whom as with lightes it pleased God to haue his Church to shine.

13 Now with what assurednesse of minde ought we to submitte vs to that doctrine which we see stablished and witnessed with the bloude of so many holy menne? They when they had but ones receaued it, stuck not boldly without feare, yea and with great cherefulness to die for it: how should it then come to passe, that we, hauing it conueyed to vs with such an assured pledge, should not with certaine and vnmouable perswasion take holde of it? It is therefore no small confirmation of the Scripture, that it hath bin sealed with the bloud of so many witnesses, specially when we consider that they suffred death to
beare

beare witnesse of their faith : and not of a frenetike distemperaunce of braine, as sometime the erroneous spirites are wont to do, but with a firme and constant and yet sobre zeale of God. There be other reasons and those not fewe nor weake, whereby the Scripture hath her dignitie and maiestie not onely ascertained vnto godly hartes, but also honourably defended against the subtilties of cauillers, yet be they such as be not of them selues sufficiently auaylable to bring stedfast credite vnto it, vntill the heavenly father disclosing therein his maiestie, doth bring the reuerence therof out of all controuersie. Wherefore then onely the scripture shall suffice to that knowledge of God that bringeth saluation, when the certaintie therof shall be grounded vpon the inwarde persuation of the holy Ghost. So those testimonies of men that serue to confirme it shall not be vaine, if as seconde helps of our weaknesse they follow that chiefe & hyest testimony. But they do fondly that will haue it perswaded by proofoe to the vnfaithfull, that the scripture is the worde of God, which can not be knowne but by faith. For good reason therefore doth Augustine geue warning, that godlinesse and peace of minde ought to go before, to make a man vnderstand somewhat of so greate matters.

Deu-
litate
creden-
di.

The ix. Chapter.

That those fanaticall men, which forsaking Scripture, resort vnto reuelation, do ouerthrow all the principles of godlinesse.

NOW they that forsaking the Scripture do imagine I wote not what waie to attaine vnto God, are to be thought not so much to be holden with errour, as to be caried with rage.

For there haue arisen of late certaine giddy brained men, which most presumptuously pretending a schoole of the spirite, both them selues do forsake all reading, & also do scorne their simplicitie which still follow the dead & slaying letter, as they call it. But I would faine know of these men, what spirite that is, by whose inspiration they are caried vp so hie, that they dare despise the doctrine of the Scripture as childish and base. For if they aunswere that it is the spirite of Christ, then such carelesnesse is woorthy to be laughed at. For I thinke they will graunte, that the Apostles of Christ and other faithfull in the primitiue Church were lightened with none other spirite. But none of them did learne of that spirite to despise the word of God: but rather euery one was moued more to reuerence it, as their writings do most plainly witnesse. And surely so was it foretold by the mouth of Esaie. For where he saith, My spirite that is vpon thee, and my wordes which I haue put in thy mouth, shall not departe out of thy

Esa. 59.
21.

Cap.9. Of the knowvledge of

mouth,nor out of the mouth of thy seede for euer: he doth not binde the old people to the outwarde doctrine as though they were set to learne to spelle, but rather he reacheth,that this shall be the true and perfect felicitie of the new church vnder the reigne of Christ, that it shall no lesse be ledde by the voice of God, thā by the spirite of God. Wherby we gather, that these lewde menne with wicked sacrilege do seuer afunder those thinges that the Prophet hath ioyned with an inuiolable knotte. Moreouer, Paule beyng rauished vp into the thirde heauen, yet ceassed not to go forward in the doctrine of the law and the Prophetes, euen so as he exhorteth Timothe, a doctour of singular excellence to apply reading. And worthy is that cōmendation to be remembred, wherwith he setteth forth the Scripture, saying,

1. Tim. 4. 13. that it is profitable to teach, to admonish and to reprove, that the seruantes of God may be made perfect. How diuelish a madnesse is it to faine, that the vse of Scripture is but transitorie, and lasteth but for a while, which in deede guideth the children of God euen to the last ende. Againe, I would haue them aunswere me this: whether they haue tasted of an other spirite than that, which the Lord promised to his disciples. Although they be vexed with extreme madnesse, yet I thinke they are not caried with such giddinesse, that they dare so boast. But what maner of spirite did he speake of in his promise? euen that spirite which should not speake of it selfe, but should minister and inspire into their mindes those thinges which he the Lord himselfe had taught by his worde. It is not therfore the office of the spirite which is promised vs, to faine new and vnhearde of reuelations, or to coine a new kinde of doctrine, whereby we should be led from the receiued doctrine of the Gospell, but to seale in our mindes the selfe same doctrine that is commended vnto vs by the Gospell.

2. Whereby we plainly vnderstand, that we ought right studiously to apply the reding and hearing of the Scripture, if we list to take any vse and fruite of the spirite of God. As also Peter praiseth their diligence that are hede full to the doctrine of the Prophetes, which yet might seme to haue geuen place after the rising of the light of the Gospell. On the other side if any spirite leauing the wisdom of the word of God doth thrust vnto vs an other doctrine, that the same spirite ought righteously to be suspected of vanitie and lying. For what? when Sathan transformeth himselfe into an aungell of light, what credite shal the holy Ghost haue amōg vs, if it be not seuerally knownen by some assured marke? And truely it hath bin plainly pointed out vnto vs by the worde of the Lord, but that these miserable men do willingly couete to erre to their owne destruction, while they seeke a spirite

1. Tim.
4. 13.

2. Tim.
3. 16.

Ioh. 16.
13.

2. Pet. I.
10.

spirite rather from them selues than from him. But (say they) it is dishonorable, that the spirite of God, whom all thinges ought to obey, should be subiect to the Scripture. As if this were a dishonour to the holy Ghost to be euery where egall and like to it selfe, to agree with it selfe in all thinges, and no where to varie. In deede if it were to be tried by the rule either of men, or of angels, or any others rule whatsoever, then it might well be thought, that it were brought into obedience, or if ye list so to terme it, into bondage. But when it is compared with it selfe, when it is considered in it selfe, who can therefore say, that there is any wrong done vnto it? But thus it is brought to triall. I graunt, but such a triall wherewith it was his owne pleasure to haue his maiestie established. It ought to content vs so soone as he entreth into vs. But lest vnder his name the spirite of Sathan should creepe in, he wil haue vs to know him by that image of him selfe, which he hath printed in the Scriptures. He is the authour of the Scriptures: he can not be diuers and vnlike him selfe. Therefore it must needs be, that he continually remaine such as he hath shewed him selfe therein. This is no dishonor vnto him, vnlesse perhappe we count it honorable to swarue and go out of kinde from himselfe.

3 Wheras they cauilt that we rest vpon the letter that sleieth, herein they suffer punishment for despising of the Scripture. For it is plaine enough that Paule there contendeth against the false Apostles, which commending the law without Christ did call away the people from the benefite of the new Testament, wherein the Lord doth couenant that he will graue his law within the bowels of the faithfull, and write it in their hartes. The letter therefore is dead, and the law of the Lord killeth the readers of it, when it is seuered from the grace of Christ, and not touching the heart, only soundeth in the eares. But if it be effectually printed in our hartes by the holy Ghost, if it present Christ vnto vs: then is it the worde of life, conuerting soules, geuing wisdom to little ones. &c. Also in the same place the Apostle calleth his preaching the ministerie of the holy Ghost: meaning that the holy Ghost doth so sticke fast in his truth which he hath expressed in the Scriptures, that then only he putteth forth and dislaieth his force, when the Scripture hath her due reuerence and dignitie. And it disagreeeth not herewith which I before said, that the worde it selfe is not much assured vnto vs, vnlesse it be confirmed by y^e vitnesse of the holy Ghost. For with a certaine mutuall knot the Lord hath coupled together the assurance of his worde and of his spirite, so that perfect reuerence to the word doth then settle in our mindes whē the holy Ghost shineth vpon vs to make vs therein beholde the face of God: and on the other

2. Cor. 3

6.

2. Cor. 3

8.

Luk. 24.
27.1. Theff.
5. 19.

side without all feare of being deceiued we do embrace y^e holy Ghost when we reknowledge him in his owne image, that is in his worde. Thus it is vndoubtedly: God brought not abroad his worde among me for a sodeine shew, meaning at the comming of his spirite by and by to take it away again, but he after sent the same spirite with whose power he had distributed his worde, to make an ende of his worke with effectual confirmation of his worde. In this sorte Christ opened the mindes of the two disciples, not that they should cast away the Scriptures and vaxe wise of themselves, but that they should vnderstand the Scriptures. Likewise Paule when he exhorteth the Thessalonians not to extinguish the spirite, doth not cary them vpon him to vaine speculations without the worde, but by and by faith further, that prophecies are not to be despised: wherby without dout is meant, that the light of the spirite is choked vp so lone as prophecies come to be despised. What say these proudly swelling men, rauished with the spirite, to these thinges, which reckon this only to be an excellent illumination, when carelessly forsaking and saying farewell to the word of God, they both boldly and rashly do take holde of all that they haue conceiued in their sleepe. Truly a farre other sobrietie becometh the children of God: which as they see that without the spirite of God they are voide of all light of trueth, so do they know that the worde is the instrument wherwith the Lord distributeth to the faithfull the light of his spirite. For they know none other spirite but that which dwelte and spake in the Apostles, by whose oracles they are continually called to the hearing of the worde.

The x. Chapter.

That the Scripture, to correct all supersticion, doth in comparison set the true God against all the gods of the Gentiles, reckening him for none of them.

BVt because we haue shewed, that the knowledge of God which in the frame of the world and all the creatures is somewhat plainly set forth, is yet more familiarly and plainly declared in the worde: now is it good to consider, whether the Lord shew himselfe such in the Scripture as it pleased him first to be represented in his workes. But I shall at this time be contented onely to point vnto it, wherby the godly mindes being admonished may know what is chiefly to be searched in the Scriptures concerning God, and be directed to one certaine marke in their seeking. I do not yet touch the peculiar conuenaunte, wherby God seuered the stocke of Abraham from other nations. For euen then he appeared the redemer in recey-
uing

uing to his children by free adopcion those that before were enemies. But we are yet about that knowledge that resteth in the creatiō of the worlde and ascendeth not to Christ the mediatur. And although byandby it shalbe good to allege certaine places out of the new Testament, forasmuch as euen out of it both the power of God the Creator and his prouidence in preserving of the first nature is approved, yet I warne the readers before, what is now my purpose to do, to the ende that they passe not the appointed boundes. So for this present, let it suffice vs to learne, how God the maker of heauen and earth doth gouerne the worlde by him created. Euery where is renowned both his fatherly bountie and enclined will to do good, and there are also exemples rehearsed of his seueritie, which shew him to be a righteous punisher of wicked doinges, specially where his sufferance nothing preuaileth with the obstinate.

2 In certaine places are set forth more plaine descriptions wherein his naturall face is as in an image represented to be seen. For in the place wher Moses describeth it, it semeth that his meaning was shortly to comprehend all that was lawfull for men to vnderstand of God. The Lord (sayeth he) the Lord, a mercifull God, and gracious, patiente and of much mercy, and true, which keepest mercy, vnto thousands which takest away iniquitie and wicked doinges, before whom the innocent shall not be innocent, which rendrest the wickednesse of the fathers to the children and childrens children. Where let vs marke, that his eternitie & being of himselfe is expressed in the twise repeting of that honorable name: and that then his vertues are rehearsed, in which is described vnto vs, not what he is in respect to himselfe, but what a one he is toward vs: that this knowledge of him may rather stand in a liuely feling, than in an empty and supernaturall speculation. And here we do heare recited those vertues of his which we noted to shine in the heauen and earth, that is to say, clemencie, bountie, mercie, iustice, iudgement and trueth. For might and power are contained vnder this name Elohim God. With the same names of addition do the Prophetes set him forth when they meane fully to paint out his holy name. But, because I would not heape vp to many examples together, at this present let one Psalmes suffice vs, wherein the summe of all his vertues is so exactly reckened vp, that nothing can seeme to be omitted. And yet is nothing there reharsed, but that which we may beholde in his creatures. So plainly do we perceiue God by informacion of experience, to be such as he declareth himselfe in his worde. In Ieremie where he pronounceth, what a one he would haue vs know him to be, he setteth forth a description not altogether

Exo. 34.
6.

Psa. 145

3.

Iere. 6.
24.

so full, but yet comming all to one effect. He that gloryeth, saith he, let him glory in this that he knoweth me to be the Lord that do mercie, iustice, and iudgement on the earth. Surely these three things are very necessary for vs to know: mercy, in which alone consisteth all our saluacion: Iudgement, which is dayly executed vpon euill doers, and more greuous is prepared for them to eternall destruction: Iustice, wherby the faithful are preserued and most tenderly cherished. Which things when thou hast conceiued, the prophecy saith thou hast sufficiently enough wherof thou maiest glory in God. And yet here are not omitted either his trueth or his power, or his holinesse or goodnesse. For how should the knowledge stand sure which is here required of his iustice, mercy and iudgement, vnlesse it did rest vpon his vnmouable trueth? And how should we beleue that he doeth gouerne the earth with iustice & iudgement, but vnderstāding his power? And whence cometh his mercy but of his goodnesse? If then all his waies be mercy, iudgement and iustice, in them must holinesse also nedes be seen. And to none other end is directed that knowledge of God that is set forth vnto vs in the Scriptures, thā is that knowledge also which appeareth emprinted in his creatures, that is to say: it first moueth vs to the feare of God, and then to put confidence in him, to the ende we may learne first to honor him with perfect innocency of life and vnfained obedience, and then to hang altogether vpon his goodnesse.

3 But here I meane to gather a summe of generall doctrine. And first let the readers note, that the Scripture to the ende to direct vs to the true God, doth expressly exclude and cast away all the gods of the Gentiles, because commonly in a manner in all ages religio hath bin corrupted. True it is in deede that the name of one God was euery where knowen and renomed. For euen they that worshipped a great number of gods, so oft as they did speake according to the proper sense of nature, they simply vsed the singular name of God as if they were contented with one God alone. And this was wisely marked by Iustine the Martyr, which for this purpose made a booke of the Monarchie of God, where by many testimonies he sheweth that this, that there is but one God, was engrauen in the hartes of all mē. The same thing also doth Tertulliane proue by the common phrased of speech. But forasmuch as all without exception are by their owne vanitie either drawn or fallen to false forged deuises, and so their senses are become vaine, therefore all that euer they naturally vnderstode of the being but one God, auailed no further but to make them inexcusable. For euen the wisest of them do plainly shew the wandering error of their minde, when they wish some god to assist them, and so in their
prayers

prayers do call vpon vncertaine gods. Moreouer in this that they imagined God to haue many natures although they thought somewhat lesse absurdely than the rude people did of Iupiter, Mercury, Venus, Minerua and other: yet were they not free from the deceites of Satan, and as we haue already sayed els where, whatsoeuer wayes of escape the Philosophers haue suttelly inuented, they cannot purge themselves of rebellion but that they all haue corrupted the trueth of God. For this reason, Habacuc after he had condemned all idoles bid-
 deth to seke God in his owne temple, that the faithfull should not admit him to be any other than such as he had disclosed him selfe by his worde. Hab. 2.

The xj. Chapter.

That it is unlawfull to attribute vnto God a visible forme, and that generally they forsake God, so many as do erect to them selues any images.

BVt as the Scripture prouiding for the rude and grosse wit of mā vseth to speake after the common maner: so when it meaneth to make feuerally knownen the true God from the false gods, it chiefly compareth him with idoles: not that it doth allow these inuentions that are more suttelly and finely taught by the Philosophers, but the plainlier to disclose the folishnesse of the world, yea rather their madnesse in seking God so long as they cleaue euery one to their owne imaginations. Therfore that exclusiue definition which we commonly heare, bringeth to nought all that maner of Godhead that men frame to themselves by their owne opinion, because God himselfe is the onely conueniente witnesse of himselfe. In the meane time, sith this brutish grossenesse hath possessed the whole world, to couet visible shapes of God, and so to forge themselves Gods of timber, stone, golde, siluer, & other dead and corruptible matter, we ought to holde this principle, that with wicked falsshod the glorie of God is corrupted so oft as any shape is fained to represent him. Therefore God in the law, after he had once chalenged the glory of his deitie to himselfe alone, meaning to teache vs what manner of worshipping him he aloweth or refuseth, addeth immediatly: Thou shalt make thee
 no grauen image, nor any similitude, in which woordes he restraineth
 our libertie, that we attempt not to represent him with any visible image. And there he shortly reckneth vp all the formes wherwith of long time before, supersticiō had begon to turne his trueth into lying. For we know that the Persians worshipped the sonne, yea and so many starres as the folish natiōs saw in the skie, so many goddes they fained

Cap. 11.

Of the knowledge of

Maxi-
mus Ti-
rius Pla-
tonicus
sermo.
ne. 38.

them. And scarce was there any liuing creature which was not among the Egyptians a figure of God. But the Grecians were thought to be wiser than the rest, because they worshipped God in the shape of a manne. But God compareth not images one with an other, as though one were more and an other lesse mete to be vsed, but without any exception he reiecteth all images, pictures and other signes, wherby the superstitious thought to haue God nere vnto them.

Deu. 4.
10. 12.
15.

2 This is easy to be gathered by the reasons which he ioyneth to the prohibition. First with Moses. Remember that the Lord hath spoken to thee in the vale of Horeb. Thou heardest a voice, but thou sawest no body. Therefore take hede to thy selfe, least peradventure thou be deceiued and make to thy selfe any likenesse. &c. We see how openly God setteth his voice against all counterfaite shapes, that we may know that they forsake God whosoever do couet to haue visi-

Esa. 47.
18. and
47. 7. &
45. 9. &
46. 5.

ble formes of him. Of the Prophetes onely Esay shalbe enough which speaketh oft and much hereof, to teache that the maiestie of God is defiled with vncomely and foolish conterfaiting, whē he being without body is likened to bodily matter: being inuisible, to a visible image: being a spirite, to a thing without life: being incomprehensible, to a small lompe of timber, stone or golde. In like manner rea-

Ag. 17.
29.

soneth Paule: For asmuch as we are the generacion of God, we ought not to thinke that the godhead is like vnto golde, or siluer or stone grauen by art and the inuention of man. Wherby it certainly appeareth, whatsoeuer images are erected or pictures painted to expresse the shape of God, they simply displease him as certaine dishonors of his maiestie. And what maruel is it if the holy Ghost do thonder out these oracles from heauen, sith he compelleth the very wretched and blinde idolaters themselues to confesse this in earth? It is known

Li. 6 de
ciui. dei
cap. 10.

how Seneca complained as it is to reade in Augustine. They dedicate (saith he) the holy immortall and inuiolable Gods in most vile and base stuffe, and put vpon them the shapes of men & beastes, and some of them with kinde of man and woman mingled together, and with sondryshapen bodies, and such they call Gods which if they should receiue breth and mete them would be reckened monsters. Wherby againe plainly appeareth, that it is a fonde cauillation wherewith the defenders of images seke to escape, which say that the Iewes were forbidden images, because they were inclinable to superstitiō. As though that thing pertained to one nation onely which God bringeth forth of his eternall being and the continuall order of nature. And Paule spake not to the Iewes but to the Athenienses when he confuted their error in conterfaiting a shape of God.

3 God in dede, I graunt, sometime in certaine signes hath geuen
 a presence of his godhead, so as he was sayed to be beholden face to
 face, but al these signes that euer he shewed did aptly serue for meanes
 to teache, and withall did plainly admonish men of an incomprehen-
 sible essence. For the cloude and smoke and flame, although they were
 tokens of the heauenly glory, yet did they as it were bridle and re-
 straine the mindes of men that they should not attempt to passe any
 further. Wherfore not Moses himselfe, to whom God disclosed him-
 selfe most familiarly in comparison of other, obtained by prayer to see
 that face, but receyued this answer that man is not able to susteine so
 great brightnesse. The holy Ghost appeared vnder the likenesse of a
 doue, but sith he immediatly vanished away, who doeth not see that
 by that token of so short a continuance of a moment the faithfull are
 put in minde that they ought to beleue him to be an inuisible spirite,
 that holding them contented with his vertue and grace, they should
 make him no outward shape. This, that God appeared sometimes in
 forme of a mā, was a foreshewing of the reueling that was to be made
 of him in Christ. And therefore it was not lawfull for the Iewes to
 abuse this pretense to erect to themselues a representaciō of the god-
 head in the shape of man. Also the mercy seate wherin God shewed
 forth the presence of his power in the time of the law, was so made
 as it might teach that the best beholding of the godhead is this, when
 mens mindes are caried beyond them selues with administration of it.
 For the Cherubins with their wings stretched abroad did couer it,
 the veile did hide it, and the place it selfe being set faire inwarde did
 of it selfe sufficiētly kepe it secrete. Therfore it is very plaine that they
 be very mad that go about to defende the images of God & of Saintes
 with the example of these Cherubins. For, I pray you, what meant
 these litle images, but to shew that images are not mete to represent
 the misteries of God? forasmuch as they were made for this purpose,
 that hiding the mercy seate with their wings they should not onely
 kepe backe the eyes of man, but also all his senses from the beholding
 of God, and so to correct his rash hardinesse. For this purpose maketh
 it that the Prophetes described the Seraphins shewed thē in visiō, with
 their face vncouered: wherby they signifie, that so great is the bright-
 nesse of the glory of God that the Angels themselues are kept from
 direct beholding it, and the small sparkes therof that shine in the An-
 gels are withdrawn from our eyes. Although yet so many as rightly
 iudge, do acknowledge that the Cherubins of whom we now speake,
 pertained only to the old maner of introduction as it were of children
 vsed in the law. So to draw them now for an example to our age, is

an absurditie. For that childish age, as I may so terme it, is passed, for the which such rudimentes were appointed. And it is much shame, that the painime writers are better expounders of the law of God than the Papistes are. Iuuenale reprocheth the Iewes as it were in scorne that they honor the white cloudes & the deirie of the heauen. I graunt he speaketh peruerfly and wickedly: & yet he speaketh more truely in saying that they haue among them no image of God, than the Papistes do which prate that they had a visible image of God. And wheras that people with a certaine hote hastinesse, brake out oftentimes to seke them idols, euen as waters out of a great fresh spring boile out with violent force: hereby rather let vs learne how great is the inclination of our nature to idolatry, least throwing vpon the Iewes the blame of that fault which is common to all, we slepe a deadly slepe vnder vaine allurements to sinne.

4 To the same purpose serueth this saying. The idols of the Gentiles are golde and siluer, euen the workes of mens handes. Because the Prophete doth gather of the stuffe it selfe, that they are no gods that haue a golden or siluer image: and he taketh it for cōfessed truth, that it is a folish fained inuencion whatsoeuer we cōceiue of our owne sense concerning God. He nameth rather gold and siluer than clay or stone, that the beautie or the price should not serue to bring a reuerence to idols. But he cōcludeth generally that nothing is lesse allowable, than gods to be made of dead stuffe. And in the meane while he standeth as much vpon this point, that men are caried away with to mad a rashnesse, which themselues bearing about with them but a borrowed breath, ready to vanish away at euery moment, yet dare geue the honor of God to idols. Man must nedes confesse that himselfe is but a creature of a daies continuance, and yet he will haue a pece of metall to be compted God to which himselfe gaue the beginning to be a God. For whense came the beginning of idols but from the will of men? Very iustly doeth the heathen Poet geue them this taunt:

I was sometime a fig tree log, a blocke that serud for nought:

The workeman douted what of me were fittest to be wrought:

A fourme to sit vpon, or els a Priap God to be.

At length he thought the better was a God to make of me.

Forsooth an earthly filly man that breatheth out his owne life in maner euery moment, by his workmanship shall conuey the name & honor of God to a dead stocke. But forasmuch as Epicure in scoffingly iesting hath cared for no religion, let vs leaue the tauntes of him & such as he is, and let the rebuking of the Prophete pricke vs or rather thrust

Pf. 115.
b. & 13.
5. 15.

Horat.
serm. 1.
sat. 8.

thrust vs through where he sayeth, that they are to much beastly witted that with one selfe peece of wood do make a fier & warme themselves, do heate the ouen to bake bread, do roste or seeth flesh, and do make the a God before which they fall down humbly to pray. Therefore in an other place he doth not onely accuse them by the law, but also doth reproch them that they haue not learned of the fundations of the earth: for that there is nothing lesse conuenient than to bring God to the measure of fise foote which is aboue all measure and incōprehensible. And yet this same monstuous thing which manifestly repugneth against the order of nature, custome sheweth to be natural to men. We must moreouer holde in minde, that superstitions are in Scripture commonly rebuked in this phrased of speech, that they are the workes of mens hand which want the authority of God: that this may be certaine, that all these manners of worshipping that men deuise of themselves are detestable. The Prophet in the Psalme doth amplifie the madnesse of them that therefore are endued with vnderstanding, that they should know that all thinges are moued with the only power of God, and yet they pray for helpe to thinges dead and senselesse. But because the corruption of nature carieth as well all nations, as eche man priuately to so great madnesse, at last the holy Ghost thundreth with terrible curse against them saying: let the that make them become like to them and so many as trust in them. And it is to be noted that a similitude is no lesse forbidden than a grauen image, whereby the fond suttelty of the Greekes is confuted. For they thinke they are well discharged if they graue not a God, while in painting they do more licentiously outrage than any other nations. But the Lord forbiddeth an image not only to be made by the grauer but also to be counterfaited by any other workeman, because such counterfaiting is euill and to the dishonor of his maiesty.

5 I know that it is a saying more than common among the people, that images are lay mens bookes. Gregory so sayd, but the spirite of God pronounceth farre otherwise, in whose schoole if Gregory had bin taught, he would neuer so haue spoken. For whereas Hieremy plainly sayeth that the stocke is a doctrine of vanity: and whereas Habacuc teacheth that the molten image is a teacher of lyes: surely hereof is a generall doctrine to be gathered, that it is vaine and lying whatsoeuer men learne by images concerning God. If any man take exception, and say that the Prophetes reprove them only which abused images to wicked superstition: I graunt that to be true. But I adde further that which is easie for all men to see, that they condemne that thing wholly which the Papistes take for an assured principle, that

Esay 44.
15.Esa. 40.
21.Esa. 2. 8.
& 31. 7.
& 57. 10
Ose. 14.4.
mic. 5.14.
ps. 115.
8.Hier. 10
8.

Ha. 2. 18

images are in steede of bookes. For they do in comparison set images against God as things directly contrary & such as neuer can agree together. This comparison I say is made in those places which I haue alleged. Sith there is but one true God whom the Iewes did worship, it is amisse & falsely don to forge visible shapes to represent God and men are miserably deceiued, that thereby seeke for knowledge of God. Finally if it were not true that it is a deceitfull & corrupt knowledge of God that is learned by images, the Prophetes would not so generally condemne it. At least thus much I winne of them when we shew that it is vanity & lying that men do attempt to represent God with images, we do nothing but rehearse word for word that which the Prophetes haue taught.

6 Let be red what Lactantius and Eusebius haue wrytten of this matter which sticke not to take it for certaine that they were all mortall of whom images are to be seene. Likewise Augustine: which without douting pronounceth that it is vnlawfull not onely to worship images, but also to sette vppe images to God. And yet sayeth he none other thing but the same which many yeares before was decreed by the Elibertine councell whereof this is the xxxvi. Chapter. It is ordained that no pictures be had in the church, that the thing which is honored and worshipped be not painted on the wales. But most notable is that which in an other place Augustine allegeth out of Varro, and confirmeth it with his owne assent, that they which first brought in the images of Gods, both tooke away the feare of God, and brought in error. If Varro alone should say this, peradventure it should be but of smale authority. Yet ought it of right to make vs ashamed that a heathen man groping in darkenesse came to this light, to see that bodily images are therefore vnmete for the maiesty of God, because they diminish the feare of God and encrease error in men. The prooffe it selfe witnesseth that this was no lesse truly than wisely spoken. But Augustine hauing borrowed it of Varro, bringeth it forth as of his own minde. And first he admonisheth, that the first errors wherwith men were entangled concerning God, beganne not of images, but as with newe matter added encreased by them. Secondly he expoundeth that the feare of God is therfore diminished or rather taken away therby, because his maiesty may easely in the foolishnesse and in the fond and absurde forging of images grow to contempt. Which second thing I would to God we did not by proufe find to be so true. Whosoever therefore wil couet to be rightly taught, let him elsewhere learne than of images, what is mete to be knowne concerning God.

Concil.
Libert.
ca. 6. ca.
36.
Li. 4. de
Ciuitate
Dei.
ca. 9. &
31.

7 Wherefore if the Papistes haue any shame, let them no more vse this shift to say that images are lay mens bookes, which by many testimonies of Scripture are so openly confuted. And although I graunt the so much, yet should they not much get therby for defense of their idols. What monsters they thrust in, in the place of God, is well known. The pictures and images that they dedicate to Sainctes, what are they but examples of extreme riot and vnclennesse, whereunto if any would fashio himselfe, he were worthy to be beaté with staues? Surely the brothelhouses, can shew harlots more chastly and soberly attyred, thā their temples shew images of these whom they would haue called virgins. Euen as vncomly array giue they to the martirs. Let them therfore fashio their idols at least to some honest shew of shamefastnes, that they may somewhat more colourably lye in saying, that they are the books of some holinesse. But if it were so, yet then would we answere, that this is not the right way to teach the faithfull people in holy places, whom God would haue there instructed with farre other doctrine than with these trifles. God commaunded in the churches a common doctrine to be set forth to all men in preaching of his word and in his holy misteries: whereunto they shew them selues to haue a minde not very hedefull, that cast their eyes about to behold images. But whom do the Papistes call lay and vnlearned men whose vnskillfulnesse may beare to be taught only by images? forsooth euen those whom the Lord knowledgeth for his disciples, to whom he vouchesafueth to reuele the heauély wisdom, whom he willet to be instructed with the holsome misteries of his kingdom. I graunt in dede as the matter standeth that there are at this day many which cannot be without such boks. But whense I pray you groweth that dulnesse but that they are defrauded of that doctrine which only was mete to instruct them with? For it is for no other cause that they which had the cure of churches gaue ouer their office of teaching to idols, but because the selues were dumme. Paul testifieth that Christ is in the true preaching of the Gospell, painted out and in a maner crucified before our eyes. To what purpose then were it to haue commonly set vp in churches so many crosses of wood, stone, siluer & gold, if this were wel & faithfully beaté into the peoples heads, that Christ died to beare our curse vpon the crosse, to cleanse our sinnes with the Sacrifice of his body, and to wash them away with his bloud, and finally to reconcile vs to God the father? Of which one thing they might learne more than of a thousand crosses of wood or stone. For parhaps the couetous do set their mindes & eyes faster vpon the golden and siluer crosses than vpon any wordes of God.

Gal. 3.1.

8 As concerning the beginning of idols, that is by common consent thought to be true which is wrytten in the booke of wisdom, Sap. 14. 15. that they were the first authors of them, which gaue this honor to the deade, superstitiously to worship their memory. And truly I graūt that this euil custome was very auncient, & I deny not that it was the fierbrād wherwith the rage of men being kindled to idolatry did more and more burne therein. Yet do I not graunt that this was the first original of this mischiefe. For it appereth by Moises that images were vsed before that this curiosity in dedicating the images of dead men, wherof the prophane wryters make often mention, were come in vre.

Gen. 31. 19. When he telleth that Rachell had stolē her fathers idols, he speaketh it as of a common fault. Whereby we may gather that the wit of man is, as I may so call it, a continuall worship of idols. After the generall flood, there was as it were a new regeneration of the world, and yet there passed not many yeares but that men according to their owne lust fained them Gods. And it is likely that the holy Patriarch yet liuing, his childrens children were giuen to idolatry, so that to his bitter grieffe he saw the earth defiled with idols, whose corruptions the Lord had but late purged with so horrible iudgement. For Thare and Nachor euē before the birth of Abraham were worshippers of false Gods, as Iosue testifieth. Seeing the generation of Sem so soone swarued, what shall we iudge of the posterity of Cham, who were already cursed in their fater? The minde of men, as it is full of pride and rash boldnesse, presumeth to imagine God according to her owne conceit: and as it is possessed with dullnesse, yea ouerwhelmed with grosse ignorance, so it cōceiueth vanity and a fond fantasie in stede of God. And to these euils is added a new mischiefe, that man attempteth to expresse in workmanshippe such a God as he inwardly conceiueth. Thus the minde begetteth the idole, and the hand bringeth it forth. The example of the Israelites proueth that this was the beginning of idolatry, that men do not beleue that God is among them, vnlesse he shew himselfe carnally present. We know not (sayd they) what is become of this Moses: make vs Gods that may go before vs. They Ex. 31. 7. knew that there was a God whose power they had had experience of in so many miracles: but they did not beleue that he was nie vnto the vnlesse they did see with their eyes a corporall representation of his face, to be a witnesse vnto them of the God that gouerned the. Their minde was therefore to know by the image going before them, that God was the guide of their journey. This thing daily experience teacheth, that the flesh is alway vnquiet till it hath gotten some counterfaite deuise like it selfe, wherein it may vainly delite as in an image of

of God. In a manner in all ages since the creation of the world, men to obey this blinde desire haue erected signes wherein they imagined God to be present before theyr carnall eyes.

9 After such inuention forged, by and by followeth worshipping. For whē men thought that they beheld God in images, they did also worship him in them. At length being both with mindes and eyes altogether fastened thereon, they beganne to waxe more and more brutish, and to wonder at them and haue them in admiration, as if there were some nature of godhead in them. So appeareth that men brake not out into the worshipping of images, till they were perswaded in some grosse opinion: not to thinke the images to be Gods, but to imagine that there did a certaine force of Godheade abide in them. Therfore whether thou represent to thy selfe either God or a creature in the image, when thou fallest downe to worship, thou art already bewitched with some superstition. For this reason the Lord hath forbidden not onely images to be erected that are made to expresse a like nesse of him, but also any titles or stones to be dedicated, that should stand to be worshipped. And for the same reason also in the cōmaundement of the law, this other point is added concerning worshipping. For so soone as they haue forged a visibler forme for God, they also tye the power of God vnto it. So beastly foolish are men, that there they fasten God where they counterfaite him, and therfore must they needes worship it. Neither is there any difference whether they simply worship the idole, or God in the idole. This is alway idolatry when honours due to God are giuen to an idole, vnder what colour soeuer it be. And because God will not be worshipped superstitiously, therefore whatsoeuer is giuen to idols is taken from him. Lette them take heede hereunto that seeke for pretenses to defende the abhominable idolatry, wherewith, these many ages past, true religion hath bin drowned and ouerthrowen. But (say they) the images are not taken for Gods. Neither were the Iewes themselues so vnadvised to forgette that it was God by whose hande they hadde bin brought out of Ægypt before they made the calfe. Yea when Aaron sayd, that those were the Gods by whom they were deliuered out of the land of Ægypt, they boldly assented, shewing a plaine tokē of their meaning, that they would still kepe that God that was their deliuerer, so that they might se him go before them in the calfe. Neither is it to be beleued that the heathē were so grosse as to beleue, that God was no other thing but stocks and stones. For they changed their images at their pleasure, but still they kept the same Gods in their minde: & there were many images of one God, and yet they did not according

Cap. II. Of the knowledge of

to the multitude of images faine them many God. Beside that they did daily cōsecrat new images, yet did they not thinke that they made new Gods. Lette the excuses be read which Augustine sayeth were pretended by the Idolaters of his age. When they were rebuked, the common sorte answered, that they did not worshipping that visible thing, but the deity that did in it inuisibly dwell. And they that were of somewhat better religiō, as he calleth it, did say that they did neither worshipping the image nor the spirite in it, but by the corporall image they did behold the signe of that thing which they ought to worship. How then? All idolaters, whether they were of the Iewes, or of the gentiles, were none otherwise minded than as I haue sayd: being not contēted with a spirituall vnderstanding of God, they thought by the images he should be more sure & nerer imprinted in thē. After once that such disordered counterfaiting of God well liked them, they neuer ended, till daily more and more deluded with new deceites they imagined that God did shew foorth his power in images. And neuerthelesse, both the Iewes were perswaded that vnder such images they did worshipping the one true Lord of heauen and earth: and likewise the gentiles, their false Gods, whom yet they sayned to dwell in heauen.

10 Whosoever deny that it hath thus bin done in time past, yea within our owne remembraunce, they impudently lye. For, why fall they down before them? And when they pray, why turne they toward them as to the eares of God? For it is true that Augustine sayeth, that noman prayeth or worshipping when he so beholdeth an image but he is so affected in minde that he thinketh himselfe to be heard of it, or that it wil do for him what he desireth. Why is there such differēce betwene the images of one God, that passing by one image with litle reuerence or none done to it they honor an other solemnly? Why do they wery themselues with vowed pilgremages to visite those images whereof they haue like at home? Why do they at this day in defense of them as it were for their religion and countrey, fight to slaughter & destructiō, in such sorte as they would better suffer to haue the one only God than their idols to be taken from them? And yet I do not reckon vp the grosse errors of the cōmon people, which are almost infinite, & do in maner possesse the hartes of all men. I do only shewe what themselues do confesse when they meane most of all to excuse themselues of idolatry. We do not call them (say they) our Gods. No more did the Iewes nor the Gentiles call them theirs in time past: & yet the Prophetes ech where cesse not to cast in their teeth their fornication with stockes and stones, for doing no more but such things

as are daily done by them that would be compted Christiāns, that is to say, that they carnally worshipped God in stocks and stones.

11 Although I am not ignoraunt, nor thinke good to passe it o-
uer as if I knewe it not, how they seeke to escape with a more sut-
tle distinction, wherof I shall againe make mention more at large her-
after. For they pretend that the worship which they giue to images
is Idolodulia which is seruice of images, and not Idololatria which is
worship of images. For so they tearme it when they teach that they
may lawfully without any wrong done to God giue vnto images and
pictures that worshippes which they call Doulia or seruice. And so
they thinke themselues without blame if they be but the seruants &
not also the worshippers of idols: as though it were not a litle lighter
matter to worship than to serue. And yet while they seeke a hole to
hide them in the Greeke word, they childishly disagree with themsel-
ues, For seeing Latreuein in greeke signifieth nothing but to worship,
their saying commeth but to this effect, as if they would say that they
worship in dede their images, but without any worshipping. And ther
is no cause why they should say that I seeke to catch them in words:
but they themselues while they seke to cast a mist before the eyes of
the simple, do bewray their owne ignoraunce. And yet though they be
neuer so eloquent, they shall not attaine by their eloquence to proue
vnto vs that one selfe same thing is two sundry things. Let them (say
I) shew me a differēce in y thing it selfe wherby they may be thought
to differ from the old idolaters. For as an adulterer or a murderer can-
not escape guiltinesse of his fault, by giuing his sinne a newe deuised
name: so it is a very absurdity to thinke that these men be quit by new
deuise of a name, if in the matter it selfe they nothing differ frō those
idolaters whom they themselues are compelled to cōdemne. But so
far are they frō prouing that their case differeth frō the case of those
idolaters, that rather the fountaine of all this whole mischiefe is an
vnorderly counterfaiting, wherein they haue striued with them while
both with their owne wit they deuise, & with their owne handes they
frame them signifying formes to expresse them a fashion of God.

12 And yet am I not so superstitious that I thinke no images may
be suffred at all. But forasmuch as caruing and painting are the giftes
of God, I require that they both be purely and lawfully vsed. Least
these things which God hath giue vs for his glory & for our own be-
nefit, be not only defiled by disordered abuse, but also turned to our
own destructiō. We thinke it vnlawful to haue God fashioned out in
visibile forme, because himself hath forbiddē it, & because it cānot be
done without some defacemēt of his glory. And least they thinke that

it is onely we that are in this opinion, they that haue bin traueled in their workes shall finde that all sound wryters did alway reprove the same thing. If the it be not lawfull to make any bodily image of God, much lesse shall it be lawfull to worship it for God, or God in it. It remayneth therefore lawfull that onely those thinges be painted and grauen whereof our eyes are capable: but that the maiesty of God which is farre aboue the sense of our eyes, be not abused with vncomly deuised shapes. Of this sorte are partely histories and thinges done, partely images and fashions of bodies, without expressing of any thinges done by them. The first of these haue some vse in teaching or admonishing a man: but what profit the second can bring saue only delectatiō, I see not. And yet it is euident, that euen such were almost all the images that heretofore haue stand vp in churches. Whereby we may iudge that they were there set vp not by discrete iudgement or choise, but by foolish and vnaduised desire. I speake not how much amisse & vncomely they were for the most parte fashioned, nor how licentiously Painters and Caruers haue in this point shewed their wantonneffe, which thing I haue already touched. Onely I speake to this end, that though there were no fault in them, yet do they nothing auaille to teach.

13 But leauing also that difference, let vs by the way consider whether it be expedient in Christian temples to haue any images at all, that do expresse either things done or the bodyes of men. First if the authority of the aunciēt church do any thing moue vs, let vs remember that for about v.C. yeares together, while religion yet better flourished, and sincere doctrine was in force, the Christian churches were vniuersally without images. So they were the first brought in for the garnishment of churches, when the sincerity of ministratiō was not a little altered. I will not now dispute what reason they had with them that were the first authors therof. But if a mā compare age with age, he shall see that they were much swarued from that vprightnesse of them that were without images. What? do we thinke that those holy fathers would haue suffered the church to be so long without the thing which they iudged profitable & good for them? But rather because they saw either little or no profit in it, & much daunger to lurke vnderneath it, they did rather of purpose and aduisedly reiect it, than by ignorance or negligence omitte it. Which thing Augustine doth also in expresse words testifie. When they be set in such places (sayeth he) honorably on hye, to be seene of them that pray & do Sacrifice, although they want both sense and life, yet with the very likenesse that they haue of liuely members and senses, they so moue the weake mindes,

minde, that they seeme to liue & breath. &c. And in an other place. For that shape of members doth worke and in manner enforce thus much, that the minde liuing within a body doth thinke that body to haue sense, which he seeth like vnto his owne. And a little after, Images do more auailē to bow downe an vnhappy soule, by this that they haue mouth, eyes, eares, and feete, than to amend it by this that they neither speake nor see nor heare nor go. This truly seemeth to be the cause why Iohn willed vs to beware not onely of worshipping of images, but also of images themselves. And we haue found it to much in experience, that through the horrible madnesse which hath heretofore possessed the world, to the destruction in manner of all godlinesse, so soone as images be set vp in churches, there is as it were a signe set vp of idolatry, because the folly of men cannot refrayne it selfe, but it must forthwith runne on to superstitious worshippings. But if there were not so much daunger hanging thereby: yet when I consider for what vse temples are ordayned, me thinkes it is very ill becomming the holinesse thereof to receiue any other images than these liuely and naturall images, which the Lord by his word hath consecrate, I meane Baptisme and the Lordes supper, and other ceremonies wherewith our eyes ought both more earnestly to be occupied and more liuely to be moued, than that they should nede any other images framed by the witte of men. Loe this is the incomparable commodity of images, which can by no value be recompensed, if we beleue the Papistes.

14 I thinke I had spokē enough of this thing already, but that the Nicene Synode doth as it were lay hand on me to enforce me to speake more. I meane not that most famous Synode which Constantine the Great assembled, but that which was holden eight hundred yeares ago, by the commaundement and authority of Irene the Emperesse. For that Synode decreed, that images should not only be had in churches, but also worshipped. For whatsoeuer I should say, the authority of the Synode would make a great prejudice on the other side. Although to say truth, that doth not so much moue me, as make it appeare to the readers howe farre their rage extended, that were more desirous of images than became Christians. But first lette vs dispatche this. They that at this day maintaine the vse of images, allege the decree of that Nicene Synode for their defense. But there is extāt a booke of confutation bearing the name of Charles the Great, which by the phrase we may gather to haue bin wrytten at the same time. Therein are recited the sentences of the Bishoppes that were present at that counsell, and the argumentes wherewith they contended.

John the Legate of the east partes sayed : God created manne after his owne image : and thereupon gathered that we ought to haue images. The same man thought that images were commended vnto vs in this sentence: shew me thy face because it is beautifull. An other to proue that images ought to be sette vppon altares, cited this testimony : no man lighteth a candell and putteth it vnder a bushell. An other, to shew that the beholding of them is profitable for vs, brought foorth a verse out of the Psalme : the light of thy countenance is sealed vpon vs. An other tooke this similitude : As the Patriarches vsed the Sacrifices of the Gentiles, so must Christian men haue the images of Saintes in steade of the images of the Gentiles. To the same purpose haue they wrythed thus saying: Lord, I haue loued the beauty of thy house. But specially witty is the exposition of this place, As we haue heard so haue we seen, that God is not knowē by onely hearing of his word, but also by looking vppon images. Like is the sharpe deuise of Bishoppe Theodore. Maruelous (sayeth he) is God in his Saintes. And in an other place : In the Saintes that are in the earth therefore this ought to be referred to images. Finally so filthy are their vnsauory follies that it greueth me to rehearse them.

15 When they talke of the worshipping: then are brought foorth the worshipping of Pharaos, and of the rod of Ioseph, & of the pillar that Iacob set vp. Albeit in this last example, they do not only deprauē the meaning of the Scripture, but also bring in that which is nowhere to be read. Then these places seeme to them maruelous strong and meete proues. Worship his foote stole. Againe worshippe on his holy hill. Againe all the richemen of the people shall worship thy countenance. If a man would in scorne putte the personage of a riding foole vppon the patrones of Images, could he gather together greater and grosser follies? But to putte all out of doute, Theodosius Bishoppe of Mira, doth so earnestly confirme by the dreames of his Archedeacō, that images ought to be worshipped, as if he had an oracle from heauen to shewe for it. Now lette the fauourers of images go and presse vs with the decree of that Synode. As though those reuerend fathers do not altogether discredit themselues, in either so childishly handeling, or so vngodly and fowly tearing the Scriptures.

16 Now come I to those monstrous impieties, which it is maruell that euer they durst vomit, and twise maruellous that they were not cried out agaynst with hie detestation of all men. And it is good that this outrageously wicked madnesse be bewrayed, that at least the false

false colour of antiquity may be taken away, which the Papistes pretend for the worshipping of images. Theodosius the Bishop of Amorum pronounceth curse against all them that will not haue images worshipped. An other imputeth all the calamities of Grecia and the east part to this, that images were not worshipped. What punishment then were the Prophetes, the Apostles and the Martirs worthy to suffer in whose time there were no images? They adde further. If the Emperoures image be met with perfume and censing: much more is this honor due to the images of Saintes. Constantius Bishop of Constance in Ciprus, professeth that he reuerently embraceth images, and affirmeth that he will giue to them the same honorable maner of worshippe that is due to the Trinity that giueth life. And whosoever refuseth so to do, he curseth him and sendeth him away with the Manichees and Marcionites. And, that ye should not thinke that this was the priuate sentence of one man, they did all assent vnto it. Yea Iohn the Legate of the east partes being further caried with heate, sayed it were better to bring all brothelhouses into the city than to deny the worshipping of images. At length by consent of them all it was decreed, that worse than all Heretickes are the Samaritans, and worse thā the Samaritans are the enemies of images. And because the play should not be without his solemne farewell, this clause was added, let thé be glad & reioyse that hauing the image of Christ do offer Sacrifice vnto it. Where is now the distinction of Latria and Dulia, wherewith they are wont to seeke to blinde the eyes both of God & men? For the counsell without any exception doth giue euen as much vnto images as vnto the liuing God himselfe.

The xij. Chapter.

That God is fenerally discerned from idols, that he may be only and wholly worshipped.

WE sayed in the beginning that the knowledge of God standeth not in bare speculation, but draweth with it the worshipping of him, and by the way we touched howe he is rightly worshipped, which point shalbe in other places more largely to be sette foorth. Now I do but shortly reapeate, that so oft as the Scripture affirmeth that there is but one God, it striueth not for the bare name of God, but withall commaunders this, that whatsoeuer belongeth to the Godhead be not giuen to any other. Whereby also appeareth what pure religion doth differ from superstition. Eusebeia, in Greeke signifieth as much as true worship, because alway euen the blinde themselues groping in darke-

2. dena-
tu. deo-
rum.

nesse haue found that this rule ought to be holden, that God be not vnorderly worshipped. The name of religion although Cicero truly and well deriue from relegere, to recorde, or gather vp together: yet is the reason that he assigneth enforced and farre sette, that good worshippers did often recorde and diligently wey what was the trueth. I rather thinke that that name is sette as a contrary to wandring liberty, because the greater parte of the world vnaduisedly taketh hold of that which they first mete withall, and flieth about hither and thither: but true godlinesse, to the end it may stand in stedfast state, Religit, that is to say doth gather vp it self together within her bonds. Like as I thinke supersticion to haue her name hercof, that not being contented with the maner and order prescribed, she heapeth vp together a superfluous number of vaine thinges. But to leaue the wordes it hath alway bin agreed by consent of all ages, that religion is with false errors corrupted and peruered. Whereupon we gather that it is a very sond colour which the superstitious do pretend, when with vndiscrete zeale we giue our selues leaue to do all thinges. And although this confession sound in the mouthes of all men: yet herein a shamefull ignorance bewrayeth it selfe, that neither they cleaue to the one God, nor haue any regarde of order in the worshippinge of him, as we haue already shewed. But God, to claime his owne right vnto himselfe, crieth out that he is ielous, and that he will be a seuerer reuenger if he be mingled with any fayned God. And then he setteth forth the lawfull maner of worshipping, to hold mankind in obediēce. He conteineth both these pointes in his law, when first he bindeth the faithfull vnto himselfe that he only may be their lawmaker: and then he prescribeth a rule whereby to be worshipped after his owne minde. Of the law, because the vses and endes thereof are many, I will entreate in place fitte for it. Now I only touch this point, that thereby me are bridleed that they run not out of the way to wrong worshippings. Now as I first sayd, we must hold in minde, that if all that euer properly belongeth to godhead do not rest in God alone, he is spoyled of his honor, and his worshippe broken. And there must we somewhat hedelessly marke with what subtilties superstitiō deceiueth. For it doth not so reuolte vnto straunge gods that it seemeth to forsake the hiest God, or to bring him downe into the number of other gods: but while she graūteth vnto him the hiest place, she setteth round about him a number of lesser gods, among whom she diuideth his offices. And so (albeit clokely and craftily) the glory of the godhead is cut in partes, that it remaineth not whole with him. So in the old time, as well they of the Iewes as of the Gentiles did set beneath the father

father & iudge of gods a great rout of gods which should euery one according to his degree in cōmon haue with y^e hiest God the government of the heauen and earth. So the Saintes that in a few ages past departed this life, are aduanced to the fellowship of God, to be worshipped, called vpon, & honored in steade of him. And yet with such abomination we thinke that the maiesty of God is not so much as diuided, when in deede it is a great parte suppressed and extinguished, sauing that we retaine still a poore opinion of his supreme power: & in the meane time deceiued with entangled suttelties we are sunderly caried to diuers gods.

2 For this purpose also was inuented the distinction of Latria and Dulia, as they terme them, that is worshippe and seruice, whereby they might freely seeme to giue away the honors of God to angels and dead men. For it is euident, that the worshippe which the Papistes giue vnto saintes differeth nothing in deede from the worshippe of God. For all alike without diuersity they worship both God and them: sauing that when they be charged with it, they winde away with this exception, that they kepe still for God the honor that is due vnto him inuiolate, because they leaue vnto him the worshippe that they call Latria. But sith the question standeth vpon the matter, and not the word, who would permitte them so carelessly to mocke in a matter of all matters most weighty? But to lette that also passe, yet winne they nothing by this distinction, but to proue, that they giue worshippe to one God and seruice to an other. For Latria in greeke signifieth as much as in Latin Cultus, and in English worshippe. Dulia, properly signifieth seruice. And yet sometime in scripture this difference is confounded together without diuersity. But graunt it be a perpetuall difference, then must we search what both the words may meane. Dulia is seruice, Latria is worshippe. Now no man douteth that to serue, is more then to worship. For many times a man could hardly beare to serue him whom he would not sticke to worshippe. So is it an vnegall dealing to giue to the saintes that which is the greater, and to leaue to God that which is the lesser. But many of the auncient authors haue vsed this distinction. What maketh that matter, if all men do perceiue it to be not onely vnfit, but all together very fond?

3 Now leauing nice suttelties, let vs wey the matter it selfe. When Paule putteth the Galathians in remembrance what they were before that they were lightened in the knowledge of God, he saith that they gaue Duliam seruice to those that of nature were no gods. Although he name not Latriam or worship, is therfore their superstitiō

Cal. 4. 8

excusable? He doth neuerthelesse condemne their peruerse superstition, which he termeth by the name of Dulia seruice, than if he had expressed the name of Latria, worship. And whē Christ repulseth the assault of Sathan with his buckler, that it is wrytten, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, the name of Latria was not brought in question. Sathan required but an adoration. Likewise when the angell reproued Iohn, because he fell down on his knees before him, we ought not to thinke that Iohn was so madde that he would giue vnto the angell the honor that was due onely to God. But because it was not possible, but that all worship that is ioyned with religion sauoureth somewhat as pertaining to God, therefore he could not adore the angell, but that he must take away somewhat from the glory of God. We read in deede often, that men haue bin honored: but that was a ciuile honor, as I may so call it. But religion hath an other rule, which so soone as it is ioyned with worshippe, bringeth with it a prophane abuse of the honor of God. The same may we see in Cornelius. He had not so slenderly profited in godlinesse, but that he had learned to giue the soueraigne worship to God alone. Therefore when he fell downe before Peter, he did it not of this meaning to worship him in the steede of God. And yet did Peter earnestly forbid him to do that which he did. And why so? but because men do neuer so narrowly put difference betwene y worship of God & of his creatures: but that without diuersity they giue away that vnto the creature, which belongeth vnto God. Wherefore if we haue one God, we must remember that nothing be it neuer so little must be taken away from his glory, but that he keepe still that which is properly his. Therefore Zachary when he preacheth of the repairing of the Church, in plaine words expresseth: That there shall not only be one God, but also that there shalbe one name of that God, to the end that he haue nothing in common with Idols. What maner of worship God requireth, we shal see in an other place when it falleth in order. For it pleased him in his law to prescribe vnto men what is lawfull and right, and so to binde them to a certaine rule, that euery man should not geue himselfe leaue to deuise what forme of worshippe he list. But because it is not expedient to loade the readers with heaping many matters together, I will not touche that point yet. Onely lette it suffice for this time to kepe in minde, that euery carying away of the duetyfull behauiours of Godlinesse to any other than to God alone, is not without robbery of God. And first superstition deuised to giue diuine honors to the Sonne, or other starres or idols: then followed ambitious pride, which garnishing mortall men with spoyles taken from God,

presumed

Matt. 4.
10.
Reu. 19.
10.

Act. 10.
25.

Zac. 24.
9.

presumed to prophane all that euer was holy. And although this principle remained among them, to honour the soueraigne deity, yet grewe it in vse indifferently to offer sacrifices to spirites, lesser gods, or deade men of honor. So slippery is the way to slide into this fault, to make common to a number that which God seuerely chaulgerth to himselfe alone.

The xiiij. Chapter.

That there is taught in the Scriptures one essence of God from the very creation, which essence containeth in it three persons.

THat which is taught in the Scriptures concerning the incomprehensible and spirituall essence of God, ought to suffice not onely to ouerthrow the foolish errors of the common people, but also to confute the fine subtelties of prophane philosophie. One of the old wryters seemed to haue sayd very well, That God is all that we do see, and all that we do not see. But by this meane he hath imagined the godheade to be powred into all the partes of the world. Although God, to the intent to kepe men in sober minde, speaketh but sparsely of his owne essence, yet by those two names of addition that I haue rehearsed, he doth both take away all grosse imaginations, and also repress the presumptuous boldnesse of mans minde. For surely his immeasurable greatnesse ought to make vs afraide, that we attempt not to measure him with our sense: and his spirituall nature forbiddeth vs to imagine any thing earthly or fleshly of him. For the same cause he often assigneth his dwelling place to be in heauen. For though, as he is incomprehensible, he filleth the earth also: yet because he seeth our mindes by reason of their dullnesse to lye still in the earth, for good cause he listeth vs vp above the world, to shake of our slouth and sluggishnesse. And here falleth to ground the error of the Manichees, which in appointing two originall beginnings haue made the diuell in a manner egall with God. Surely this was as much as to breake the vnity of God and restraine his vnmeasurablenesse. For where they haue presumed to abuse certaine testimonies: that sheweth a fowle ignorance, as their error it selfe sheweth a derestable madnesse. And the Anthropomorphites are also easily confuted which haue imagined God to consist of a body, because oftentimes the Scripture ascribeth vnto him a mouth, eares, eyes, handes, and feete. For what man yea though he be sclenderly witted doo:h not vnderstand that God doth so with vs speake as it were childishly, as nurses do with their babes? Therefore such maners of speeche do not so plainly expresse what God is, as

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they do apply the vnderstanding of him to our slender capacity. Which to do, it behoued of necessity that he descended a great way beneath his owne height.

2 But he also setteth out himselfe by an other special marke, whereby he may be more nerely knowē. For he so declareth himselfe to be but one, that he yet giueth himselfe distinctly to be considered in three persons: which except we learne, a bare & empty name of God without any true God flieth in our braine. And that no man should thinke that he is a threfold God, or that the one essence of God is diuided in three persons, we must here seeke a short and easie definition to deliuer vs from all error. But because many do make much a do about this word Person, as a thing inuented by man: how iustly they do so, it is best first to see. The Apostles naming the sonne, the engra-
Heb. 1.3 ued forme of the Hypostasis of his father, he vndoubtedly meaneth, that the Father hath some being, wherein he differeth from the sonne. For to take it for Essence (as some expositours haue done, as if Christ like a peece of waxe printed with a seale did represent the substance of the Father) were not onely hard but also an absurdity. For sith the Essence of God is single or one and vndiuisible, he that in himselfe containeth it all and not by pecemeale, or by deriuation, but in whole perfection, should very vnproperly yea fondly be called the engraueed forme of him. But because the father although he be in his owne property distinct, hath expressed himselfe wholly in his sonne, it is for good cause sayd, that he hath giuen his Hypostasis, to be seene in him. Wherwith aptly agreeth that which by and by followeth, that he is the brightnesse of his glory. Surely by the Apostles wordes we gather, that there is a certaine proper Hypostasis in the father, that shineth in the sonne: whereby also againe is easely perceiued the Hypostasis of the sonne that distinguisheth him from the Father. Like order is in the holy ghost. For we shall by and by proue him to be God, and yet he must nedes be other than the father. Yet this distinctiō is not of the essence, which it is vnlawfull to make manifold. Therefore if the Apostles testimony be credited, it followeth that there be in God three Hypostases. This terme seeing the Latines haue expressed with the name of Persō, it were to much pride & waywardnesse to braule about so cleare a matter. But if we list word for word to translate, we may call it Subsistence. Many in the same sense haue called it subſtāce. And the name of Person hath not bin in vse among the Latines on- ly: but also the Grecians, perhaps to declare a consent, haue taught that there are three Prosopa, that is to say Persons in God. But they, whether they be Grekes or Latins that differ one from an other in the
worde,

worde; do very well agree in the summe of the matter.

3 Now howsoeuer the heretikes barke at the name of persone, or some ouermuch precise men do carpe that they like not the worde fained by deuise of men: sith they can not get of vs to say, that there be three, wherof euery one is wholly God, nor yet that there be many goddes: what vnreasonablenesse is this, to mislike wordes, which expresse none other thing but that which is testified and approved by the Scriptures? It were better (say they) to restraints not only our meanings but also our wordes within the boundes of Scripture, than to deuise straunge names that may be the beginniges of disagreement and brawling: so do we tier our selues with strife about wordes: so the truth is lost in contending: so charitie is broken by odiously brawling together. If they call that a straunge worde, which can not be shewed in Scripture, as it is written in nombre of sillables: then they binde vs to a hard law, wherby is condemned all exposition that is not pieced together, with bare laying together of textes of Scripture. But if they meane that to be straunge, which beyng curiously deuised, is superstitiously defended, which maketh more for contention than edification, which is either vnaptly, or to no profite vsed, which withdraweth from the simplicitie of the word of God, then with all my hart I embrace their sobre minde. For I iudge that we ought with no lesse deuout reuerence to talke of God than to thinke of him, for as much as what soeuer we do of our selues thinke of him, is foolish, and what soeuer we speake is vnfauiory. But there is a certaine measure to be kept. We ought to learne out of the Scriptures a rule both to thinke and speake, wherby to examine all the thoughtes of our minde & wordes of our mouth. But what withstandeth vs, but that such as in Scripture are to our capacitie doutfull and entangled, we may in plainer wordes expresse them, being yet such wordes as do reuerently and faithfullly serue the truth of the Scripture, and be vsed sparsely, modestly, and not without occasion. Of which sort there are examples enow. And where as it shal by prooffe appere that the Church of great necessitie was enforced to vse the names of Trinitie, and Persones, if any shall then finde fault with the newnesse of woordes, shall he not be iustly thought to be greued at the light of the truth, as he that blameth only this that the truth is made so plaine and cleare to discerne?

4 Such newnesse of wordes, if it be so to be called, commeth then chiefly in vse, when the truth is to be defended against wranglers that do mocke it out with cauillations. Which thing we haue at this day to much in experience, who haue great businesse in vanquishing the enemies of true and sounde doctrine. With such folding and crooked

winding these slippery snakes do slide away, vnlesse they be strongly griped and holden hard when they be taken. So the old fathers being troubled with contending against false doctrines, were compelled to shew their meaninges in exquisite plainnesse, least they should leaue any crooked by wayes to the wicked, to whom the dourefull constructions of wordes were hidingholes of errors. Arrius confessed Christ to be God, and the sonne of God, because he coule not againsay the euident wordes of God, and as if he had bin so sufficiently discharged did faine a certaine consent with the rest. But in the meane while he ceased not to scatter abroad that Christ was create, and had a beginning as other creatures. But to the ende they might draw forth his winding sutteltie out of his denne, the auncient fathers went further, pronouncing Christ to be the eternall sonne of the father and consubstantiall with the father. Hereat wickednesse began to boile, when the Arrians began to hate and deteste the name *Omoouſion*, consubstantiall. But if in the beginning they had sincerely and with plaine meaning confessed Christ to be God, they would not now haue denied him to be consubstantiall with the father. Who dare now blame these good men as brawlers and contentious, bycause for one litle wordes sake, they were so whote in disputatiō, and troubled the quiete of the Church? But that little worde shewed the differēce betwene the true beleuing Christians, and the Arrians that were robbers of God. Afterward rose vp Sabellius which accompted in a maner for nothing the names of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost, saying in disputation that they were not made to shew any maner of distinction, but onely were seuerall additions of God, of which sorte there are many. If he came to disputatiō, he confessed, that he beleued the father God, the sonne God, the Holy ghost God. But afterward he would redely slippe away with saying that he hadde in no otherwise spoken than as if he had named God, a strong God, iust God, and wise God: and so he song another song, that the Father is the Sonne, and the Holy ghost is the father, without any order, without any distinctiō. The good doctors which then had care of godlinesse, to subdew his wickednesse, cried out on the other side that there ought to be acknowledged in one God three properies. And to the end to sence themselves against the crooked writhē suttelties with plaine and simple truth, they affirmed, that there did truely subsist in one God, or (which came all to one effect) that there did subsist in the vnitie of God a Trinitie of persons.

¶ If then the names haue not bin without cause inuēted, we ought to take hede, that in reiecting thē we be not iustly blamed of proude presumptuousnesse. I would to God they were buried in dede, so that
this

this faith were agreed of all men, that the Father and the Sonne, and the Holy ghost be one God: and yet that the Father is not the Sonne, nor the Holy ghost the Sonne, but distinct by certaine proprietie. Yet am I not so precise, that I can finde in my harte to strue for bare wordes. For I note, that the olde fathers, which otherwise speake very religiousely of such matters, did not euery where agree one with another, nor euery one with himselfe. For what formes of speech vsed by the counsels doth Hilarie excuse? To how greate libertie doth Augustine sometime breake forth? How vnlike are the Grekes to the Latins? But of this variance one example shall suffice for this time. Whē the Latins mēt to expresse the worde Omoouision, they called it Consubstanciall, declaring the substance of the Father and the Sonne to be one, so vsing the word substance for essence. Whervpō Hierome to Damasus saith, it is sacrilege to say, that there are three substances in God: and yet aboue a hundred times you shall finde in Hilarie, that there are three substances in God. In the worde Hypostasis, how is Hierome accombred? For he suspecteth that there lurketh poison in naming three Hypostases in God. And if a man do vse this word in a godly sence, yet he plainly saith that is an improprie speech, if he spake vnfainedly, and did not rather wittingly and willingly seeke to charge the bishoppes of the Eastlandes, whom he sought to charge with an vniust sleaunder. Sure this one thing he speaketh not very truely, that in all prophane schooles, ouisia, essence is nothing els but hypostasis, which is proued false by the common and accustomed vse. Augustine is more modest and gentill, which although he say, that the worde hypostasis in that sence is strange to latine eares, yet so farre is it of that he taketh from the Grekes their vsuall maner of speaking, that he also gently beareth with the Latins that had followed the Greke phrase. And that which Socrates writeth in the sixte booke of the Tripartite historie, tendeth to this end, as though he ment that he hadde by vnskillful men bin wrongfully applied vnto this matter. Yea and the same Hilarie himselfe layeth it for a great fault to the heretikes charge, that by their waywardnesse he is compelled, to put those thinges in perill of the speech of men, which ought to haue bin kept in the religiousnesse of mindes, plainly confessing that this is to do thinges vnlawfull, to speake that ought not to be spoken, to attempt thinges not licensed. A litle after, he excuseth himselfe with many wordes, for that he was so bolde to vtter new names For after he had vsed the naturall names Father, Sonne, and Holy ghost, he addeth that what soeuer is sought further, is beyond the compasse of speech, beyond the reach of sence, and beyonde the capacitie of vnderstanding. And in an other

De tri-
nit. li. 5.
cap. 8.
and 9.

De tri-
ni. lib. 2.

place he saith, that happy are the bishops of Gallia, which neither had nor receiued nor knew any other confession, but that olde and simple one, which frō the time of the Apostles was receiued in all Churches. And much like is the excuse of Augustine, that this worde was wrong out of necessitie by reason of the imperfectiō of mens language in so great a matter: not to expresse that which is, but that it should not be vnspoken how the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost are three. This modestie of the holy menne ought to warne vs, that we do not forthwith so seuerely like Censors, note them with infamie that refuse to subscribe and sweare to such wordes as we propounde them: so that they do it not of pride, of frowardnesse, or of malicious craft. But let them againe consider, by how great necessitie we are driuen to speake so, that by little and little they may be enured with that profitable maner of speech. Let them also learne to beware, least sith we must mete on the one side with the Arrians, on the other side with Sabelians, while they be offended that we cut of occasion from them both to cauill, they bring themselues in suspition, that they be the disciples either of Arrius or of Sabellius. Arrius saith that Christ is God, but he muttereth that he was create, and had a beginning. He saith Christ is one with the Father, but secretly he whispereth in the eares of his disciples, that he was made one as the other faithfull be, although by singular prerogatiue. Say ones that Christ is Consubstantiall with his father, then plucke you of his visour from the dissembler, and yet you adde nothing to the Scripture, Sabellius saith, that the seuerall names; Father, Sonne, and Holy ghost signifie nothing in God seuerally distinct: say that they are three: and he will cry out that you name three gods. Say that there is in one essence a Trinitie of persons, then shall you in one word both say, what the Scripture speaketh, and stop their vaine babbling. Now if any be holden with so curious superstition, that they can not abide these names: yet is there no man, though he would neuer so faine, that can deny but that when we heare of one, we must vnderstand an vnitie of substance: when we heare of three in one essence, that it is ment of the persons in the trinitie. Which thing being without fraude confessed, we stay no longer vpon wordes. But I haue long ago found, and that often, that who soeuer do obstinately quarell about wordes, do keepe within them a secrete poison: so that it is better willingly to prouoke them, than for their pleasure to speake darkly.

6 But leauing disputation of wordes I will now begin to speake of the matter it selfe. I call therfore a Person, a subsistence in the essence of God, which hauing relatiō to the other is distinguished from them
with

with vncōmunicable propertie. By the name of Subſiſtēce we meane an other thing than the eſſence. For if the worde had ſimply bin God, and in the meane time had nothing ſeuerally propre to it ſelfe, Iohn hadde ſaid amiſſe, that is was with God. Where he forthwith addeth, that God himſelfe was the ſame worde, he calleth vs backe againe to **Iohn. 1.** **1.** ſo one ſingle eſſence. But becauſe it coulde not be with God, but that it muſt reſt in the father: hereof ariſeth that ſubſiſtēce, which though it be ioyned to the eſſence with an vnſeparable knot, yet hath it a ſpeciall marke, wherby it doth differ from it. So of the three ſubſiſtēces, I ſay that eche hauing relation to other is in propertie diſtinguiſhed. Relation is here expreſſely mencioned. For when there is ſimple and indefinite mencion made of God, this name belongeth no leſſe to the Sonne and the Holy ghoſt, than to the Father. But when the Father is compared with the Sonne, the ſeueral propertie of either doth diſcerne him from the other. Thirdely, what ſoeuer is propre vnto eue-
ry of them is vncōmunicable. For that which is geuen to the Father **Lib. cō-**
for a marke of difference, can not agree with, nor be geuen to the **tra Pra-**
Sonne. And I miſlike not the definition of Tertullian, ſo that it be **xcam.**
rightly taken, That there is in God a certaine diſpoſition or diſtribu-
tion, which yet chaungeth nothing of the vnitie of the eſſence.

7. But before that I go any further, it is good that I proue the God-
head of the Sonne and of the Holy ghoſt. Then after we ſhal ſee, how
they differ one from an other. Surely whe the Worde of God is ſpo-
ken of in the Scripture: it were a very greate abſurditie to imagine it
only a fading and vaniſhing voice, which ſente into the ayre, cometh
out of God himſelfe, of which ſort were the oracles geuen to the fa-
thers, and all the prophecies: when rather the worde is mente to be the
perpetuall wiſdom abiding with the Father, from whence all the ora-
cles and prophecies proceded. For as Peter teſtifieth, no leſſe didde the **1. Pet. 1.**
olde prophetes ſpeake with the ſpirit of Chriſt, than did the Apo- **11.**
ſtles and all they that after them did diſtribute the heauenly doctrine.
But becauſe Chriſt was not yet openly ſhewed, we muſt vnderſtand
that the Worde was before all worldes begotten of the Father. And if
the Spirit was of the Worde, whoſe instrumentes were the prophe-
tes, we do vndoubtedly gather that he was true god. And this doth
Moſes teach plainly enough in the creation of the worlde, when he
ſetteth the worde as the meane. For why doth he expreſſely tell, that
God in creating of all his workes ſaid: Be this done: or that done: but
that the vnſerchable glory of god may ſhiningly appere in his images?
The ſuttlenofed & babbling men do eaſily mocke out this, with ſaying
that the name Worde, is there taken for his bidding or commande-

Cap. 13. Of the knowvledge of

Heb. 1. mente. But better expositors are the Apostles, which teach that the
2. worldes were made by the same, and that he susteineth them all with
 his mighty Worde. For here we see that the Worde is taken for the
 bidding or commaundement of the Sonne, which is himselfe the eter-
Eccle. 1. nall and essentiall Worde to the Father. And to the wise and sobre it is
24. 14. not darke that Salomō saith, where he bringeth in Wisdom begotten
 of God before all worldes, and bearing rule in the creation of thinges,
 and in all the workes of God. For to say that it was a certaine com-
 maundement of God, seruing but for a time, were very foolish and
 vaine: where as in deede it was Goddes pleasure at that time to shew
 forth his stedfast and eternall purpose, yea and some thing more se-
John. 5. crete. To which entente also maketh that saying of Christ: My Fa-
17. ther and I do worke euen to this daie. For in saying, That from the
 beginning of the worlde he was continually working with his Fa-
 ther, he doth more openly declare that which Moses hadde more
 shortely touched. We gather then that the meaning of Goddes spea-
 king was this, that the Worde hadde his office in the doing of thin-
 ges, and so they both had a common woorking together. But most
 plainly of all doth Iohn speake, whē he sheweth that the same Word,
 which from the beginning was God with God, was together with
 God the Father the cause of all thinges. For he both geueth to the
John. 1. Worde a perfect and abiding essence, and also assigneth vnto it some
3. thing peculiar to it selfe, and plainly sheweth how God in speaking
 was the creator of the worlde. Therefore as all reuelacions proceeding
 from God do well beare the name of the worde of God, so ought we
 yet to set in the hyest place that substanciall Worde, the wellspring
 of all Oracles, which being subiect to no alteration, abideth alwaies
 one and the selfe same with God, and is God himselfe.

8 Here many dogges do barke against vs, which when they dare
 not openly take from him his Godhead, do secretly steale from him
 his Eternitie. For they say, that the Worde then began first to be,
 when God in the creation of the world opened his holy mouth. But
 verie vndiscretly do they to imagine a certaine innouacion of the sub-
 stance of God. For as those names of God that haue relation to his
 outward worke, began to be geuen vnto him after the being of his
 worke, as for example, this that he is called the creator of heauen
 and earth: so doth Godlinesse know or admitt no name that should
 signifie any new thing in himselfe to haue chaunced vnto God. For if
 any should come to him from els where than in himselfe, then this
 saying of Iames should faile, that euery good geuing and euery per-
 fect gift is from aboue, and commeth downe from the Father of
 lightes,

lightes, with whom is no variablenesse neither shadowing by turning. Therefore nothing is lesse to be suffered, than to faine a beginning of that Worde, which both alway was God, and afterwarde was creator of the worlde. But full suttelty forsooth they reason, that Moses in saying that God then first spake, doth secretly shew that there was no Worde in him before. Which is a most tryfling argument. For it followeth not, because a thing at some one certaine time beginneth to be shewed openly, that therefore it had neuer any beyng before. But I cōclude farre otherwise and say: saying that in the same momente that God saied, let light be made, the power of the worde appeared and shewed it selfe: the same Worde was long before. but if a man aske how long before, he shall finde no beginning. For he appointed no certaine space of time when him selfe saied: Father glorifie me with the glory which I had with thee before the worlde was. And this thing Iohn also left not vntouched, because he first sheweth that in the beginning the worde was with God, before that he commeth to the creation of the worlde. We say therfore againe, that the Worde which was conceiued of God before any beginning of time, was continually remaining with him. Wherby both his eternitie, true essence, and Godhead is proued.

9 Although I do not yet touch the person of the Mediator, but do deferre it to that place where we shall specially entreate of the Redempcion: yet because it ought to be certainly holden without controuersie among all men, that Christ is the same Worde clad with flesh, in this place will be very fitte to recite all those testimonies that proue Christ to be God. Whē it is sayed in the xlv. Psalme, thy throne O God is for euer and euer: the Iewes do cauill and say, that the name Elohim is also applied to the Angels and soueraigne powers. But in all the Scripture there is not a like place, that raiseth an eternall throne to any creature. For he is here not simply called God, but also the eternall Lord. Againe, this title is giuen to none but with an addicion, as it is saied: that Moses shalbe for a God to Pharao. Some rede it in the Genitiue case which is very foolish. I graunt in derde that oftentimes a thing is called Diuine or of God, that is notable by any singular excellence: but here by the tenour of the texte it appeareth, that such a meaning were harde and forced, and will not agree. But if their stubborneesse will not so yelde: In Esaie is very plainly brought in for all one both Christ and God, and he that is adorned with the soueraigne power, which is properly belonging to God alone. This (saith he) is the name wherby they shall call him, the strong God, the Father of the world to come, &c. Here the Iewes

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barcke againe, and turne the texte thus : this is the name whereby the stronge God the father of the worlde to come shall call him : so that they leaue this onely to the Sonne to be called the Prince of peace. But to what purpose should so many names of addicion in this place be heaped vpon God the Father, seyng it is the purpose of the Prophete to adorne Christ with such speciall notes as may builde our Faith vpon him? Wherefore it is out of dout that he is here in like sorte called the strong God, as he is a little before called Immanuel. But nothing can be founde plainer than that place of Hieremie where he sayeth, that this shall be the name whereby the sede of Dauid shall be called Iehouah our righteousnesse. For where the Iewes themselves do teach, that all other names of God are but adiectiue names of addicion, and that this onely name Iehouah which they call vn-speakable is a substantiue name to expresse his essence: we gather that the Sonne is the onely and eternall God, which saith in an other place that he will not geue his glory to an other. But here also they seke to scape away because that Moses gaue that name to the Altare that he biled, and Ezechiel gaue it to the new citie Hierusalem. But who doth not see that the Altare was builded for a monumente that God was the auancement of Moses, and that Hierusalem is not adorned with the name of God, but onely to testifie the presence of God? For thus sayeth the Prophete. The name of the citie from that day shalbe Iehouah there. And Moses saith thus. He builded an altare and called the name of it, Iehouah my exaltacion. But more businesse ariseth by an other place of Hieremie, where the same tittle is applied to Hierusalem in these wordes: this is the name whereby they shall call her Iehouah our righteousnesse. But this testimony is so farre from making against the trueth which we defende, that it rather confirmeth it. For whereas he had before testified that Christ is the true Iehouah from whom floweth righteousnesse, now he pronounceth that the Church shall so verely fele the same, that she may gloriously vse the very name it selfe. And so in the first place is set the fountaine and cause of righteousnesse, in the other the effect.

Now if this do not satisfie the Iewes, that Iehouah is so oft presented in the personne of an Angell, I see not with what cauellations they can mocke it out. It is saied that the Angell appeared to the holy fathers: and the same Angel chalengeeth to himselfe the name of the eternall God. If any take exception and say, that this is spoken in respect of the Person that he representeth: this knotte is not thus losed. For being a seruante he would not suffer Sacrifice to be offered to him and take from God his due honour. But the Angell re-

fusing

Ierc. 23.
6.

Esa. 42.
8.

Eze. 48.
35.

Exo. 17.

15.

Ier. 33.
16.

Iud. 6.7

Iud. 13.
16.

fusing to eate bread, commandeth Sacrifice to be offered to Iehouah. And then he proueth that himselfe in deede was the same Iehouah, and therefore Manoah and his wife by this token did gather, that they had seen not an only Angel but God. And thence came it that he sayd: we shall die because we haue seen God. And when his wife aunswereth, if Iehouah would haue slayen vs, he would not haue receaued Sacrifice at our handes: in this she doth confesse that he was God which before was called the Angell. Beside this, the aunswere of the Angell himselfe taketh away all doubt of it, saying: why doest thou aske me of my name, which is maruellous? So much the more detestable was the wickednesse of Seruetto, when he affirmed that God neuer appeared to Abraham and the other fathers, but that an Angell was worshipped in place of him. But truely and wisely haue the true teaching doctors of the Church expounded, that the same principall Angell was the worde of God, which then as aforehande began to execute the office of Mediatour. For though he was not yet clothed with flesh, yet he came downe as a meane betwene God and men, to come more familiarly to the faithfull. Therefore his nie communicating himselfe made him to be called an Angell: yet still in the meane time he retained that which was his own, to be the God of vnspcakable glory. The same thing meaneth Oseas, which after he had recited the wrastring of Iacob with the Angell, sayeth: Iehouah the God of hostes, Iehouah, worthy of memory is his name. Here againe Seruetto carpeth, that God did beare the person of an Angell. As though the Prophete did not cōfirme that which Moses had said: why doest thou aske me of my name? And the confession of the holy Patriarche doeth sufficiently declare that he was not a created Angell, but one in whom the full godhead was resident, when he said: I haue seen God face to face. And for this cause Paule sayeth, that Christ was guide of the people in the wildernesse. For though the time was not yet come of his abacemente: yet that eternall worde shewed a figure of that office to which he was appointed. Now if the seconde Chapter of Zacharie be weyed without contencion, the Angell that sente an other Angell was byandby pronounced to be the God of hostes, & to him is soueraigne power ascribed. I omitte innumerable testimonies on the which our Faith safely resteth, although they do not much moue the Iewes. For when it is said in Esaie. Beholde this is our God, this is Iehouah, we shall waite vpon him, and he shall saue vs, they that haue eyes may see, that herein is meant God which ryseth vp for the saluation of his people. And these vehement demonstrations twise repeated, suffer it to be drawn no otherwhere but to

Ose. 12.

5.

Ge. 32.

29.

1. Cor.

10. 4.

Zach. 2.

3.

Esa. 25.

9.

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Mal. 3.1 Christ. And yet plainer and fuller is the place of Malachie where he promifeth that he shall come the Lord that was then desired, to his owne temple. But to none but to the onely foueraigne God was the temple dedicate, which temple yet the Prophet dothe claime for Christ. Wherevpon followeth that Christ is the same God that was euer honored among the Iewes.

11 As for the newe Testament, it swarmeth with innumerable testimonies, therefore we must trauaile rather shortly to choose out fewe, than largely to heape vp all. For though the Apostles speake of him since he was now become the Mediatour in flesh: yet all that I shall bring forth shall aptly serue to proue his godhead. First this is worthy to be singularly marked, that those thinges which were before spoken touching the eternall God, the Apostles do shew that they are either already performed, or hereafter to be performed in Christ. For where Esaie prophecieth that the Lord of hostes shalbe to the Iewes and Israelites a stombling stone and a rocke to fall vpon: Paule affirmeth Rom. 9. that the same is fulfilled in Christ. Therefore he declareth him to be the Lord of hostes, Likewise in an other place. We must all (saith he) Rom. 14. ones be brought to appeare before the iudgement throne of Christ. Esa 55. For it is written, to me shall all knees bow, and to me shall all tongues swere. Seing God in Esay speaketh this thing of himselfe, and Christ in dede performeth it in himselfe, it followeth that he is the selfe same God whoes glory may not be withdrawn to an other. And that thing Ephe. 4. which writing to the Ephesians he allegeth out of the Psalmes, is euident that it can be applied to none but to God alone. Ascending on Psal. 57. hie he hath caried captiuitie captiue, meaning that such ascending was in shadowe shewed, when God in notable victory against forein nations did shewe forth his power, but he declareth that in Christ it was more fully performed. So Iohn testifieth that it was the glory of the Sonne that was reueled to Esay by a vision, wheras in dede the Esa. 6.1. Prophet himselfe wryteth that the maiestie of God appeared vnto him. And it is euident that those thinges which the Apostle wryting to the Hebrues applieth to the Sonne, are the plaine titles of God, as: Thou Lord in the beginning diddest laie the foundations of heauen and earth. &c. Againe worship him all ye his Angels. And yet he abuseth not those titles when he draweth them to Christ. For all those thinges that are spoken of in those Psalmes, he himselfe alone hath fulfilled. For it was he that rose vp and had mercy on Siō. It was he that claimed to himselfe the kingdome of all the nations and ilandes. And why should Iohn sticke to apply the maiestie of God to Christ which in his preface had sayed that the worde was alwaie God?

God? Why should Paule feare to set Christ in the iudgement throne of God, hauing before with so open proclamaciō declared his God-head, where he saied that he was God blessed to the ende of worldes? And to make appeare, how well he agreeth in this pointe with himselfe, in an other place he writeth that Christ is God openly shewed in the flesh. If he be God to be prayesd to the ende of worldes, then he is the same he to whom in an other place he affirmeth all glorie and honour to be due. And thus he hideth not, but plainly crieth out, that he would haue counted it no robbery if he had shewed himselfe egall with God, but that he willingly abaced himselfe. And that the wicked should not carpe that he is some made God, Iohn goeth further and saith. He is the true God and the eternall life. Although it ought abundantly to satisfie vs, that he is called God, specially of that witnesse which expressly affirmeth vnto vs that there are no moe goddes but one. That same witnesse is Paule, which saith thus: How many soeuer be called goddes either in heauen or in earth, to vs there is but one God from whom are all thinges. When we heare of the same mouth, that God was openly shewed in the flesh, that God with his owne blood purchased the Church to himselfe: why should we imagine a seconde God which he himselfe acknowledgeth not? And it is no doute that all the godly were of the same meaning. Likewise Thomas in protesting him to be his Lorde and his God, doth professe that he is that onely one God whom he had alway worshipped.

12 Now if we esteeme his Godhead by the workes that in the Scripture are ascribed vnto him, it shall thereby more euidentlie appeare. For when he saied that from the beginning he was therterto working with his father: the Iewes which were most dull in vnderstanding of all his other sayinges, yet then perceiued that he toke vpon him the power of God. And therefore, as Iohn telleth, they sought the more to kill him, because he didde not onely breake the Sabbath, but also did call God his father, making himselfe egall with God. How dull shall we be thē, if we do not perceiue that his godhead is herein plainly affirmed? And truely to order the worlde with providence and power, and to gouerne all thinges with the authoritie of his owne might, which the Apostle ascribeth vnto him, belongeth to none but onely to the creator. And he not onely enterparteneth the gouernement of the worlde with his Father, but also all other offices which can not be made cōmon to God with his creatures. The Lord crieth out by the Prophet: I am he, I am he, that doe away thine offences for mine owne sake. According to the meaning of this sen-

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tence when the Iewes thought that wronge was done to god for that
 Mat. 9. Christ did forgeue sinnes; Christ not onely affirmed in wordes but also
 6. proued by miracle that this power belonged vnto himselfe. We see
 Mat. 9. therefore that he hath, not the ministracion, but the power of forgeue-
 4. nesse of sinnes, which the Lord saith he will not suffer to passe away
 from himselfe to any. What shall we say of searching and pearling
 the secreete thoughtes of hartes? is it not the proprietie of god alone?
 But the same had Christ: wherby is gathered that he is God.

13 Now, in his miracles how plainly and clerely doth he appeare?
 And though I graunte that as well the Prophctes as the Apostles did
 egall and like miracles to these that he did: yet this great difference
 is there, that they by their ministracion disposed the gistes of God,
 he shewed forth his owne power. He vsed sometime prayer, to the
 ende to geue glory vnto his Father. But we see for the most part his
 owne power shewed vnto vs. And how coulede it otherwise be but
 that he was the very author of miracles that by his owne autorite
 Mat. 10. gaue power to other to deale miracles abroad? For the Euangelist de-
 8. clareth that he gaue power to the Apostles to rayse vp the dead, to
 Mar. 3. heale the leprous, to cast out deuils. &c. And they so vsed the mini-
 15. and stracion therof that they sufficiēly shewed that this power came not
 6. 7. from els where but from Christ. In the name of Iesus Christ (saith
 A.G. 3. 6 Peter) Rise and walke. It is therefore no maruell if Christ alleged his
 Ioh. 8. miracles to confound the vnbeleuingnesse of the Iewes: forasmuch as
 36. and they were such as being done by his owne power did geue a most
 10. 37. plaine testimonie of his godhead. If els where then in God there is
 and. 14. no saluacion, no righteousnesse, no life: and Christ containeth all these
 11. thinges in him, surely he is thereby declared to be God. And no man
 can object against me and say, that life and saluacion is poured into him
 by God: for it is not said that he receyued saluacion but that he is
 saluacion himselfe. And if none be good but onely God: how can he
 be onely man, beyng I will not say good and iuste, but selfe goodnesse
 Mat. 19. and iustice? Yea from the first beginning of the creation as the Euan-
 17. geliste witnesseth in him was life: and he euen then beyng life was
 Ioh. 1. 4. the light of men. Wherefore being supported with such proues we are
 Ioh. 14. bolde to repose our faith and hope in him: when yet we know that it is
 1. an vngodlinesse that robbeth God for any man to fasten his confidēce
 Esa. 26. in creatures. Beleue ye in God? sayeth he. Beleue then also in me.
 16. And so doth Paule expounde those two places of Esay, Whosoever
 Esay. 11. trusteth in him shall not be put to shame. Againe. Out of the roote of
 1. Isai shall he come that shall rise to rule peoples, in him the nations
 Ro. 10. shall trust. And why should we seke out more testimonies of Scripture
 11. and
 15. 12. for

for this matter, when we so often mete with this sentence? He that beleueth in me hath euerlasting life. Moreouer the inuocation which hangeth vpon Faith belongeth also to him, which yet is proper to the maiestie of God if he haue any thing at all proper to himselfe. For one Prophete sayeth: whosoever calleth vpon the name of Iehoua shall be saued: and an other sayeth: a most stronge toure is the name of Iehouah: to it the righteous shall flee and he shall be saued, but the name of Christ is called vpon for saluacion: it followeth therefore that he is Iehouah. As for inuocation, we haue an example of it in Stephen, when he sayeth, Lord Iesu receiue my spirite. Againe in the whole Church, as Ananias testifieth in the same booke. Lord (sayeth he) thou knowest how great euills this man hath done to thy Saintes that call vpon thy name. And that it may be more plainly vnderstanded that the whole fulnesse of the Godhead doth corporally dwell in Christ, the Apostle doth confesse that he brought no other doctrine among the Corinthians but the knowledge of him, and that he preached no other thing but that knowledge. What, I pray you, and how great a thing is this, that the name of the Sonne onely is preached vnto vs whom he willeth to glory in the knowledge of himselfe alone? Who dare say that he is but a creature, of whom the onely knowledge is our whole glorie? Beside that, the salutacions set before the Epistles of Paule, with the same benefites from the Sonne which they do from the Father, wherby we are taught not onely that those thinges which the Father geueth vs do come vnto vs by his intercession, but also by communitie of power, he is the author of them. Which knowledge by practise is without doute more certaine and perfect than any idle speculation. For there the godly mynde doth beholde God most present, and in maner handle him, where it feelleth it selfe to be quickened, lightened, saued, iustified and sanctified.

14 Wherefore out of the same fountaines we must fetch our meane of prouing to confirme the Godhead of the Holy ghost. Very plaine is the testimonie of Moses in the history of the creacion, that the spirite of God was vpon the depthes, or vpon the vnfashioned heape; because he sheweth that not onely the beautie of the worlde that is now to be seen is preserued by the power of the Spirite, but ere this beautie was added, the Spirite was then busied in preseruing that confused lumpe of thinges. And that saying of Esaie cannot be cauilled against. And now Iehouah and his Spirite hath sent me. For he communicaterh with the Holy ghost his chiefe power in sending of Prophetes. Whereby appeareth the diuine maiestie of the Holy ghost.

Io. 2.

32.

Pr. 18.

10.

A. 7.

52.

A. 9.

13.

1. Cor.

2.

Hic. 9.

24.

Gen. 1.2

Esa. 48.

16.

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But our best proufe, as I haue said, shalbe by familiar vse. For that which the Scriptures impute vnto it, is farre from the propertie of creatures, and such a thing as we our selues do learne by assured experience of godlineffe. For he it is that being eche where poured abrode, doth susteine and geueth growing and life to all things in heauen and in earth. An by this pointe he is proued to be none of the number of creatures, for that he is not comprehended within any boundes: but by pouring his liuely force into all things to breath into them life and mocion, this is the very worke of God. Moreouer if regeneracion into an incorruptible life be better and more excellēt than any present quickening: what shall we iudge of him from whose power the same procedeth? And that he is the author of regeneraciō, not by a borrowed, but by his owne force, the Scripture in many places teacheth: and not of that onely, but also of the immortalitie to come. Finally, as vnto the Sonne, so vnto him also are applied all those offices that are most of all properly belonging to the Godhead. For he searcheth the depe secretes of God, wherewith none of all the creatures is of counsel. He geueth wisdome and skill to speake, wheras yet the Lord pronounceth to Moses that it is onely his worke to do it. So by him we come to a partaking of God, so that we may fele his power as it were working life in vs. Our iustification is his worke. From him is power, sanctification, truth, grace, and what good thing soeuer may be thought of, because it is the Holy ghost onely from whom procedeth all kinde of giftes. For that sentence of Paule is righte worthy to be noted. Although there be diuerse giftes, and manifolde and sondry is the distribucion of them, yet is there but one holy Spirite: because he maketh him not onely the originall or beginning, but also the author. Whiche a little after is more plainly expressed in these woordes. One and the same Spirite distybuterh all things as he will. For if he were not some thing subsisting in God, he woulde not attribute vnto him choise of minde and will. Therefore moste evidently doth Paule geue to the Holy ghost diuine power, and sheweth that he is substantially resident in God.

15 And the Scripture it selfe, when it speaketh of him, forbeareth not the name of God. For Paule hereby gathereth that we are the temple of God, because his spirite dwelleth in vs: which thing is not lightly to be passed ouer. For wheras God so often promisseth that he wil chose vs for a temple to himselfe, that promise is no other way fulfilled, but by his spirite dwelling in vs. Surely, as Augustine very well saith: if we were commaunded to make vnto the Holy ghost

a tem-

1 Cor.
2.10.
1. Cor.
12.10.
Exo 4.
11.

1. Cor.
12.11.

1. Cor. 3
17. and
6.19.
2. Cor.
6.16.
Aug. ad
Maximi
nū Epi.
66.

a temple of timber and stone because such worship is due to God onely, it were a cleare argument that he is God: now therefore how much clearer is this, that we ought, not to make a temple, but our selues to be a temple for him? And the Apostle himselfe calleth vs sometime the temple of God, sometime the temple of the Holy ghost. both in one meaning. And Peter reprehending Ananias for that he had lied to the Holy ghost, said that he lied not vnto men but vnto God. And where Esay bringeth in the Lord of hostes speaking, Paule teacheth that it is the Holy ghost that speaketh. Yea where commonly the Prophetes say, that the wordes which they vter are the wordes of the Lord of hostes, Christ and the Apostles do referre them to the Holy ghost. Wherby it followeth that he is the true Iehouah that is the chiefe author of prophecies. Againe where God complaineth that he was prouoked to wrath by the stubborneffe of his people, in steade of that Esay saith that his holy Spirit was greued. Laste of all, if blasphemie against the Holy ghost be not forgeuen in this worlde nor in the worlde to come, whereas he may obtaine pardon that hath blasphemed against the Sonne: his diuine maiestie is here plainly proued, the offense or diminishment wherof is an unpardonable crime. I do wittingly and of purpose omitte many testimonies that the auncient writers haue vsed. They haue thought it a maruellous mete place to alleage out of Dauid: with the worde of the Lord the heauens were stablished, and all the power of them with the spirit of his mouth, to proue that the worlde was no lesse the worke of the Holy ghost than of the Sonne. But forasmuch as it is commonly vsed in the Psalmes to repete one thinge twise: and in Esay the spirit of his mouth is as much to say as his worde, that reason is very weake. Therefore I thought good to touche a fewe suche thinges as godly mindes might soundly rest vpon.

16 And as God hath more plainly disclosed himselfe by the coming of Christ, so is he also in the three Persons become more familiarly knowen. But of all the testimonies lette this one suffice vs for this present. Paule so knitteth these thre together, God, Faith, and Baptisme, that he reasoneth from the one to the other in this maner. Because there is but one Faith, he thereby sheweth that there is but one God. And because there is but one God, he therby proueth that there is but one Faith. Therefore if we be entred into the Faith and religion of one God by Baptisme: we must nedes thinke him the true God in whose name we are baptised. And it is not to be douted, but that in this solemne protestacion, Christ meant to testifie that the perfect light of Faith was already deliuered, when he saied: Baptise

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Mat. 28 19. them in the name of the Father and of the Sonne and of the Holy ghost. For it is as much in effect as to be baptised in the name of the one God, which with perfect brightnesse hath appeared in the Father, the Sonne and the Holy ghost. Wherby is euident that in the essence of God abide three Persons in which the one God is known. And surely, forasmuch as our Faith ought not to looke hether & thither, nor diuerfly to wader about, but to haue regard to the one God, to be applied to him, & to sticke fast in him: it is hereby easily proued, that if there be diuerse kindes of faith, there must also be many gods. Now wheras baptisme is a Sacrament of faith: it proueth vnto vs the vnitie of God, because it is but one. And hereof also followeth, that it is not lawfull to be baptised but into one God, bycause we embrace the Faith of him, into whose name we are baptised. What meant Christ then, when he commaunded to be baptised, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost, but that we ought with one Faith to beleue in the Father, Sonne, and the Holy ghost? Therefore sicke this remaineth certain, that there is but one God, and not many; we determine that the Worde and the Spirite are nothing els but the very selfe essence of God. And very foolishly did the Arrians prate, which confessing the godhead of the Sonne did take from him the substance of God. And such a like rage vexed the Macedoniás, which would haue to be vnderstáded by the Spirite, only the giftes of grace that are poured forth into men. For as wisdom, vnderstanding, prudence, fortitude, feare of God do procede from him: so he onely is the spirite of wisdom, prudence, fortitude, and godlinesse. Yet is not he diuided according to the distribution of his graces: but how soeuer they be diuerfely dealt abroad, yet he remaineth one and the same, as the Apostle saith.

1. Cor. 12. 11. 17. Againe, there is shewed in the Scriptures a certaine distinction of the Father, from the Worde, and of the Worde from the Spirite. In discussing whereof, howe greate religiousnesse and sobrietie we oughte to vse, the greatnesse of the misterie it selfe doth admonish vs. And I very well like that saying of Gregorie Nazianzene: I can not thinke vpon the one, but by and by I am compassed about with the brightnesse of the three: And I can not seuerally discern the three, but I am sodeinly dryuen backe to one. Wherfore lette it not come in our mindes ones to imagine such a Trinitie of Persons as may hold our thought withdrawn into seueralties, and doth not forthewith bringe vs againe to that vnitie. The names of Father, Sonne, and Holy ghost, do proue a true distinction, that no man shoulde thinke them to be beare names of addition, wherby God according to

In ser-
mone,
de sacro
baptis-
mo.

to his workes is diuersly entituled: but yet it is a distinction, not a diuision. The places that we haue already cited, do shew that the sonne hath a property distinct from the Father, because the Word had not bin with God, if he had not bin an other thing than the Father: neither had he had his glory with the Father, but being distinct from him. Likewise he doth distinguish himselfe from the Father, when he sayth, that there is an other which beareth him witnesse. And for this purpose maketh that which in an other place is sayd, that the Father created all thinges by the Word, which he could not, but being after a certaine maner distinct from him. Moreouer the Father came not downe into the earth, but he that came out from the Father. The Father died not nor roase againe, but he that was sent by him. Neither yet did this distinction beginne at the taking of flesh: but it is manifest that he was also before, the onely begotten in the bosome of the Father. For who can abide to say, that then the Sonne entred into the bosome of the Father, when he descended from heauen to take man-höde vpon him? He was therefore before in the bosome of the Father, and enioyed his glory with the Father. As for the distinction of the Holy ghost from the Father, Christ speaketh of it when he sayth, that it proceedeth from the Father. And how oft doth he shew it to be an other beside himselfe? as when he promiseth that he will send an other confortour, and often in other places.

Iohn. 5.
3. & 8.
16.

Iohn. 1.
18.

Iohn. 14.
6. 15. 26

Iohn. 14.
16.

18 But to borow similitudes from matters of men, to expresse the force of this distinction, I know not whether it be expedient. In dede the olde fathers are wont so to do sometime: but withall they do confesse, that whatsoeuer they bring foorth for like, doth much differ. For which cause I am much afraid to be any way bold, least if I bring foorth any thing vnfitly, it should giue occasion either to the malicious to cauill, or to the vnskilfull to be deceiued. Yet such distinction as we haue marked to be sette out in Scriptures, it is not good to haue left vnspoken. And that is this, that to the Father is giuen the beginning of working, the fountayne and spring of all thinges: to the Sonne wisdom, counsell, & the very dispositiō in the doing of things: to the holy Holy ghost is assigned power and effectuell working. And although eternity belong vnto the Father, and eternity to the Sonne and to the Holy ghost also, for as much as God could neuer haue bin without his wisdom & power, and in eternity is not to be sought, which was first or last: yet this obseruation of order is not vayne or superfluous, wherein the Father is reckened first, and then of him the Sonne, & after of them both the Holy ghost. For euery mans minde of it selfe enclineth to this, first to consider God, then the wisdom rising

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rising out of him, and last of all the power wherewith he putteth the decrees of his purpose in execution. In what sorte the Sonne is sayd to be of the Father onely, and the Holy ghost both of the Father and the Sonne, is shewed in many places, but no where more plainly than in the viii. chapter to the Romanes, where the same Spirite is without difference sometime called the Spirite of Christ, & sometime of him that raised vp Christ from the dead: and that not without cause. For Peter doth also testifie that it was the Spirite of Christ wherewith the Prophetes did prophecy, where as the Scripture so often teacheth, that it was the Spirite of God the Father.

19 Now this distinctiō doth so not stand against the single vnity of God, that thereby we may proue that the Sonne is one God with the father, because he hath one Spirit with him, & that the Holy Spirit is not a thing diuers from the Father and the Sonne. For in ech Hypostasis is vnderstanded, the whole substance, with this that euery one hath his own proprety. The Father is whole in the Sonne, & the Son is whole in the Father, as himselfe affirmeth. I am in the Father & the Father is in me. And the Ecclesiasticall wryters do not graunt the one to be seuered frō the other by any difference of essence. By these names that betoken distinction (sayth Augustine) that is ment wherby they haue relation one to an other, & not the very substance wherby they are all one. By which meaning are the sayinges of the old wryters to be made agree, which otherwise would seeme not a little to disagree. For sometime they say that the Father is the beginning of the Sonne, & sometime that the Sonne hath both godhead & essence of himselfe, and is all one beginning with the Father. The cause of this diuersity Augustine doth in an other place wel & plainly declare, whē he saith: Christ hauing respect to himselfe, is called God, & to his Father is called the Sonne. And againe, the Father as to himselfe is called God, as to his Sonne is called the Father, where hauing respect to the Sonne he is called the Father, he is not the Sonne: & where as to the Father he is called the Sonne, he is not the Father: & where he is called as to himselfe the Father, and as to himselfe the Sonne: it is all one God. Therefore when we simply speake of the Sonne: without hauing respect to the Father, we do well & proprely say, that he is of himselfe: & therefore we call him but one beginning: but when we make mentiō of the relation betwene him and his Father, then we rightly make the Father the beginning of the Sonne. All the whole fifth booke of Augustine concerning the Trinity doth nothing but set forth this matter. And much safer it is to rest in that relation that he speaketh of, than in to suttelly pearling vnto the hie mistery to wander abroad by

many

Joh. 14.
10.

August.
hom. de
tempo.
38.

De tri-
nitate
& coll.
ad pascē
tiū epī.
174.
Cyrillus
de trini-
ti. 6. idē
li. 3. dia-
log.
August.
in psal.
109. &
tract. in
Iohan.
39. &
psal. 68.

many vayne speculations.

20 Let them therefore that are pleased with sobernesse, and contented with measure of Faith, shortly learne so much as is profitable to be knowne: that is, when we professe that we beleue in one God, vnder the name of God, we vnderstand the one onely & single essence in which we comprehend three Persons or Hypostases. And therefore so oft as we do indefinitely speake of the name of God, we meane no lesse the Sonne and the Holy ghost than the Father. But when the Sonne is ioyned to the Father, then commeth in a relation, and so we make distinctiō betwene the Persons. And because the proprietie in the Persons bring an order with them, so as the beginning and originall is in the Father: so oft as mention is made of the Father and the Sonne, or the Holy ghost together, the name of God is peculiarly giuen to the Father. By this meane is retayned the vnyty of y^e essence, and regarde is hadde to the order, which yet doth minish nothing of the godhead of the Sonne and of the Holy ghost. And whereas we haue already seene that the Apostles do affirme, that the Sonne of God is he, whom Moses and the Prophetes do testifie to be Iehouah the Lord, we must of necessity alway come to the vnyty of the essence. Wherefore it is a detestable sacrilege for vs to call the Sonne a seuerall God from the Father, because the simple name of God, doth admitte no relation, and God in respect of himselfe can not be sayd to be this or that. Now, that the name of Iehouah 1. Cor. the Lord indefinitely taken is applied to Christ, appeareth by the 12.9. wordes of Paule, where he sayeth: Therefore I haue thryse prayed the Lord, because that after he hadde receiued the aunswere of Christ, My grace is sufficient for the: he sayeth byandby, that the power of Christ may dwell in me. It is certayne that the name Lord is there sette for Iehouah, and therefore to restrayne it to the person of the Mediatour were very fend and childish, for so much as it is an absolute sentēce that compareth not the Father with the Sonne. And we know that after the accustomed maner of the Greekes, the Apostles do commonly sette the word Kyrios, Lord, in steede of Iehouah. And, not to fetch an example farre of, Paule didde in no other sense pray to the Lord, than in the same sense that Peter citeth the place of Ioell: whosoever calleth vpon the name of the Lord shall Aa. 2. be sauēd. 16. But where this name is peculiarly giuen to the Sonne, we Ioel. 2. shall see that there is an other reason therof, whē we come to a place 28. fitte for it. Now it is enough to haue in minde, when Paule had absolutely prayed to God, he byandby bringeth in the name of Christ. Euen so is the whole God called by Christ himselfe the Spirite.

For there is no cause against it, but that the whole essence of God may be spirituall, wherein the Father, the Sonne & the Holy ghost be comprehended. Which is very playne by the Scripture. For euen as there we heare God to be made a Spirite : so we do heare the Holy ghost, for so much it is an Hypostasis of the whole essence, to be called both God, and proceeding from God.

21 But for as much as Sathan, to the end to roote out our Faith, hath alway moued great contentions, partly concerning the diuine essence of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, and partly concerning theyr distinction of Persones. And as in a maner in all ages he hath stirred vp wicked spirites to trouble the true teachers in this behalfe: so at this day he trauaileth out of the old embres to kindle a new fire: therefore here it is good to answer the peruerse foolish errors of some. Hitherto it hath bin our purpose, to leade as it were by the hand those that are willing to learne, and not to strue hand to hand with the obstinate and contentious. But now the trueth which we haue already peaceably shewed, must be reskued from the cauillations of the wicked. All be it my chiefe trauaile shall yet be applied to this end, that they which giue gentill and open eares to the word of God, may haue whereupon stedfastly to rest their foote. In this point, if any where at all in the secrete mysteries of Scripture, we ought to dispute soberly, and with great moderation, and to take great hede that neither our thought nor our tongue proceede any further than the boundes of Gods word do extende. For how may the minde of man by his capacity define the immeasurable essence of God, which neuer yet could certainly determine how great is y body of the Sunne which yet he daily seeth with his eyes? yea how may she by her owne guiding attaine to discusse the substance of God, that can not reache to know her owne substance? Wherefore let vs willingly giue ouer vnto God the knowledge of himselfe. For he only, as Hilarie sayeth, is a conuenient witnesse to himselfe, which is not knowē but by himselfe. We shall giue it ouer vnto him, if we shall both conceiue him to be such as he hath opened himselfe vnto vs, and shall not else where search to know of him, than by his owne word. There are to this end wrytten five homelies of Chrysostome against the Anomei. Yet the boldnesse of Sophisters could not be restrayned by them from babling vnbridledly. For they haue behaued themselves in this behalfe no whit more modestly than they are wonted in all other. By the unhappie successe of which vndiscretion, we ought to be warned to take care that we bend our selues to trauale in this question rather with tractable willingnesse to learne, than with sharpnesse of witte, and neuer

uer haue in our minde either to search for God any where else than in his holy Worde, or to thinke any thing of him, but hauing his Worde going before to guide vs, or to speake any thinge but that which is taken out of the same Word: The distinction that is in the one Godheade of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, as it is very hard to know, so doth it bring more businesse and comberance to some wittes than is expedient. Lette them remember that the mindes of men do enter into a mase when they follow their owne curiosity, and so lette them suffer themselues to be ruled with the heavenly oracles, how soeuer they can not attaine the height of the mystery.

22 To make a register of the errors, wherewith the purenesse of Faith in this point of doctrine hath in times past bin assailed, were to long and full of vnprofitable tediousnesse: and the most parte of heretickes haue so attempted to ouerwhelme the glory of God with grosse doring errors, that they haue thought it enough for them to shake and trouble the vnskilfull. And from a few men haue sprong vp many sectes, whercof some do teare in sunder the essence of God, some do confound the distinction that is betwene the Persons. But if we hold fast that which is already sufficiētly shewed by the Scripture, that the essence of the one God which belongeth to the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost, is single and vndiuided. Againe, that the Father by a certaine propriety differeth from the Sonne, & the Sonne from the Holy ghost: we shal stop vp the gate not only against Arrius and Sabellius, but also the other old authors of errors. But because in our time there be risen vp certaine phrenetike men, as Seruetto & other like, which haue encombred all things with new deceites: It is good in few wordes to discusse their falsehoodes. The name of the Trinity was so hateful, yea so detestable to Seruetto, that he sayd, that all the Trinitaries, as he called them, were vtterly godlesse. I omit the foolish words that he had deuised to raile withall. But of his opinions this was the summe. That God is made Tripartite, when it is sayd, that there abide three Persons in his essence, and that this Trinity is but a thing imagined, because it disagreeeth with the vnity of God. In the meane time the Persons he would haue to be certaine outward conceptions of Forme, which are not truely subsisting in the essence of God, but do represent God vnto vs in this or that fashion. And at the beginning that there was in God nothing distinct because ones the Word and the Spirite were all one. but sins that Christ arose God out of God, the holy Ghost sprong also an other God out of him. And though sometime he colour his follies with allegories, as whē he

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sayth, that the eternall Word of God was the Spirite of Christ with God, & the bright shining of his forme. Againe, that the Holy ghost was the shadow of the godhead, yet afterward he bringeth the godhead of them both to nothing, affirming that after the rate of distribution there is both in the Sonne and in the Holy Spirite a parte of God, euē as the same Spirite in vs, and also in wood and stones is substantially a portion of God. What he babbleth of the Person of the Mediatour, we shall herafter see in place conuenient. But this monstrous forged deuise, that a Person is nothing else but a visible forme of the glory of God, needeth no long confutation. For where as Iohn pronouiceth, that the Word was God before the world was yet creat, he maketh it much differing from a conception of forme. But if then also, yea and from farthest Eternity of time, that Word which was God was with the Father, & had his owne proper glory with the Father, he could not be an outward or figuratiue shining: but it necessarily followeth that he was an Hypostasis that did inwardly abide in God. And although there be no mention made of the Spirite, but in the Historie of the creation of the world: yet he is not there brought in as a shadow, but an essentiall power of God, when Moses sheweth that the very vnfashioned lump was susteined in him. Therefore it then appeared, that the eternall Spirite was alwayes in God, when he preserued and susteined the confused matter of heauen and earth, vntill beauty and order were added vnto it. Surely he could not yet be an image or representation of God as Seruetto dreameth. But in other pointes he is compelled more openly to disclose his wickednesse, in saying that God by his eternall purpose appointing to himselfe a visible Sonne, did by this meane shew himselfe visible. For if that be true there is no other godhead left vnto Christ, but so far as he is by the eternall decree of God ordeined his Sonne. Moreouer he so transformeth those imagined shapes that he sticketh not to faine new accidents in God. But this of all other is most abhominable, that he confusedly minglcth as well the Sonne of God, as the Holy ghost, with all creatures. For he plainly affirmeth, that there be partes and partitions in the Essence of God, of which euery portiō is God. And namely he sayth, that the Spirites of the faithfull are coeternall and consubstantiall with God: albeit in an other place he assigneth the substantiall Deity, not onely to the soule of man, but also to other creatures.

23 Out of this sinke came forth an other like monster. For certaine lewd mē meaning to escape the hatred & shame of the wickednesse of Seruetto, haue in deede confessed, that there are there Persons,

sons, but adding a manner how: that the Father which truly and properly is the one onely God, in forming the Sonne & the Holy ghost, hath powred his godhead into them. Yea they forbear not this horrible maner of speech, that the Father is by this marke distinguished from the Sonne and the Holy ghost, that he is the only essentiatour or maker of the essence. First they pretende this colour, that Christ is echewhere called the Sonne of God: whereof they gather, that there is none other properly God but the Father. But they marke not, that though the name of God be also common to the Sonne, yet by reason of preeminence it is sometime giuen to the Father onely, because he is the fountaine and originall of the Deity, and that for this purpose, to make the single vnity of the essence to be therby noted. They take exception and say: If he be truly the Sonne of God, it is inconuenient to haue him reckened the Sonne of a Person. I answer that both are true: that is, that he is the Sonne of God, because he is the Word begotten of the Father before all worldes (for we come not yet to speake of the Person of the Mediatour) and yet for explications sake we ought to haue regard of the Person, that the name of God simply be not taken, but for the Father onely. For if we meane none to be God but the Father, we plainly throw downe the Sonne from the degree of God. Therefore so oft as mention is made of the godhead, we must not admit a comparison betwene the Sonne and the Father, as though the name of God did belong onely to the Father. For truly the God that appeared to Esay was the true and onely God, and yet Iohn affirmeth that the same was Christ. And he that by the mouth of Esay testified, that he should be a stumbling stone to the Iewes, was the onely God: and yet Paule pronounceth that the same was Christ. He that crieth out by Esay, I liue, and to me all knees shall bowe, is the onely God: and yet Paul expoundeth that the same was Christ. For this purpose serue the testimonies that the Apostle reciteth: Thou O God hast layd the foundations of heauen & earth. Againe, let all the angels of God worship him, which thinges belong to none, but to the onely God. And yet he sayth, that they are the propre titles of Christ. And this cauillation is nothing worth, that that is giuen to Christ, which is proper to God because Christ is the shining brightnesse of his glory. For because in eche of these places is sette the name of Iehouah, it followeth, that it is so sayd in respect that he is God of himselfe. For if he be Iehouah, it can not be denied that he is the same God that in an other place crieth out by Esay: I, I am, and beside me there is no God. It is good also to consider that saying of Hieremy: The gods that

Esay 6.1

Ioh. 12.

41.

Esa. 8.14

Rom. 9.

33.

Esay 45.

23.

Ro. 14.

11.

He 1.10

Psa. 102.

26.

Psal. 97.

7.

Esay 44.

6.

Iere. 10

11.

haue not made the heauen & earth, let them perish out of the earth that is vnder the heauen. Where as on the other side we must needs confesse, that the Sonne of God is he, whose godhead is oft proued in Esay by the creation of the world. And how can it be that the Creator, which giueth being to all things, shall not be of himselfe, but borrow his being of another. For whosoever sayth that the Sonne was essentiate or made to be of his Father, denieth that he is of himselfe. But the Holy ghost sayth the contrary, naming him Iehouah. Now if we graunt that the whole essence is in the Father onely, either it must be made partable, or be taken from the Sonne, and so shal the Sonne be spoyled of his essence, and be a God only in name and title. The essence of God, if we beleue these triflers: belongeth onely to the Father, for as much as he is onely God, and is the essencemaker of the Sonne. And so shall the godhead of the Sonne be an abstract from the essence of God, or a deriuation of a parte out of the whole. Now must they needs graunt by their owne principle, that the holy ghost is the Spirite of the Father only. For if he be a deriuation from the first essence, which is only proper to the Father, of right he can not be accompted the Spirite of the Sonne: which is confuted by the testimony of Paul, where he maketh the Spirite common to Christ and the Father. Moreouer if the Person of the Father be wiped out of the Trinity, wherein shall he differ from the Sonne and the Holy ghost, but in this, that he only is God? They cōfesse Christ to be God, and yet they say he differeth from the Father. Againe, there must be some marke of difference to make that the Father be not the Sonne. They which say that marke of difference to be in the essence, do manifestly bring the true godhead of Christ to nothing, which can not be without essence, yea and that the whole essence. The Father differeth not from the Sonne, vnlesse he haue something proper to himselfe that is not common to the Sonne. What now will they finde wherein to make him different? If the difference be in the essence, let them answere if he haue not communicated the same to the Sonne. But that could not be in parte, for to say that he made halfe a God were wicked. Beside that by this meane they do fowly teare in sunder the essence of God. It remayneth therefore that the essence is whole, and perfectly common to the Father and the Sonne. And if that be true, then as touching the essence there is no difference of the one of them from the other. If they say that the Father in giuing his essence, remayneth neuerthelesse the only God, with whom the essence abideth: then Christ shalbe a figuratiue God, and a God onely in shew and in name but not in deede: because nothing is more propre to

God

God thā to be, according to this saying: He that is, hath sent me vnto you. Exod. 5
13.

24 It is easie by many places to proue that it is false which they hold, that so oft as there is in Scripture mention made absolutely of God, none is ment thereby but the Father. And in those places that they themselues do allege, they sowly bewray their owne want of cōsideration, because there is also sette the name of the Sonne. Whereby appeareth, that the name of God is there relatiuely takē, and therefore restrained to the Person of the Father. And their obiection where they say, If the Father were not only the true God, he should himself be his owne Father, is answered with one word. It is not inconuenient for degree and orders sake, that he be peculiarly called God which hath not onely of himselfe begotten his wisdom, but also is the God of the Mediatour, as in place fitte for it, I will more largely declare. For sith Christ was openly shewed in the flesh, he is called the Sonne of God, not onely in respect that he was the eternall Word before all worldes begotten of the Father: but also because he tooke vppon him the Person and office of the Mediatour to ioine vs vnto God. And because they do so boldly exclude the Sonne from the honor of God, I would fayne know whether the Sonne when he pronounceth, that none is good but God, do take goodnesse from himselfe? Mat. 12
17. I do not speake of his humaine nature, least perhappes they should take exception, and say, that whatsoeuer goodnesse was in it, it came of free gift. I aske whether the eternall Word of God be good or no? If they say nay, then we hold their vngodlineffe sufficiently cōuined: in saying yea, they confound themselues. But where as at the first sight, Christ seemeth to put from himselfe the name of Good, that doth the more confirme our meaning. For sith it is the singular title of God alone, forasmuch as he was after the common maner saluted by the name of Good, in refusing false honor, he did admonish them, that the goodnesse wherein he excelled, was the goodnesse that God hath. I aske also, where Paule affirmeth that onely Tim. 11.
17. God is immortall, wise, and true, whether by these wordes Christ be brought into the number of men mortall, foolish, and false? Shall not he then be immortall, that from the beginning was life to giue immortality to angels? Shall not he be wise that is the eternall wisdom of God? Shall not the trueth it selfe be true? I aske furthermore, Phil. 2.
10. whether they thinke that Christ ought to be worshipped or no? For he claimeth this vnto himselfe, to haue all knees bowe before him: it followeth that he is the God which did in the law forbid any other to be worshipped but himselfe. If they will haue that meant of the

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- Esa. 44.** Father only which is spoken in Esay : I am, and none but I: this testi-
6. monie I turne against themselues, for as much as we see, that what-
 soeuer pertayneth to God is giuen to Christ. And their cauillation
 hath no place, that Christ was exalted in the flesh, wherein he had
 bin abased, and that in respect of the flesh, all authority is giuen
 him in heauen and in earth : because although the maiestie of king
 and Iudge extend to the whole Person of the Mediatour, yet if
 he hadde not bin God openly shewed in flesh, he could not haue
 bin auanced to such heighth, but that God should haue disagreed
 with himselfe. But this controuersie Paule doth well take away, tea-
Ph. 2.7. ching that he was egall with God before that he didde abase him-
 selfe vnder the shape of a seruant. Nowe howe coulde this equali-
 tie haue stande together, vnlesse he hadde bin the same God whose
 name is Iah and Iehouah : that rydeth vppon the Cherubin, that is
 kinge of all the earth and Lord of the worldes? Nowe howesoeuer
 they babble against it, it canne not be taken from Christ which E-
Esa. 35. saie sayeth in an other place : He, he, is our God, for him we
9. haue wayted, whereas in these wordes he describeth the comming
 of God the redeemer, not onely that shoulde bring home the peo-
 ple from the exile of Babylon, but also fully in all poyntes restore the
 Church. And with theyr other cauillation they nothinge prenaile,
 in saying, that Christ was God in his Father. For though we con-
 fesse that in respect of order and degree the beginning of the god-
 heade is in the Father, yet we say that it is a detestable inuention to
 say that the essence is onely propre to the Father, as though he
 were the onely Godmaker of the Sonne. For by this meanes ey-
 ther he shoulde haue moe essence than one, or else they call
 Christ God onely in title and imagination. If they graunt that
 Christ is God, but next after the Father, then shall the essence
 be in him begotten and fashioned, which in the Father is vnbegot-
 ten and vnfashioned. I knowe that many quicke nosed men do
 laugh at this that we gather the distinction of Persons out of the
 wordes of Moses, where he bringeth in God speaking thus : Lette
Gen. 1. vs make manne after our image. But yet the godly readers do
26. see how vaynely and fondely Moses should bring in this as a talke
 of diuerse together, if there were not in God moe Persons than
 one. Nowe certayne is it, that they whom the Father spake vnto,
 were vncreate : but nothing is vncreate but God himselfe yea the
 one onely God. Nowe therefore vnlesse they graunt that the po-
 wer of creating was common, and the authoritie of commanding
 common, to the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost : it shall
 followe

followe that God didde not inwardly thus speake to himselfe, but directed his speeche to other foreyne worke menne. Finally one place shall easily aunswere two of theyr obiections. For where as Christ himselfe pronounceth that God is a Spirite, this were not Iohn. 4. conuenient to be restrayned to the Father onely, as if the Worde himselfe were not of Spirituall nature. If then the name of Spirite doth as well agree with the Sonne as with the Father, I gather that the Sonne is also comprehended vnder the indefinyte name of God. But he addeth byandby after that, none are allowed for good worshippers of the Father, but they that worshippe him in Spirite and trueth, whereupon followeth an other thinge, because Christ doth vnder a heade execute the office of a teacher, he doth giue the name of God to the Father, not to the entent to destroye his owne godheade, but by degrees to lift vs vppe vnto it.

25 But in this they are deceiued, that they dreame of certayne vndiuided singular thinges whereof ech haue a parte of the essence. But by the Scriptures we teach, that there is but one essentially God, and therefore that the essence as well of the Sonne as of the Holy ghost is vnbegotten. But for so much as the Father is in order first, and hath of himselfe begotten his wisdom, therefore rightfully as is aboue sayd, he is counted the originall and fountayne of all the godhead. So God indefinitely spoken, is vnbegotten, and the Father also in respect of Person is vnbegotten. And foolishly they thinke that they gather, that by our meaning is made a quaternity, because falsely and cauillously they ascribe vnto vs a deuise of their owne brayne, as though we did sayne that by deriuation there come three Persons out of one essence: whereas it is euident by our wrytinges that we do not draw the Persons out of the essence, but although they be abiding in the essence we make a distinction betwene them. If the Persons were seuered from the essence, then peradventure theyr reason were like to be true. But by that meane it should be a Trinity of goddes and not of Persons, which one God conteyneth in him. So is their fonde question aunswered, whether the essence do mete to make vp the Trinity as though we did imagine that there descende three gods out of it. And this exception groweth of like foolishnesse where they say, that then the Trinity should be without God. For though it mete not to make vppe the distinction as a parte or a member, yet neither are the Persons without it nor out of it. Because the Father if he were not God could not be the Father, and the Sonne is none otherwise the Sonne but because he is God. We say therefore,

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that the godhead is absolutely of it selfe. Whereby we graunt that the Sonne in so much as he is God, is of himselfe without respect of his Person, but in so much as he is the Sonne, we say that he is of the Father. So his essence is without beginning, but the beginning of his Person is God himselfe. And the true teaching wryters that in old time haue spoken of the Trinity, haue onely applied this name to the Persons; for so much as it were not onely an absurde error but also a grosse vngodlinesse to comprehend the essence in the distinction. For they that will haue these three to mete, the essence, the Sonne and the Holy ghost, it is playne that they do destroy the essence of the Sonne and the Holy ghost, for else the partes ioyned together would fall in sunder, which is a fault in euery distinction. Finally if the Father and the Sonne were Synonimes or seuerall names signifying one thing, so the Father should be the Godmaker and nothing should remayne in the Sonne but a shadowe, and the Trinity should be nothing else, but the ioyning of one God with two creatures.

26 Whereas they obiekt, that if Christ be properly God, he is not rightfully called the Sonne, to that we haue already answered, that because in such places there is a comparision made of the one Person to the other, the name of God is not there indefinitely taken, but restrayned to the Father onely, in so much as he is the beginning of the Godheade, not in making of essence as the madde men do fondly imagine, but in respect of order. In this meaning is construed that saying of Christ to the Father: this is the eternall life, that men beleue in thee & one true God, & Iesus Christ whom thou hast sent. For speaking in the Person of the Mediatour, he keepeth the degree that is meane betwene God and men: and yet is not his maiesty thereby diminished. For though he abaced himselfe, yet he left not with the Father his glory that was hidden before the world. So the Apostle in the second Chapter to the Hebrues, though he confesseth that Christ for a shorte time was abaced beneth the Angels, yet he sticketh not to affirme withall, that he is the same eternal God that founded the earth. We must therefore hold, that so oft as Christ in the Person of the Mediatour speaketh to the Father, vnder this name of God is comprehended the godhead which is his also. So whē he sayed to the Apostles: it is profitable that I go vp to the Father, because the Father is greater. He giueth not vnto himselfe onely the second degree of godhead to be as touching his eternall essence inferior to the Father, but because hauing obtaigned the heauely glory, he gathereth together the faithfull to the partaking of it. He setteth

Ioh. 17.
3.

Iohn. 16
7.

teeth his Father in the hier degree, insomuch as the glorious perfection of brightnesse that appeareth in heauen, differeth frō that measure of glory that was seene in him being clothed with flesh. After like maner in an other place, Paul sayth: that Christ shall yeld vp the kingdom to God and his Father, that God may be all in all. There is nothing more absurd than to take away eternall continuance from the godhead of Christ. If he shall neuer cease to be the Sonne of God, but shall alway remayne the same that he was from the beginning, it followeth that vnder the name of the Father is comprehended the one essence that is common to them both. And surely therefore did Christ descende vnto vs, that lifting vs vppe vnto his Father, he might also lift vs vp vnto himselfe, inasmuch as he is all one with his Father. It is therefore neither lawfull nor right so exclusiue to re-^{1. Cor.} ^{15. 24} straine the name of God to the Father, as to take it from the Sonne. For, John doth for this cause affirme that, he is true God, that no man should thinke that he resteth in a second degree of godhead beneath his Father. And I maruell what these framers of new Gods do meane, that while they confesse Christ to be true God, yet they forth with exclude him from the godhead of his Father. As though there could any be a true God but he that is the one God, or as though the godhead powred from one to an other, be not a certaine new forged imagination.

27 Whereas they heape vp many places out of Ireneus, where he affirmeth that the Father of Christ is the onely and eternall God of Israel: that is either done of a shamefull ignorance, or of an extreme wickednesse. For they ought to haue considered, that then the holy man hadde to do in disputation with those frenetike men that denyed that the Father of Christ was the same God that in old time spake by Moses and the Prophetes, but that he was I wote not what imagined thing brought out of the corruption of the world. Therefore he altogether trauaileth in this point, to make it playne that there is no other God preached of in the Scripture but the Father of Christ, and that it is amisse to deuise any other, and therefore it is no maruell if he so oft conclude that there was no other God of Israel, but he that was spoken of by Christ and the Apostles. And in like manner now, whereas we are to stand against an other sorte of errour, we may truely say that the God which in old time appeared to the Fathers, was none other but Christ. But if any manne obiekt that it was the Father, our aunswere is in redinesse, that when we strue to defende the Godhead of the Sonne, we exclude not the Father. If the readers take heede to this purpose of Ire-

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neus, all that contention shall cease. And also by the sixt Chapter of the third booke, this whole strife is ended, where the good man standeth all vpon this point, to proue that he which is in Scripture absolutely and indefinitely called God: is verely the one onely God, and that Christ is absolutely called God. Let vs remember that this was the principall point whereupon stode all his disputation, as by the whole processe thereof doth appeare: and specially the 46. Chapter of the second booke, that he is not called the Father by darke similitude or parable, which is not very God in deede. Moreouer in an other place he sayth, that as well the Sonne as the Father were ioyntly called God by the Prophetes and Apostles. Afterward he defineth how Christ which is Lord of all, and king, and God, and Iudge, receiued power from him which is the God of all, that is to say in respect of his subiection, because he was humbled euen to y death of the crosse. And a little after he affirmeth, that the Sonne is the maker of heauen and earth, which gaue the law by the hande of Moses and appeared to the Fathers. Now if any man do prate that with Ireneus onely the Father is the God of Israel, I will turne againe vpon him that which the same wryter playnely teacheth, that Christ is all one and the same: as also he applieth vnto him the Prophecie of Habacuci. **God shall come out of the South.** To the same purpose serueth that which is read in the ninth Chapter of the fourth booke. Christ himselfe therefore with the Father is the God of the liuing. And in the twelue Chapter of the same booke he expoundeth that Abraham beleued God, because Christ is the maker of heauen and earth and the onely God.

28 And with no more trueth do they bring in Tertulliane for theyr defender. For though he be rough sometime and crabbed in his maner of speech, yet doth he plainly teach the summe of that doctrine that we defende. That is to say, where as he is the one God, yet by disposition and order he is his Worde: that there is but one God in vnity of substance, and yet that the same vnity by mistery of orderly distribution is disposed into Trinity, that there are three, not in state, but in degree, not in substance, but in forme: not in power, but in order. He sayeth that he defendeth the Sonne to be a seconde next to the Father, but he meaneth him to be none other than the Father, but by way of distinction. In some places he sayeth that the Sonne is visible. But when he hath reasoned on both partes he defineth that he is inuisible in so much as he is the Worde. Finally where he affirmeth that the Father is determined in his owne person, he proueth himselfe farre from that error which

Lib. 3.
cap. 9.

Cap 12.

ciusd. l.

Cap. 16.

ciusd. li.

Ibi. ca.

18. & 23

which we confute. And though he doth acknowledge none other God but the Father, yet in the next peece of his wryting expounding himfelfe, he fayth, that he speaketh not exclusiue in respect of the Sonne, because he denieth that y Sonne is any other God beside the Father, and that therefore their sole gouernement is not broken by distinction of Person. And by the perpetuall course of his purpose it is easie to gather the meaning of his words. For he disputeth against Praxeas, that though God be distinguished into three persons, yet are there not made many gods nor the vnity torne in sunder. And because by the imagination of Praxeas Christ could not be God, but he must also be the Father, therefore he somuch laboureth about the distinction. Whereas he calleth y Word & the Spirite a portiō of the whole although it be a hard kinde of speech, yet is it excusable, because it is not referred to the substance, but only sheweth the disposition & order that belongeth only to the Persons, as Tertulliane himfelfe witnesseth. And herof hangeth that. How many Persons thinkest thou there are, O most frowarde Praxeas, but euen so many as there be names? And so a little after that, they may beleue the Father and the Sonne eeh in their names and persons. Hereby I thinke may be sufficiently cōfuted their impudency that seeke to begyle the simple with colour of Tertullians authority.

29 And surely whosoeuer shall diligētly compare together y wrytinges of the old authors, shall finde no other thing in Ireneus, than that which hath bin taught by other that came after. Iustine is one of the auncientest, and he in all things doth agree with vs. Yet lette them obiekt that he as the rest do, calleth the Father of Christ the only God. The same thing doth Hilary teach, yea and speaketh more hardly, that the eternity is in the Father. But doth he that to take away the essence of God from the Sonne? And yet is he altogether in defense of the same Faith that we followe. Yet are they not ashamed to picke out certaine mangled sentences whereby they would perswade that Hilary is a Patrone of their error. When they bring in Ignatius: if they will haue that to be of any authority, let them proue that the Apostles made a law for lent & such like corruptions of religion. Nothing is more vnlawery than those sonde trifles that are published vnder the name of Ignatius. Wherefore their impudence is so much lesse tolerable that disguise themselues with such visers to deceiue. Moreover the consent of the auncient Fathers is plainly perceiued by this, that at the councell of Nice, Arrius neuer durst allege for himfelfe the authority of any one allowed writer. And none of the Greks or Latins doth excuse himfelfe and say, that he dissenteth from them.

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that were before. It needeth not to be spoken how Augustine, whom these losells do most hate, hath diligently searched the wrytinges of them all, and how reuerently he did embrace them. Truly euen in matters of least weight he vseth to shew what compelleth him to dissent from them. And in this matter, if he haue read any thing doubtful or darke in other, he hydeth it not. But the doctrine that these men strue against, he taketh it as confessed, that from the farthest time of antiquity it hath bin without cōtrouersie receiued. And by one word it appeareth that he was not ignorant what other had taught before him, where he sayeth that in the Father is vnity, in the first booke of Christian doctrine, will they say that he then forgate himselfe? But in an other place he purgeth himselfe from such reproch, where he calleth the Father the beginning of the whole godhead, because he is of none: considering in dede wisely that the name of God is specially ascribed to the Father, because if the beginning should not be reckened at him, the single vnity of God can not be conceiued. By this I trust the godly reader will perceiue that all the cauillations are confuted wherewith Satan hath hitherto attēpted to peruert or darken the pure trueth of doctrine. Finally I trust that the whole summe of doctrine in this point is fully declared, if the readers will temper them of curiosity, and not more greedely than mete is seke for combersome & entangled disputations. For I take not in hand to please them, that do delite in an vtemperate desire of speculation. Truly I haue omitted nothing of suttile purpose that I thought to make against me. But while I study to edifie the church, I thought it best, to leaue many thinges vntouched which both smally profited, and would greue the readers with superfluous tediousnesse. For to what purpose were it to dispute, whether the father do alway beget? Forasmuch as it is folly to sayne a continuall act of begetting, sith it is euident that from eternity there haue bin three Persons in God.

The xiiij. Chapter.

That the Scripture euen in the creation of the world and of all thinges doth by certayne markes put difference betwene the true God, and fayned Gods.

Esā. 46.
31.

Although Esay doth worthily reproche the worshippers of false Goddes with slouthfullnesse, for that they haue not learned by the very foundations of the earth, and rounde compasse of the heauens, which is the true God; yet such is the dullnesse and grossenesse of our witte, that least the saythfull shoulde fall away to the inuentions of the Gentiles, it was necessary

necessary to haue God more expressly painted out vnto them. For whereas the saying that God is the minde of the worlde, which is compted the most tolerable description that is founde among the Philosophers, is but vaine, it behoueth vs more familiarly to know him, least we alway wauer in doutefulnesse. Therfore it was his pleasure to haue an history of the creacion remaining, wherupon the Faith of the Church might reſte, and ſeke for no other God but him, whom Moſes hath declared to be the maker and bilder of the world. There is firſt ſet forth the time, that by continuall proceeding of yeres the faithfull might come to the firſt original of mankind, and of all thinges. Which knowledge is very neceſſary, not onely to confute thoſe monſtrous fables that ſometime were ſpred in Egypte & other partes of the worlde, but alſo, that the beginning of the worlde ones being knowen, the eternitie of God may more clerely ſhine forth and raiſh vs in admiraciō of it. Neither ought we to be any thing moued with that vngodly mocke, that it is maruell why it came no ſoner in the minde of God to make the heauē and the earth, & why he ſitting idle did ſuffer ſo immeaſurable a ſpace to paſſe away, ſith he mought haue made it many thouſande ages before: wheras the whole continuance of the worlde that now draweth to an end, is not yet come to fixe thouſande yeres. For why God ſo long diſferred it, is nether lawfull nor expedient for vs to enquire. Becauſe if mans minde will tra-uaile to attaine thereunto, it ſhall faile a hundred times by the way, neither were it profitable for vs to know that thing, which God himſelfe to proue the modeſtie of our Faith, hath of purpoſe willed to be hidden. And well did that godly olde man ſpeake, which when a wanton fellow did in ſcorne demaunde of him, what God had done before the creatiō of the world, answered that he builded hel for curious ſooles. Let this graue & ſeuere warning repreſſe the wantonneſſe that tickleth many yea and driueth them to euill and hurtefull ſpeculatiōs. Finally let vs remember that the ſame inuiſible God whoes wiſdom power and iuſtice is incomprehenſible, doth ſet before vs the historie of Moſes as a loſing glaſſe, wherein his liuely imagine appeareth. For as the eyes that either are growen dimme with age, or dilled with any diſeaſe, do not diſcerne any thing plainly vnleſſe they be holpen with ſpectacles: ſo, ſuch is our weakenefſe, that vnleſſe the Scripture direct vs in ſeking of God, we do forthwith runne out into vanitie. And they that follow their owne wantonneſſe, becauſe they be now warned in vaine, ſhall all to late ſele with horrible deſtruction, how much it had bin better for them reuerētly to receiue the ſecrete counſels of God, than to vomite out blaſphemies, to obſcure the heauen with all. And

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Lib. de rightly doth Augustine complaine that wrong is done to God when
 gen. cō- further cause of thinges is sought for, than his onely will. The same
 tra Ma. man in an other place doth wisely warne vs, that it is no lesse euell to
 De ciui. moue question of immeasurable spaces of times than of places. For
 dei lib. 40. how brode soeuer the circuit of the heauen is, yet is there some mea-
 sure of it. Now if one should quarel with God for that the emptinesse
 wherein nothing is contained, is a hundred times more, shall not all
 the godly abhorre such watonnesse? Into like madnesse runne they that
 busie them selues about Gods sitting still, because at their appointmēt
 he made not the worlde innumerable ages soner. To satisfie their
 owne gredinesse of minde, they couet to passe without the compasse
 of the worlde, as though in so large a circuite of heauen & earth, they
 coulde not finde thinges enough that with their inestimable bright-
 nesse may ouerwhelme all our senses: as though in six thousand yeres
 God hath not shewed examples in continuall consideracion, wherof
 our mindes may be exercised. Let vs therfore willingly abide enclo-
 sed within those boundes wherwith it pleased God to enuiron vs, and
 as it were to penne vp our mindes that they should not stray abroad
 with liberty of wandring.

2 For like reason is it that Moses declareth, that the worke of God
 was not ended in a moment but in six dayes. For by this circumstance
 we are withdrawn from forged inuēcions to the one onely God that
 diuided his worke into six dayes, that it should not greue vs to be oc-
 cupied all the time of our life in considering of it. For though our
 eyes, what way soeuer we turne them, are compelled to looke vpon
 the workes of God, yet see we how fickle our hede is, and if any god-
 ly thoughtes do touch vs, how sone they passe away. Here againe
 mā's reason murmureth as though such procedinges were disagreeing
 from the power of God, vntill such time as being made subiect to the
 obedience of Faith, she learne to kepe that reste wherunto the hal-
 lowing of the seuen day calleth vs. But in the very order of thinges, is
 diligently to be considered the Fatherly loue of God towards man-
 kinde, in this: that he did not create Adam vntill he had stored the
 world with all plenty of good thinges. For if he had placed him in the
 earth while it was yet barren and emptie, if he had geuen him life be-
 fore that there was any light, he shoulde haue semed not so well to
 prouide for his commoditie. But now where he first disposed the mo-
 tions of the Sunne and the Planets for the vse of man, and furnished
 the earth, the waters and the aire with liuing creatures, and broughe
 forth aboundance of fruites to suffice for foode, taking vpon him the
 care of a diligent & prouident householder, he shewed his marvellous
 bountie

bowntie towarde vs. If a man do more hede fully weye with himselfe those thinges that I do but shortly touch, it shall appeare that Moses was the sure witnesse & publishe of the one God the creator. I omit here that which I haue already declared, that he speaketh not there onely of the bare essence of God, but also setteth forth vnto vs his eternall Wisdom and Spirite, to the ende we should not dreame that God is any other, than such as he will be knowen by the image that he hath there expresse.

3 But before that I begin to speake more at large of the nature of man, I must say somewhat of Angels. Because though Moses applying himselfe to the rudenesse of the common people reciteth in his history of the creaciō no other workes of God but such as are seen with our eyes, yet wheras afterwarde he bringeth in Angels for ministers of God, we may easily gather that he was the creator of them in whoes seruice they employ their trauaile and offices. Though therefore Moses speakeing after the capacity of the people doth not at the very beginning rehearse the Angels among the creatures of God: yet that is no cause to the contrary, but that we may plainly and expressly speake those thinges of them, which in other places the Scripture commonly teacheth. Because if we desire to know God by his workes, so noble and excellent an example is not to be omitted. Beside that this point of doctrine is very necessary for the confuting of many errors. The excellence of the nature of Angels hath so dafelled the mindes of many, that they thought the Angels had wrong offered them, if they should be made subiect to the authoritie of one God, & brought as it were in obedience. And herevpon were they fained to be Gods. There rose vp also one Manicheus with his secte, which made themselves two originall beginniges of thinges, God, and the Deuell, and to God he assigned the beginning of good thinges, and of thinges of euill nature he determined the Deuill to be the author. If our mindes should be entangled with this error, God should not kepe whole his glory in the creacion of the world. For where as nothing is more proper to God than eternitie and a being of himselfe as I may so terme it, they which geue that vnto the Deuill, do they not in a maner geue him the title of Godhead? Now where is the almightinesse of God become, if such authoritie be graunted to the deuill, that he may put in execucion what he will though God say nay and withstande it? As for the onely fundation that the Manichees haue, that it is vnlawfull to ascribe vnto God that is good, the creation of any thing that is euill: that nothing hurte the true Faith, which admitteth not that there is any thing naturally euill in the whole vniuersalitie of the worlde,

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because neither the forwardnesse and malice both of man and the deuell, nor the sinnes that procede therof, are of nature, but of the corruption of nature. Neither was there any thing from the beginning, wherein God hath not shewed an example both of his wisdom and iustice. Therefore to aunswere these peruerse deuises: it behoueth vs to lift vp our mindes hier than our eyes. can attaine to see. For which cause it is likely, that where in the Nicene crede God is called the creator of all thinges, thinges inuisible are expressed. Yet will we be carefull to kepe the measure that the rule of godlinesse appointeth, least the readers with searching to vnderstande further than is expedient, should wander abroad, being ledde awaie from the simplicitie of Faith. And surely for as much as the Holy ghost teacheth vs alwaie for our profite, and such thinges as are smally auaylable to edifie, he doth either leaue wholly vnspoken, or but lightly, and as it were ouer-runningly touch them: it shall be also our duetie to be content not to know those thinges that do not profite vs.

Gen. 1. 2 4 That the Angels, for as much as they are the ministers of God ordeined to execute his commaundementes, are also his creatures, it ought to be certainly out of all question. To moue doute of the time and order that they were created in, shoulde it not rather be a busy waywardnesse than diligence? Moses declareth that the earth was made, and the heauens were made, with all their armies, to what purpose thā is it, curiously to search, what day the other more secrete armies of heauen beside the starres and planettes first began to be? But, because I will not be long: let vs, as in the whole doctrine of religion, so here also remembre that we ought to kepe one rule of modestie & sobrietie, that of obscure thinges we neither speake, nor thinke, nor yet desire to know any other thinges than that hath bin taught vs by the worde of God: and an other point, that in reading of Scripture we continually rest vpon the seatching and studying of such thinges as pertaine to edification, and not geue our selues to curiositie or study of thinges vnprofitable. And because it was Gods pleasure to instruct vs, not in triflyng questions, but in sounde godlinesse, feare of his name, true confidence, and duties of holinesse: let vs rest vpon such knowledge. Wherefore, if we will be rightly wise, we must leaue those vanities that ydle men haue taught without warrāt of the worde of God; concerning the nature, degrees, and multitude of Angels. I know that such matters as this, are by many more greedily taken holde of, and are more pleasant vnto them thā such thinges as lie in dayly vse. But if it greue vs not to be the scholers of Christ, let it not greue vs to follow that order of learning that he hath appointed. So shall it so come to passe,

passie, that being contented with his scholing, we shall not onely forbear but also abhorre superfluous speculations, from which he callet vs away. No man can deny, that the same Denyse, what soeuer man he was, hath disputed many thinges both subtilly and wittly in his Hierarchie of heauen: but if a man examine it more neerely, he shal finde that for the most parte it is but mere babbling. But the dutifull purpose of a diuine is, not to delite eares with prating, but to stablish consciences with teaching thinges true, certaine, and profitable. If one should reade that booke, he would thinke that the man were slipped downe from heauen, and did tell of thinges not that he had learned by heresay, but that he had seen with his eies. But Paule which was rauished about the thirde heauen, hath vttered no such thing, but also protesteth, that it is not lawful for man to speake the secretes that he had seen. Therefore bidding farewell to that triflyng wisdom, let vs consider by the simple doctrine of the Scripture, what the Lord would haue vs know concerning his Angels.

It is comonly read in the Scripture, that the Angels are heauenly Spirites, whose ministration & seruice God vseth for putting in execution of those thinges that he hath decreed. For which reason that name is geuen them, because God vseth them as messengers, to shewe him selfe vnto men. And vpo like reason are deriued the other names that they are called by. They are named armies, because they do like a garde enuiron their prince, and do adorne and set forth the honourable shew of his maiestie, and like souldiours they are alway attending vpon the ensigne of their capitaine, and are euer so prepared and in readynesse to do his commaundementes, that so sone as he doth but becken to them, they prepare the selues to worke, or rather be at their worke already. Such an image of the throne of God to set out his roialtie, the other prophetes do describe, but principally Daniel where he saith, that when God sate him down in his throne of iudgement, there stode by a thousande thousande, and ten thousande companies of ten thousandes of Angels. And because God doth by them maruailously shew forth and declare the might and strength of his hand, therefore they are named strengths, because he exerciseth & vseth his authorite in the worlde by them, therefore they are sometime called Principalities, sometime powers, sometime Dominions. Finally because in them as it were sitteth the glory of God, for this cause also they are called Thrones: though of this last name I will not certainly say, because an other exposition doth either as well or better agree with it. But (speaking nothing of that name) the Holy ghost often vseth those other former names to auance the dignitie of the ministerie of Angels. For

1. Cor.
12. 3.

Dan. 7.
10.

Coloss.
1. 16.
Ephes.
2. 21.

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it were not reason that those instrumentes should be let passe without honor, by whom God doth specially shew the presence of his maiesty. Yea for that reason they are many times called Gods, because in their ministry as in a looking glasse, they partly represent vnto vs the god-head. Although in deede I mislike not this that the olde writers do expound, that Christ was the Angel, wher the Scripture saith, that the angel of God appered to Abraham, Iacob, Moses, & other, yet often-times where mention is made of all the Angels in deede this name is geuen vnto them. And that ought to seme no meruaile. For if this honour be geuen to princes and gouernors, that in their office they stand in the stede of God that is soueraigne king and iudge, much greater cause there is why it should be geuen to the Angels, in whom the brightnes of the glory of God much more abundantly shineth.

6. But the Scripture standeth most vpon teaching vs that, which might most make to our comforte and confirmacion of Faith: that is to wete, that the Angels are the distributers and administratours of Goddes bountie towarde vs. And therefore the Scripture reciteth, that they watch for our safetic: they take vpon them the defence of vs, they directe our wayes, they take care that no hurtfull thing betide vnto vs. The sentences are vniuersall, which principally pertaine to Christ the head of the Church, and then to all the faithfull. He hath geuen his Angels charge of thee, to kepe thee in all thy wayes. They shall beare thee vp in their handes, least thou chaunce to hitte thy feete against a stone. Againe, The Angell of the Lord standeth rounde about them that feare him, and he doth deliuer them. Wherby God sheweth that he apointeth to his Angels the defence of them, whom he hath taken in hand to kepe. After this order the Angel of the Lord doth comfort Agar when she fled away, and commandeth her to be reconciled to her maistresse. God promifeth to Abraham his seruant an Angell to be the guide of his iourney. Iacob in blessing of Ephraim and Manasses praieth, that the Angell of the Lorde by whom he himselfe had bin deliuered from all euell, may make them prosper. So the Angell was set to defende the tentes of the people of Israell. And so oft as it pleased God to reskue Israell out of the handes of their enemies, he raised vp reuegers by the ministerie of Angels. So finally (to the ende I nede not to reherse many mo) the Angels ministered to Christ, and were ready assistent to him in all necessities. They brought tidinges to the women of his resurrection, and to the disciples of his glorious comming. And so to fulfill their office of defending vs, they fight against the deuill and all enemies, and do execute the vengeance of God vpon them, that are bent against vs. As we read

Gen 18.

1. 32.

Ios. 5.

14.

Iudi. 6.

14. and

13. 22.

Psa. 82.

6.

Psa. 91.

11.

Psa. 34.

8.

Ge. 16.

9.

Ge. 24.

7.

Ge. 48.

16.

Exo. 14.

19. and

23. 20.

Iud. 2.

6. 11.

& 13. 10.

Mat. 4.

11.

Luk. 22.

43.

Mat. 28.

5.

Luc. 24.

5.

Act. 1.

10.

2. King.

19. 35.

reade that the Angell of God to deliuer Hierusalem from siege, shewe
in one night a hundred fower score and five thousande in the campe
of the king of Assyria. Esa. 37.
36.

7 But whether to euery of the faithfull be a seuerall Angell assigned for their defence, I dare not certainly affirme. Surely when Daniell bringeth in the Angel of the Persians, and the Angel of the Grecians, he sheweth that he mente, that there are to kingdomes and provinces certaine Angels appointed as gouernours. And when Christ saith that the Angels of children do alway beholde the face of the Father, he seemeth to meane, that there are certaine Angels to whom the preseruacion of them is geuen in charge. But I can not tell whether we ought thereby to gather, that euery one hath his Angell set ouer him. But this is to be holden for certaintie, that not one Angell only hath care of euery one of vs, but that they all by one consent do watche for our safetie. For it is spoken of all the Angels together, that they more reioyce of one sinner couerted to repêtance, than of nyntie and nine iust that haue stande still in their righteousness. And it is said of mo Angels than one, that they conueyed the soule of Lazarus into the bosome of Abrahā. And not without cause did Elizeus shewe to his seruant so many fiery chariots that were peculiarly appointed for him. But one place there is that seemeth more plaine than the rest to proue this point. For whē Peter being brought out of prison knocked at the doores of the house, where the brethren were assembled, when they coulde not imagine that it was he, they said it was his Angell. It should seeme, that this came in their minde by the commō opinion, that to euery of the faithfull are assigned their Angels for gouernours. Albeit yet here it may be answered that it may wel be, notwithstanding any thing that there appeareth, that we may thinke it was any one Angell, to whom God had geuen charge of Peter for that time, and yet not to be his cōtinuall keeper: as the common people do imagine that there are appointed to euery one two Angels, as it were diuers ghostes, a good Angell and a badde. But it is not worth trauaile, curiously to search for that which doth not much importe vs to know. For if this do not content a man, that all degrees of the armie of heauen do watch for his safetie, I do not see what he can be the better, if he vnderstand that there is one Angell peculiarly appointed to kepe him. And they which restraine vnto one Angell the care that God hath to euery one of vs, do great wrōg to them selues, and to all the membres of the Church: as if that power to succour vs had bin vainely promised vs, wherwith being enuironed and defended, we should fight the more boldly.

Da 10.

13. and

12. 1.

Mat. 18.

10.

Luc. 15

7.

Luc. 16.

23.

2. Kings

16 17.

Act. 12.

15.

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8 They that dare take vpon them to define of the multitude and degrees of Angels, let them looke well what foundation they haue. I graunt Michael is called in Daniel, the Great prince, and with Iude, the Archangell. And Paule saith, it shall be an Archangell that shall with sounde of trumpet call men to the Iudgemēt. But who can thereby appoint the degrees of honours between Angels, or discern one from an other by speciall markes, and appoint euery one his place and standing? For the two names that are in Scripture, Michael, and Gabriel: & if you list to adde the thirde out of the historie of Thobie, may by their signification seme to be geuen to the Angels, according to the capacitie of our weakenesse, although I had rather, leaue that exposition at large. As for the numbre of them, wee heare by Christes mouth of many Legions, by Daniell many companies of ten thousandes, the seruant of Elizeus saw many chariottes full: and this declareth that they are a great multitude, that it is said, they do campe rounde about them that feare God. As for shape, it is certaine, that Spirites haue none, and yet the Scripture for the capacitie of our wit doth not in vaine vnder Cherubin and Seraphin paint vs our Angels with winges, to the intent we should not dout that they will be euer with incredible swiftnesse, ready to succour vs, so sone as neede shall require, as if the lightning sent from heauen should flie vnto vs with such swiftnesse as it is wonted. What soeuer more than this may be sought of both these pointes, let vs beleue it to be of that sort of mysteries, wherof the full reuelation is differred to the last day. Wherefore let vs remembre to take hede both of to much curiositie in searching and to much boldnesse in speaking.

9 But this one thing which many troublesome do call in doubt, is to be holdē for certaintie, that Angels are ministring spirites, whose seruice God vseth for the defence of his, and by whom he both distributeth his benefites among men, and also putterh his other workes in execution. It was in the olde time the opinion of the Sadduces, that by Angels is meant nothing els, but either the motiōs that God doth inspire in men, or the tokens that he sheweth of his power. But against this error crie out so many testimonies of Scripture, that it is meruaile that so grosse ignorance could be suffred in that people. For to omit those places that I haue before alleged, where are recited thousandes and Legions of Angels: where ioy is geuen vnto them: where it is said that they vpholde the Faithfull with their handes, & cary their soules into rest: that they see the face of the Father, and such like: there are other places wherby is clerely proued, that they are in deede Spirites of a nature that hath substance. For where as Stephen and Paule do

say,

say, that the law was geuen by the hande of Angels, and Christ saith, Gal. 3. that the elect after the resurrection shall be like vnto Angels: that the day of iudgement is not knowen to the very Angels: that he shall the come with his holy Angels: how soeuer they be writhed, yet must they so be vnderstanded. Likewise when Paule chargeth Timothe before Christ and his chosen Angels, to keepe his commaundementes, he meaneth not qualitties or inspirations without substance but very spirites. And otherwise it standeth not together that is written in the Epistle to the Hebrues, that Christ is become more excellent than Angels, that the world is not made subiect to them: that Christ toke vpon him not their nature, but the nature of man. If we meane not the blessed spirites, to whom may these comparisons agree? And the author of that Epistle expoundeth him selfe where he placeth in the kingdome of heauen the soules of the faithfull and the holy Angels together. Also the same that we haue already alleged, that the Angels of children do alway behold the face of God, that they do reioyce at our safetie, that they maruell at the manifolde grace of God in the Church, that they are subiect to Christ, the hedde. To the same purpose serueth this, that they so oft appered to the holy Fathers in the forme of me, that they talked with them, that they were lodged with them. And Christ him selfe for the principall preminence that he hath in the person of the Mediator is called an Angel. This I thought good to touch by the way, to furnish the simple with defence against those foolish and reasonlesse opinions, that many ages ago raised by Sathan do now and then spring vp againe.

10 Nowe it resteth, that we seeke to mete with that superstition which is commonly wont to crepe in, where it is said: that Angels are the ministers and deliuerers of all good thinges vnto vs. For by and by mans reason falleth to this point, to thinke that therefore all honour ought to be geuen them. So cometh it to passe that those thinges which belong only to God and Christ, are conueied away to Angels. By this meane we see that in certaine ages paste, the glory of Christ hath bin many waies obscured, whe Angels without warrant of Gods worde were loden with immeasurable titles of honor. And of all the vices that we speake against, there is almost none more auncient than this. For it appereth, that Paule himselfe had much to do with some which so auanced Angels, that they in maner would haue brought Christ vnder subiection. And therefore he doth so carefully presse this point in his Epistle to the Colossians, that Christ is not only to be preferred before all Angels, but that he is also the author of all the good thinges that they haue: to the ende we should not forsake him

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and turne vnto them, which can not sufficiently helpe them selues, but are faine to draw out of the same fountaine that we do. Surely forasmuch as there shineth in them a certaine brightnesse of the maiesty of God, there is nothing wherunto we are more easily enclined, than with a certaine admiration to fall downe in worshipping of them, and to geue vnto them all thinges that are due only to God. Which thing Iohn in the Reuelation confesseth to haue chaunced to himselfe, but he addeth withall, that he receiued this aunswere. See thou do it not. For I am thy fellow seruant, Worship God.

11 But this daunger we shall well beware of, if we do consider why God vseth rather by them than by himselfe without their seruice to declare his power, to prouide for the safetie of the faithfull, and to communicate the giftes of his liberalitie amōg them. Surely he doth not this of necessitie, as though he coulde not be without them: for so oft as pleaseth him, he letteth them alone, & bringeth his worke to passe with an onely becke: so farre is it of, that they be any aide to him, to ease him of the hardnesse therof. This therefore maketh for the comforte of our weakenesse, so that we want nothing that may auaille our mindes, either in raising them vp in good hope, or confirming them in assurance. This one thing ought to be enough and enough againe for vs, that the Lord affirmeth that he is our protectour. But while we se our selues besieged with so many daungers, so many hurtefull thinges, so many kindes of enemies: it may be (such is our weakenesse & frailtie) that we be sometime filled with trembling feare, or fall for despaire, vnlesse the Lord after the proporcion of our capacitie do make vs to conceiue his presence. By this meane he not only promiseth that he will haue care of vs, but also that he hath an innumerable garde to whom he hath giuen in charge to trauaile for our safetie, and that so long as we be compassed with the garrison & supporte of them, whatsoeuer daunger betideth, we be without all reach of hurte. I graunt we do amisse that after this simple promise of the protection of God alone, we stil looke about from whence other helpe may come vnto vs. But for as much as it pleaseth the Lord of his infinite clemencie and gentilnesse to helpe this our fault, there is no reason why we should neglect his so great benefite. An example therof we haue in the seruant of Elizeus, which when he saw the hill besieged with the army of the Syrians, and that there was no way open to escape, was stricken downe with feare, as if his maister and he were then vterly destroyed. Then Elizeus praied God to open his seruantes eies, and by and by he sawe the hill furnished with horses and fiery chariots, that is with a multitude of Angels to kepe him and the prophet safe. Encouraged with

with this vision he gathered vp his harte againe, and was able with a dredelesse minde to looke down vpon his enemies, with sight of whom he was before in a maner driuen out of his witte.

12 Wherefore whatsoeuer is said of the ministerie of Angels, let vs applie it to this ende, that ouercomming all distrust, our hope may be the more strongly stablished in God. For these succours are herfore prouided vs of God, that we should not be made afrayde with multitude of enemies, as though they coulde preuaile against his helpe, but should flie vnto that saying of Elizeus, that there be mo on our side than be against vs. How much then is it against order of reason, that we shoulde be led away from God by Angels which are ordeined for this purpose, to testifie that his helpe is more present among vs? But they do leade vs away in dede, if they do not streight leade vs as it were by the hande to him, that we may haue eye vnto, call vpon, & publish him for our onely helper: if we consider not them to be as his handes that moue themselues to no worke but by his direction: if they do not holde vs fast in the one Mediatour Christ, so that we may hang wholly of him, leane all vpon him, be caried to him, and reste in him. For that which is described in the vision of Iacob ought to sticke and be fastened in our mindes, how Angels descende down to the earth vnto men, and from men do go vp to heauen by a ladder, whervpon stādeth the Lord of hostes. Wherby is meant, that by the only intercession of Christ it cometh to passe, that the ministeries of the Angels do come vnto vs, as he him selfe affirmeth, saying: Hereafter ye shall see the

Gen. 28.
12.

Gen. 24
7.

1.1. Therefore the seruant of Abraham being comitted to the custody of the Angell, doth not therfore call vpon the Angell to helpe him, but holpen with that commendation, he praieth to the Lord, and besecheth him to shew his mercy to Abraham. For as God doth not therfore make them ministers of his power and goodnesse, to the intēt to parte his glory with them: so doth he not therfore promise vs his helpe in their ministracion, that we shoulde diuide our confidence betwene him and them. Let vs therfore forsake that Platonick philosophy, to seeke the way to God by Angels, and to honour them for this purpose that they may make God more gentill vnto vs: which superstitious and curious men haue from the beginning gone about, and to this day do continue to bring into our religion.

Platoin
epynonide &
Crahlo.

13 As for such thinges as the Scripture teacheth concerning deuilles, they tend in a maner all to this ende, that we may be carefull to beware aforehande of their awaites and preparations, and furnish our selues with such weapons as are stronge and sure enough to driue

away euen the strongest enemies . For where as Sathan is called the God and prince of the worlde , where as he is named the strong armed man, the Spirite that hath power of the ayre, and a roaring lyon: these descriptions serue to no other purpose : but to make vs more ware and watcheful, and readier to entre in battaile with him. Which is also sometime set out in expresse wordes . For Peter after he had said, that the diuell goeth about like a roaring lyon, seeking whom he may deuoure, by and by addeth this exhortation, that we strongly resist him by Faith . And Paule after he had geuen warning that we wraastle not with flesh and bloud, but with the princes of the ayre, the powers of darkenesse , and spirituall wickednesses , by and by biddeth vs put on such armour as may serue for so great & daungerous a battaile. Wherefore lette vs also applie all to this ende , that being warned how there doth continually approche vpon vs an enemy, yea an ennemy that is in courage most hardy, in strength most mighty, in policies most suttile, in diligence and celeritie vnweriable, with all sortes of engins plenteously furnished, in skill of warre most ready, we suffer not our selues by slouth and cowardise to be surprised , but on the other side with bolde and hardy mindes set our foote to resist him : & (because this warre is onely ended by Death) encourage our selues to continue . But specially knowing our owne weaknesse and vnskillfulnesse let vs call vpon the helpe of God and enterprise nothing but vpon trust of him , for as much as it is in him onely to geue vs policie, strength, courage and armour.

14 And that we should be the more stirred vp and enforced so to do, the Scripture warneth vs , that there are not one or two or a few enemies, but great armies that make warre with vs . For it is said, that

Mar. 16. Mary Magdalene was deliuered from seuen deuils, wherwith she was
9. possessed. And Christ saith, that it is the ordinary custome, that if after a deuill be ones cast out, a man make the place open againe, he bringeth seuen spirites worse than him selfe , and returneth into his possession, finding it empty. Yea it is said that a whole legion besieged one man. Hereby therefore we are taught, that we must fight with an infinite multitude of enemies, least despising the fewenesse of them we should be more slacke to enter in battaile , or thinking that we haue some respite in the meane time graunted, we should geue our selues to idelnesse. Where as many times Sathan or the diuell is named in the singular numbre , thereby is meant that power of wickednesse which standeth against the kingdome of Iustice . For as the Church and the fellowship of saintes haue Christ to their head , so the faction of the wicked is painted out vnto vs with their prince , that hath the chiefe

authoritie among them. After which maner this is spoken. Go ye cursed into eternall fire that is prepared for the deuill and his angels. Mat. 25. 41.

15 Here also this ought to stirre vs vp to a perpetuall warre with the deuill, for that he is euery where called the enemy of God and of vs. For if we haue regarde of Goddes glory, as it is mete we should, then ought we with all our force to bende our selues against him, that goeth about to extinguish it. If we be affectioned to maintaine the kingdome of Christ as we ought, then must we nedes haue an vnapeasable warre with him that conspireth the ruine therof. Againe, if any care of our owne safetie do touch vs, then ought we to haue neither peace nor truce with him that continually lieth in waite for the destruction of it. Such a one is he described in the 3. chap. of Genesis where he leadeth man away from the obedience that he did owe to God, that he both robbeth God of his due honor, and throweth mā him selfe headlong into destruction. Such a one also is he set forth in the Euangelistes, where he is called an enemy, and is said to scatter Mat. 13. 28. rares, to corrupt the fede of eternall life. In a summe, that which Iohn 8. 44. Christ testifieth of him, that from the beginning he was a murtherer, and a lier, we finde by experience in all his doinges. For he assaileth the trueth of God with lies, obscureth the light with darkenesse, entangleth the mindes of men with errors, raiseth vp hatredes, kindleth contentions and strifes, doth all thinges to this ende to ouerthrow the kingdome of God, and drowne men with him selfe in eternall destruction. Wherby appereth, that he is of nature froward, spitefull and malicious. For nedes must there be great frowardnesse in that witte, that is made to assaile the glory of God and saluation of men. And that doth Iohn speake of in his epistle, when he writeth, that he sinneth from the beginning. For he meaneth that he is the author, captain and principall workeman of all malice and wickednesse.

16 But forasmuch as the deuill was created by God, let vs remembre that this malice which we asigne in his nature, is not by creation but by deprauatiō. For what so euer damnable thing he hath, he hath gotten to him selfe by his owne reuolting and fall. Which the Scripture therefore geueth vs warning of, least thinking that he came out such a one from God, we should ascribe that to God him selfe which is farthest frō him: For this reason doth Christ say that Sathā speaketh of his owne when he speaketh lies, and addeth a cause why, for that he stode not still in the trueth. Now when he saith that he stode not still in the trueth, he sheweth that ones he had bin in the trueth. And Iohn 8. 44. when he maketh him the Father of lying, he taketh this from him, that he can not lay that fault to God wherof he him selfe is cause to

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himselfe. Although these things be but shortly and not very plainly spoken, yet this is enough for this purpose to deliuer the maiestie of God from all sclaunder. And what maketh it matter to vs, to know more or to any other purpose concerning deuils? Many perhaps do grudge, that the Scripture doth not orderly and distinctly in many places set forth that fall and the cause, manner, time, and fashion thereof. But because these things do nothing pertain to vs, it was better, if not to be suppressed wholly, yet to be but lightly touched, and that partly, because it was not beſeming for the Holy ghost to fede curiositie with vaine histories without any frute: and we ſe that it was the Lordes purpose to put nothing in his holy oracles but that which we should learne to edification. Therefore, lest we our selues should tary long vpon things superfluous, let vs be content shortly to know thus much cōcerning the nature of deuils, that at the first creatiō they were the Angels of God: but by ſwaruing out of kinde they both destroyed themſelues and are become instrumentes of destructiō to other. Thus much, because it was profitable to be knowen, is plainly taught in Peter and Iude. God ſpared not (ſay they) his Angels which had ſinned, and not kept their beginning, but had forſaken their dwelling place. And Paule naming the elect Angels doth without doubt ſecretly by implication ſet the reprobate Angels in compariſon againſt them.

2. Pet. 2
4.
Iud. 1.
6.
1. Tim. 5
20.

17 As for the diſcorde and ſtrife that we ſay is betwene God and Satan, we muſt ſo take it that ſtill we holde this for certainſe, that he can do nothing but by the will and ſufferaunce of God. For we reade in the hiftorie of Iob, that he preſented himſelfe before God to receiue his commaundemētes, and durſt not go forwarde to do any enterpriſe till he had obtained licence. So when Achab was to be deceived, he toke vpon him that he woulde be the Spirite of lying in the mouth of all the Prophetes, and ſo being ſente of God he performed it. For this reaſon is he called the euill Spirite of the Lord that tormēted Saul, becauſe by him as with a ſcourage the ſinnes of the wicked king were puniſhed. And in an other place it is written, that the plagues were laied vpon the Egyptians by the euil angels. According to theſe particular examples Paule doeth generally reſtiſie, that the blinding of the wicked is the worke of God, whereas before he had called it the working of Satan. It is euident therefore that Satan is vnder the power of God, and ſo gouerned by his authoritie that he is compelled to do him ſeruice. Now whē we ſay that Satā reſiſterh God, that the workes of Satan diſagree with the workes of God, we do therewithall affirme that this diſagrement and ſtrife hangeth vpon the ſufferaunce of God. I ſpeake not now of his will, nor of his endeauour, but of the effect onely.

1. Kings
22. 20.
1. Sa. 16
14. and
18. 10.
Pſa. 34.

1. The. 2
9.

onely. For sith the deuill is wicked of nature, he is not enclined to obey the will of God, but is wholly carryed to stubbornnesse and rebellion. This therfore he hath of himselfe and of his owne wickednesse, that of desire and purpose he withstandeth God. And by this wickednes he is stirred vp to the enterprising of those things that he knoweth to be most against God. But because God holdeth him fast tied and restrained with the bridle of his power, he executeth onely those things that are graunted him from God. And so doth he obey his creator whether he will or no, because he is constrained to applie his seruice whether soeuer God compelleth him.

18 Now because God boweth the vncleane Spirites hether and thether as pleaseth him, he so tempereth this gouernement, that they exercise the faithfull with battail, they set vpon them out of ambushes, they assaile them with inuasions, they presse them with fighting, and oftentimes werry them, trouble them, make them afraied, & sometime wounde them, but neuer ouercome nor oppresse them. But the wicked they subdue and drawe awaye, they reigne vpon their soules and bodies, and abuse them as bondslaues to all mischeuous doings. As for the faithfull, because they are vnquieted of such enemies, therfore they heare these exhortations. Do not geue place to the deuill. Ephc. 4.
 The deuill your enemy goeth about as a roring lion seking whom he 27.
 may deuoure, whom resist ye being strong in faith and such like. Paule 1. Pet. 5.
 confesseth that he himselfe was not free from this kinde of strife whē 8.
 he saith, that for a remedy to tame pride, the Angel of Satan was ge- 2. Cor
 uen to him, by whom he might be humbled. This exercise therfore is 12. 7.
 common to all the children of God. But because that same promise Gen. 3.
 of the breaking of Satans head pertaineth generally to Christ and to 15.
 all his members, therfore I say that the faithfull can neuer be ouer-
 come nor oppressed by him. They are many times striken down, but
 they are neuer so astonnied withall but that they recouer themselues.
 They fall downe many times with violence of strokes, but they are
 after raised vp againe: they are wounded but not deadly. Finally they so
 labor in all the course of their life that in the ende they obtaine the vi-
 ctorie: but I speake not this of euery doing of theirs. For we knowe
 that by the iuste vengeaunce of God Dauid was for a time geuen ouer
 to Satan, by his motion to number the people: and not without cause 2. Sam.
 Paule saith there is hope of pardon lest if any haue bin entangled 24. 1.
 with the snares of the deuill. Therefore in an other place the same Rom. 16
 Paule saith, that the promise aboue alleged is begonne in this life, 20.
 wherein we must wrastle, and is performed after our wrastling ended:
 when he saith the God, of peace shall shortly beate downe Satan vn-

der your feete. This victorie hath alway fully bin in our head Christ, because the Prince of the worlde had nothing in him, but in vs that are his members it doth now partly appeare and shalbe perfited, whe being vnclothed of our flesh by which we are yet subiect to weaknesse, we shalbe full of the power of the Holy ghost. In this manner when the kingdome of Christ is rayfed vp and aduanced, Satan with his power falleth downe as the Lord himselfe saith. I saw Satan fall as a lightening downe from heauen. For by this aunswere he confirmeth that which the Apostles had reported of the power of his preaching.

Luc. 10.
18.
Luc. 11.
21.

Againe, When the Prince possesseth his owne palace, all thinges that he possesseth are in peace, but when there commeth a stronger, he is thrown out. &c. And to this ende Christ in dying ouercame Satan which had the power of death, and triumphed vpon all his armies that they should not hurt the Church, for otherwise they would euery moment a hundred times destroy it. For (considering what is our weaknesse, and what is his furious strength) how coule we stande, yea neuer so little time against his manifolde and continuall assaultes, but being supported by the victory of our captaine? Therefore God suffereth not the deuill to reigne ouer the soules of the faithfull, but onely deliuereth him the wicked and vnbeleuing to gouerne, whom God doth not vouchesaue to haue reckened in his flocke. For it is said that he possesseth this worlde without controuerfie till he be thrust out by Christ. Againe, that he doth blinde all them that beleue not the Gospel, againe, that he performeth his worke in the stubborne children, and worthily, for all the wicked are the vesselles of wrath. Therefore to whom should they be rather subiect than to the minister of Goddes vengeance? Finally they are saied to be of their Father the deuill, because as the faithfull are hereby known to be the children of God because they beare his image: so they by the image of Satan into which they are gone out of kinde, are properly discerned to be his children.

2. Cor.
4. 4.
Eph. 2.
2.
Iohn. 8.
44.
1. Iohn
3. 8.

19 As we haue before confuted that trifling philosophie concerning the holy Angels, which teacheth that they are nothing els but good inspirations or motions, which God stirreth vp in the mindes of men: so in this place must we confute them that fondly say that deuils are nothing els but euill affections or perturbations of minde, that are thrust into vs by our flesh. That may we shortly do, because there be many testimonies of Scripture, & those plaine enough vpo this point. First wher the vncleane Spirites are called, Angels Apostataes, which haue swarued out of kinde from their beginning, the very names do sufficiently expresse that they are not motions or affections of mindes, but

but rather in dede as they be called mindes or Spirites endued with sense and vnderstanding. Likewise whereas both Christ and Iohn do compare the children of God with the children of the deuill: were it not an vnfit comparison, if the name of the deuill signified nothing else but euill inspirations? And Iohn addeth somewhat more plaine-ly, that the deuill sinneth from the beginning. Likewise when Iude bringeth in Michael the archangell fighting with the deuill, doutlesse he setteth against the good Angell an euill and rebellious Angell. Wherewith agreeth that which is read in the history of Iob, that Satan appeared with the holy Angels before God. But most playne of all are those places that make métion of the punishment which they begin to fele by the iudgement of God, and specially shall fele at the resurrection. Sonne of Dauid why art thou come before the time to torment vs? Againe, Go ye cursed into the eternell fire that is prepared for the deuill and his Angels. Againe, If he spared not his owne Angels that had sinned, but cast them downe into hell and deliuered them into cheines of darkenesse to be kept vnto damnation. &c. How fond should these speeches be, that the deuills are ordayned to eternall iudgement, that hier is prepared for them, that they are now already tormented and vexed by the glory of Christ: if there were no deuils at all? But because this matter needeth no disputation among them that beleue the word of the Lord, and little good is done with testimonies of Scripture among those vayne studentes of speculation, whom nothing pleaseth but that which is new: I suppose I haue performed that which I purposed, that is that the godly mindes should be furnished against such fond errours, wherewith vnquiet mé do trouble both themselues and other that be more simple. But it was good to touch this, least any entangled with that errour, while they thinke they haue none to stand against them, should waxe more slow and vnprouided to resist.

20 In the meane time lette it not be werysome vnto vs, in this so beautifull a stage to take a godly delight of the manifest and ordinary workes of God. For, as I haue elsewhere already sayd, though this be not the chiefe, yet is it in order the first doctrine of Faith, to remember that what way soeuer we turne our eyes, all that we see are the workes of God, and with godly consideration to wey for what end God did make them. Therefore that we may conceiue by Faith so much as behoueth vs to know of God, it is good first of all to learne the history of the creation of the world, how it is shortly rehearsed by Moses, and afterward more largely sette out by holy men, specially by Basile and Ambrose. Out of it we shall learne that God by

1. Ioh. 3.
8.

Iob. 1. 6

Matt. 8.

29.

Mat. 25.

41.

Iud. 1. 9.

the power of his word and Spirit created heauen and earth of nothing, and thereof brought forth all liuing creatures and things without life, with maruellous order disposed the innumerable variety of things, to euery thing he gaue the propre nature, assigned their offices, appointed their places and abidinges, and where all things are subiect to corruption, yet hath he so prouided that of all sortes some shalbe preserued safe to the last day, and therefore some he cherisheth by secrete meanes, and powreth now and then as it were a new liuelinesse into them, and to some he hath given the power to encrease by generation, that in their dying that whole kinde should not dye together. So hath he maruellously garnished the heauen and the earth, with so absolutely perfect plenty, variety and beauty of all things as possibly might be, as it were a large and gorgeous house furnished and stored with abundance of most finely chosen stufte, last of all how in framing man and adorning him with so godly beauty, and with so many and so great giftes, he hath shewed in him the most excellent example of all his workes. But because it is not my purpose at this present to set forth at large the creation of the world, let it suffice to haue ones agayne touched these few things by the way. For it is better, as I haue already warned the readers, to fetch a fuller vnderstanding of this matter out of Moses and other, that haue faithfully and diligently conueyed the history of the world by writing to perpetuall memory.

21 It is to no purpose, to make much a do in disputing, to what end this consideration of the workes of God ought to tende, or to what marke it ought to be applied: forasmuch as in other places already a great parte of this question is declared, and so much as belongeth to our present purpose may in few wordes be ended. Truly if we were minded to set out as it is worthy, how inestimable wisdom, power, iustice and goodnesse of God appeareth in the framing of the world, no eloquence, no garnishmēt of speech, could suffice the largenesse of so great a matter. And no dout it is Gods pleasure that we should be continually occupied in so holy a meditation, that while we behold in his creatures as in looking glasses the infinite richesse of his wisdom, iustice bountie and power, we should not runne ouer the as it were with a flying eye, or with a vayne wandring looke as I may so call it, but that we should with consideration rest long vpon them, cast them vp and downe earnestly and faithfully in our mindes, and oft repeate them with remembrance. But because we are now busied in that kinde that pertayneth to order of teaching, it is mete that we omit those things that require long declamations. Therefore, to be
short,

first, let the readers know, that then they haue conceiued by Faith, what this meaneth, that God is the creator of heauen & earth, if they first follow this vniuersall rule, that they passe not ouer with not considering or forgetfulnesse of those vertues, that God presenteth to be seene in his creatures, then, that they so learne to apply themselues that they may therewith be thoroughly moued in their hartes. The first of those we do when we consider how excellent a workmans worke it was, to place and aptly set in so well disposed order the multitude of the starres that is in heauen, that nothing can be deuised more beautifull to behold: to sette and fasten some of them in their standings so that they can not moue, and to othersome to graunt a free course, but so that in mouing they wander not beyond their appointed space, so to temper the motion of them all that it may diuide in measure the dayes and nightes, monethes, yeares and seasons of the yeare, and to bring this inequality of dayes which we dayly see to such a tempered order that it hath no confusion. Likewise, when we marke his power in susteyning so great a body, in gouerning the so swiftwhirling about of the engine of heauen, and such like. For these few examples do sufficiently declare what it is to record the power of God in the creation of the world. For else if I should trauaile as I sayed to expresse it all in wordes, I should neuer make an end, forasmuch as there are so many miracles of the power of God, so many tokens of his goodnessse, so many examples of his wisdom, as there be formes of thinges in the world, yea as there be things either great or smale.

22 Now remaineth the other part which commeth nerer to Faith, that while we consider that God hath ordayned all thinges for our garde and safety, and therewithall do fele his power and grace in our selues, and in so great good things that he hath bestowed vpon vs: we may thereby stirre vp our selues to the trust, inuocation, prayse and loue of him. Now as I haue before sayd, God himselfe hath shewed in the very order of creation, that for mans sake he created all thinges. For it is not without cause that he diuided the making of the world into six dayes, whereas it had bin as easie for him in one moment to haue in all pointes accomplished his whole worke, as it was by such proceeding from peece to peece to come to the end of it. But then it pleased him to shew his prouidēce & fatherly carefulnesse toward vs, that before he made man he prepared all that he foresaw should be profitable for him; and fitte for his preseruatiō. How great vnthankfulnessse now should it be to dout whether this good Father do care for vs, whom we see to haue bin carefull for vs ere that we were born? How wicked were it to tremble for distrust least his goodnessse would

at any time leaue vs destitute in necessity, which we see was displayed for vs being not yet borne, with great abundance of al good things. Beside that we heare by Moses that by his liberality all that euer is in the world is made subiect to vs. Sure it is that he did it not to mocke vs with an empty name of gift. Therefore we shall neuer lacke any thing, so farre as it shall be auaylable for our preseruatiō. Finally to make an end, so oft as we name God the creator of heauen & earth, lette this come in our mindes withall, that the dispositiō of all things which he hath create, is in his hand and power, and that we are his children whom he hath taken into his owne charge and keeping to foster and bring vp: that we may looke for al good things at his hand, and assuredly trust that he will neuer suffer vs to lacke things needefull for our safety, to the end our hope should hang vpon none other: y whatsoeuer we desire our prayers may be directed to him: of what thing soeuer we receiue profit we may acknowledge it to be his benefit, and confesse it with thanks giuing: that being allured with so great sweetnesse of his goodnesse and liberality, we may study to loue and honor him with all our hart.

The xv. Chapter.

What a one man was created: where in there is entreated of the powuers of the soule, of the image of God, of free will & of the first integrity of nature.

NOW must we speake of the creation of man, not onely because he is among all the workes of God the most noble and most excellent example of his iustice, wisdom and goodness: but also because as we haue sayd in the beginning, we cannot plainly and perfectly know God, vnlesse we haue withal a mutuall knowledge of our selues. Although y same knowledge be of two sorts, the one to know what we were created at the first beginning, the other to know what our estate began to be after the fall of Adam (for it were but to small profit for vs to know our creation, vnlesse we did also in this lamentable fall know what is the corruption and deformity of our nature:) yet at this time we will be content with description of our nature when it was pure. And before we descend to this miserable estate whereunto man is now in thralldome, it is good to learne what a one he was created at the beginning. For we must take hede that in precisely declaring onely the naturall euils of man, we seme not to impute the to the author of nature. For vngodlines thinketh her selfe to haue sufficient defense in this colour, if it may lay for her selfe that whatsoeuer fault she hath, the same did after a certaine manner

manner proceede from God, and sticketh not if she be accused, to quarell with God, and to lay the fault vpon him whereof she is worthely accused. And they that would seeme to speake somewhat more reuerently of the maiesty of God, yet do willingly seeke to excuse their owne wickednesse, by nature, not considering that therein though not openly they blame God also, to whose reproch it should fall if it were proued that there is any fault in nature. Sith then we see that our flesh gapeth for all the wayes to escape, wherby she thinketh the blame of her owne euils may any way be put off from her, we must diligently trauaill to mete with this mischiefe. Therefore we must so handle the calamity of mankinde that we cut off all excuse, and deliuer the iustice of God from all accusation. Afterward in place conuenient we shall see how far men be now from that purenesse that was giuen to Adam. And first we must remember, that in this that man was taken out of earth and clay, a bridle was put vpon his pride, for there is no greater absurdity, than for them to glory in their excellency that do not only dwell in a cottage of clay, but also are themselues in parte but earth and ashes. But forasmuch as God did not onely vouchsaue to giue life vnto an earthen vessell, but also it was his pleasure that it should be the dwelling house of an immortall Spirite, Adam might iustly glory in so great liberality of his maker.

2 Now it is not to be doubted that man consisteth of soule and body, and by the name of soule I meane an immortall essence, and yet created, which is the nobler parte of him. Sometime it is called the Spirite. Albeit when these two names Soule and Spirite are ioyned together, they differ one from the other in significatiō, yet when Spirite is sette by it selfe it meaneth as much as Soule. As, when Salomon speaking of death, sayth that then the Spirite returneth to him that gaue it. And Christ commending his Spirite to his Father, and Stephen his Spirite to Christ do both meane none other thing but that when the Soule is deliuered from the prison of the flesh, God is the perpetuall keeper of it. As for them that imagine that the Soule is therefore called a Spirite because it is a breath or a power by God inspired or poured into bodies which yet hath no essence: both y^e thing it selfe & all the Scripture sheweth that they do to much grossly erre. True it is that while men are fastened to the earth more than they ought to be, they waxe dull, yea because they are estranged from the Father of lightes they are blinded with darkenesse, so that they do not thinke vpon this, that they shall remaine aliue after death. And yet is not that light so quenched in darkenesse, but that they be touched with some feling of immortality. Surely the conscience which discerneth

Ecc. 12

7.

Luc. 23.

46.

Act. 7.

59.

Cap. 15. Of the knowvledge of

ning betwene good and euill answereth the iudgement of God, is an vndouted signe of an immortall Spirite. For how could a motiō without essence attaine to come to the iudgement seate of God, & throw it selfe into feare by finding her owne guiltinesse? For the body is not moued with feare of a Spirituall peine, but that falleth onely vppon the soule. Wherby it followeth that the soule hath an essence. Moreover the very knowledge of God doth proue that the soules which ascende vp aboue the world are immortall: for a vanishing liuelinesse were not able to attayne to the fountayne of life. Finally forasmuch as so many excellent gifts wherewith mans minde is endued, do cry out that there is some diuine thing engrauen it, there are euen so many testimonies of an immortall essence. For that sense which is in brute beastes, goeth not out of the body, or at least extendeth no further than to things presently set before it. But the nimblenesse of the minde of man which veweth the heauen and earth and secretes of nature, & comprehending all ages in vnderstanding and memory, digesteth euery thing in order and gathereth thinges to come by thinges past, doth plainly shew that there lyeth hidden in man a certaine thing seuerall from the body. We conceiue by vnderstanding the inuisible God and Angells, which the body can not do. We know thinges that be right, iust, & honest, which are hidden frō the bodily senses. Therefore it must needs be that the Spirite is the seate of this vnderstanding. Yea and our sleepe it selfe, which astonieth a man and seemeth to take life away from him, is a plaine witnesse of immortality, forasmuch as it doth not only minister vnto vs, thoughtes of those thinges that neuer were done, but also foreknowinges of thinges for time to come. I touch these things shortly which euen prophane wryters do excellently sette out with more gorgeous garnishment of wordes: but with the godly readers a simple putting in minde of them shall be sufficient. Now if the soule were not a certaine thing by it selfe seuerall from the body, the Scripture would not teach that we dwell in houses of clay, that by death we remoue out of the Tabernacle of the flesh, that we do put of that which is corruptible, that finally at the last day we may receiue reward euery man as he hath behaued himselfe in his body. For these places and other that we do ech where cōmonly light vpon, do not only manifestly distinguish the soule from the body, but also in giuing to the soule the name of man do shew that it is the principall parte. Now whereas Paule doth exhort the faithfull to cleanse themselues from all defiling of the flesh and the Spirite, he maketh two partes of man wherein abideth the filthinesse of sinne. And Peter where he calleth Christ the shepeherde & bishop of soules, should haue

1. Cor. 7

1. Pet. 2

25.

haue spoken fondly if there were no soules about whom he might execute that office. Neither would that conueniently stand together which he sayth of the eternal saluation of soules, and where he biddeth to cleanse our soules, and where he sayth that euil desires do fight against the soule, and where the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues sayeth, that the Pastors do watch that they may yeld accompt for our soules, vnlesse it were true that soules had a proper essence. To the same purpose serueth it that Paul calleth God for witnesse to his own soule, because it could not be called in iudgement before God vnlesse it were subiect to punishment. And this is also more plainly expressed in the wordes of Christ, when he biddeth vs to feare him which after that he hath killed the body, can throw the soule into hell fier. Now where the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues doth distinguish the Fathers of our flesh frō God, which is the only Father of Spirits, he would not otherwise more plainly affirme the essence of soules. Moreouer, if the soules remayned not aliuie being deliuered from the prisōs of their bodies, Christ should very fondly haue brought in the soule of Lazarus ioying in the bosome of Abraham, and agayne the soule of the richman subiect to horrible tormentes. The same thing doth Paul confirme when he teacheth that we wander abroad from God, so long as we dwell in the flesh, and that we enioy his presence being out of the flesh. But, because I will not be long in a matter that is not obscure, I will adde only this out of Luke, that it is reckened among the errours of the Sadduces that they did not beleue that there were any Spirites and Angels.

3 Also a strong proufe hereof may be gathered of this where it is sayd, that man is create like to the image of God. For although the glory of God do appeare in the outwarde shape of man, yet is it no dout that the propre seate of the image of God is in the soule. I do not deny that as concerning our outward shape, in asmuch as the same doth distinguish and seuer vs from brute beastes, we do also therein more nerely approach to God than they: neither will I much stand against thē which thinke that this is to be accōpted of the image of God, that where al other liuing creatures do grouellingwise behold the ground, to man is giuen an vpright face, and he is commaunded to looke vpon the heauen, and to aduaunce his countenance toward the starres: so that this remayne certaine, that y image of God which is seene appeareth in these outward signes, is spirituall. For Osiander (whom his writings declare to haue bin in fickle imaginations fondly witty) referring the image of God without difference as well to the body as to the soule, mingleth heauen & earth together. For he sayth,

that the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy gost did settle their image in man, because though Adam hadde stand without falling, yet should Christ haue become man. And so by their opinion the body that was appoynted for Christ, was but an example or figure of that bodily shape which then was formed. But where shall he finde that Christ is the image of the Spirite? I graunt in deede that in the Person of the Mediatour shineth the glory of the whole Godheade. But how shall the eternall worde be called the image of the Spirite whom he goeth before in order? Finally it ouerthroweth the distinction betwene the Sonne and the Holy ghost, if he do here call him his image. Moreouer I would fayne learne of him how Christ doth resemble the Holy ghost in the flesh that he tooke vpon him, and by what markes and features he doth expresse the likenesse of him. And where as this saying: Let vs make man after our image, doth also belong to the Person of the Sonne, it followeth, that he must be the image of himselfe: which is against all reason. Beside that, if Osianders inuention be beleued, man was fashioned onely after the figure and paterne of Christ in that he was man, and so that forme out of which Adam was taken, was Christ, in that that he was to be clothed with flesh, where as the Scripture in a farre other meaning teacheth, that he was create in the image of God. But their suttile inuention is more colourable which do thus expound it, that Adam was create in the image of God, because he was fashioned like vnto Christ, which is the onely image of God. But that exposition also is not sound. Also some interpreters make a great disputation about Image and Likenesse, while they seeke a difference betwene those two wordes, where is no difference at all, saying that this word Likenesse is added to expound the other. First we know that among the Hebrues such repetitions are common, wherein they expresse one thing twise: and in the thing it selfe there is no dout, but that man is therefore called the image of God, because he is like to God. Wherby appeareth that they are to be laughed at, which do so suttelly argue about the wordes, whether they appoint Zelem, that is to say, Image in the substance of the soule, or Demuth, that is to say, Likenesse in the qualities, or what other thing soeuer it be that they teach. For where as God determined to create man after his own image, this being somewhat darkely spoken he doth as by way of explicatiō repete it in this saying, After his likenesse, as if he would haue sayd, that he would make man, in whom he would represent himselfe, as in an image, because of the markes of likenesse grauen in him. And therefore Moses a litle after reciting the same thing, doth repete the Image of God twise, leauing out the name of Likenesse. And it is a trifling

trifling obiection that Oseander maketh, that not a parte of man, or the soule only with the giftes therof, is called the Image of God, but the whole Adam which had his name giuen him of the earth, from whence he was taken. Trifling, I say, will all readers that haue theyr sound wit iudge this obiection. For where whole man is called mortall, yet is not y^e soule therby made subiect to mortality. Againe where he is called a liuing creature endued with reasoⁿ, it is not therby meant that the body hath reason and vnderstanding. Although therefore the soule is not the whole man, yet is it not inconuenient, that man in respect of the soule be called the image of God, albeit I hold still that principle which I haue before stablished, that the Image of God extendeth to the whole excellēce, wherby the nature of man hath preeminence among all kindes of liuing creatures. Therefore in that word is noted the integrity that man had when he was endued with right vnderstanding, when he had his affection framed according to reason, and all his senses gouerned in right order, and when in excellent gifts he did truly resemble the excellēce of his Creator. And though the principall seate of the image of God were in the minde & hart, or in the soule and the powers therof, yet was there no parte of man, not so much as the body, wherin did not some sparkes thereof appeare. Certaine it is, that also in all the partes of the world, there do shine some resemblances of the glory of God: wherby we may gather that where it is sayd, that his Image is in man, there is in so saying a certain secret comparison, that auunceth man aboue all other creatures, & doth as it were seuer him from the commō sorte. Neither is it to be denied, Mat. 22 that the Angels were create after the likenesse of God, sith (as Christ 30. him selfe testifieth) our chiefe perfection shall be to become like vnto the. But not without cause doth Moses by that peculiar title set forth the grace of God toward vs, specially where he compareth only visible creatures with man.

4 But yet it seemeth that there is not giuen a full definition of the image of God, vnlesse it plainlier appeare in what qualities mā excelleth: & wherby he ought to be compted a glasse, resembling the glory of God. But that can be by no other thing better knowen, than by the repaying of mans corrupted nature. First it is doubtlesse, that when Adam fell from his estate, he was by that departure estranged from God. Wherefore although we graunt that the Image of God was not altogether defaced and blotted out in him, yet was it so corrupted, that all that remayneth, is but vggly deformity. Therefore the beginning of recouery of safety for vs, is in that restoring which we obtayne by Christ, who is also for the same cause called the seconde Adam, be-

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1. Cor. 15. 45. cause he restored vs vnto true and perfect integrity. For although where Paule doth in comparison sette the quickening Spirite that Christ giueth to the faythfull, against the liuing soule wherein Adam was created, he setteth foorth the more abundant measure of grace in the regeneration: yet doth he not take away this other principall point, that this is the end of our regeneration, that Christ should new fashion vs to the image of God. Therefore in an other place he teacheth, that the newe man is renued according to the image of him that created him. Wherewith agreeth this saying: put on the new man which is create according to God. Now it is to be seene what Paule doth principally comprehend vnder this renuing. First he speaketh of knowledge and after of pure righteousness and holynesse. Whereby we gather that the image of God was first of all to be seene in the light of the minde, in the vprightnesse of hart, and soundnesse of all the partes. For although I graunt that this is a figuratiue phrase of speech to set the parte for the whole: yet can not this principle be ouerthrowen, that that thing which is the chiefe in the renuing of the image of God, was also the principall in the creation of him. And for the same purpose maketh it that in an other place he teacheth, that we beholding the glory of God with open face, are transformed into the same image. Now do we se how Christ is the most perfect image of God, according to the which we being fashioned are so restored, that in true godlinesse, righteousness, purenesse and vnderstanding, we beare the image of God. Which principle being established, Others imagination of the shape of our body doth easily vanish away of it selfe. Where as the man alone is in Paule called the Image and glory of God, and the woman is excluded from that degree of honor, it appeareth by the rest of the text, that the same is to be applied only to ciuile order of policy. But that vnder the name of image, whereof we speake, is comprehended all that belongeth to the spirituall and eternall life, I thinke it be already sufficiently proued. And the same thing doth Iohn cōfirme in other wordes: saying that the light which was frō the beginning in the eternal word of God was y light of mē. For where his purpose was to praise y singular grace of God, whereby man excelleth all other liuing creatures to seuer him frō the common sorte, because he hath attayned no commō life, but ioyned with the light of vnderstanding, he therewithall sheweth how he was made after the image of God. Therefore sith the image of God is the vn-corrupted excellence of the nature of man, which shined in Adam before his fall, and afterwarde was so corrupted and almost defaced, that nothing remayneth sins that ruine, but disordered, mangled, and filthily

fleshly spotted : yet the same doth in some parte appeare in the elect, inso much as they are regenerate, and shall obayne her full brightnes in heauen. But that we may know on what partes it consisteth, it shall be good to entreate of the powers of the soule . For that speculatiue deuise of Augustine is not sounde, where he sayeth that the soule is a glaife of the Trinity, becauie that there are in it vnderstanding, will, & memory. Neither is their opinion to be approued, which sette the Image of God in the power of dominion giuen vnto him, as if he resembled God onely in this marke, that he is appointed lorde and possessor of all thinges, where as in deede the Image of God is properly to be sought within him, and not without him, and is an inward good gift of the soule.

Lib. de
tri. 10.
De ciui.
dei. 11.

5. But before I go any further, it is needefull that I meete with the doting error of the Manichees, which Serueto hath attempted to bring in agayne in this age . Where it is sayd, that God breathed the breath of life into the face of man, they thought that the soule didde conuey into man the substance of God, as if some portion of the immeasurable God were come into man. But it is easie euen shortely to shew how many grosse and foule absurdities this deuillish error draweth with it. For if the soule be by deriuation parte of the essence of God, it shall follow that y nature of God is subiect, not only to chaunge and passions, but also to ignorance, euill lustes, weakenesse, and all kindes of vices. Nothing is more inconstant than man, becauie contrary motions do tesse and diuersely draw his soule, oftentimes he is blinde by ignorance, oft he yeldeth as vanquished euen to smale tentations, and we know that the soule it selfe is the sinke and receiuer of all filthinesse, al which things we must ascribe to the nature of God, if we graunt that the soule is of the essence of God, or a secrete infloving of Godheade. Who would not abhorre this monstrous deuise? Truly in deede doth Paule allege out of Aratus, that we are the offspring of God, but in quality and not in substance, inasmuch as he hath garnished vs with godly giftes. But in the meane time to teare in sunder the essence of the Creator, as to say, that every mā doth possesse a part of it, is to much madnes. Therefore we must certainly hold, that the soules, although the image of God be grauen in them, were no lesse created than the angels were. And creation is not a pouring out of one substance into an other, but a beginning of essence made of nothing. And although the spirite of man came from God, and in departing out of the flesh returneth to God, yet is not forthwith to be sayd, that it was taken out of his substance. And in this poynt also Osiander, while he glorieth in his illusions, hath entangled

Ge. 2. 7.

Ag. 17.
28.

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himselfe with an vngodly error, not acknowledging the image of God to be in mā without his essentiall iustice, as though God by the inettimable power of his holy spirite could not make vs like vnto himselfe, vnlesse Christ should substantially poure himselfe into vs. With what soeuer colour many do go about to disguise these deceites, yet shal they neuer so begile the eyes of the readers, that are in their right wittes, but that they will easily see that these things saueur of the Manichees error. And where saint Paule entreateth of the restoring of this image, it may be readily gathered out of his wordes, that man was made of like forme to God, not by inflowing of his substance, but by grace and power of his Spirite. For he sayeth, that in beholding the glory of Christ we are transformed into the same Image, as by the Spirite of God, which surely so worketh in vs, that it maketh vs of one substance with God.

6 It were but folly to borow of the Philosophers a definitiō of the soule, of whom almost none, except Plato, hath perfectly affirmed it to be an immortall substance. In dede some other also, that is the Socratics, do touch it, but so as none doth playnly teach that to other, which himselfe was not perswaded. But therefore is Plato of the better iudgement, because he doth in the soule consider y image of God. Some other do so binde the powers and vertues of the soule to this present life, that being out of the body they leaue to it nothing. Now we haue already taught by the Scripture, that it is a bodilesse substance: now must we adde that although properly it is not comprehended in place, yet it is set in the body, and doth there dwell as in a house, not onely to minister life to all the partes of the body, and to make the instrumentes thereof mete and fittely seruing for the actions that they are appoynted for, but also to beare the chiefe office in gouerning the life of man, & that not onely about the duties in this earthly life, but also to stirre vs vp to the seruice of God. Although this later point in this corruption is not playnely perceiued, yet euen in the vices themselues there remayne emprinted some leauings thereof. For whense commeth it but of shame, that menne haue so great care what be reported of them? And whense commeth shame, but of regarde of honesty? Whereof the beginning and cause is, that they vnderstād that they are naturally borne to obserue Iustice, in which persuation is enclosed the sede of religion. For as without all controuersy man was made to meditation of the heauēly life: so is it certayne that the knowledge thereof was engrauen in his soule. And surely manne should want the principall vse of his vnderstanding, if he should be ignorant of his owne felicity, wherof the perfection is that he be ioy-
ned

ned with God, and therefore it is the chiefe action of the soule to aspire therunto. And so the more that euery man studieth to approach vnto God, the more he therby proueth himselfe to be endued with reason. As for thē that would haue diuers soules in man, that is, a feeling soule, & a reasonable soule, although they seeme to say somewhat by reason proueable, yet because there is no stedfast certaintie in their reasons, we must reiect thē, vnlesse we list to accombre our selues in thinges trifling & vnprofitable. A great disagreement say they, there is between the instrumental motions and the parte of the soule endued with reason. As though reason it selfe did not also dissent from it selfe, & some deuises of it do striue with other some, as they were armies of enemies. But forasmuch as that troublesomnesse proceedeth of the corruption of nature, it were amisse to gather therby, that there are two soules, because the powers of the soule do not agree together, in such well framed order as they ought. But as for more subtle disputation of the Powers themselues, I leaue that to the Philosophers. A simple definition shall suffice vs for edification of godlinesse. I graunt that the things that they teach are true, and not only pleasaunt but also profitable to be knowen, & well gathered of them, and I forbid not such as are desirous to learne to study them. First therefore I admitte that there are fīue Senses, which Plato better liked to call Instrumentes, whereby all obiectes, are powred into Common sense, as into a place of receite: then followeth Phantasie, which iudgerh those thinges one from other that Common sense hath conceiued, ne reason, to which belongeth the vniuersall iudgement of thinge. As the Vnderstanding minde, which with earnestly bent and q. viewing beholdeth all those thinges, that Reason is wont to discourse vpon, and consider. And to the Vnderstanding minde, Reason, and Phantasie, which are the three powers of the soule, that rest in knowledge, there do answere three other that do rest in Appetite, that is to say, Will, the partes whereof are to couete those thinges that the Vnderstanding minde and Reason do lay before it: the Power of Anger, which catcheth those thinges that Reason and Phantasie do minister vnto it. The power of Desiring, which taketh holde of those thinges that Phantasie & Sense, presenteth it. Although these things be true, or at least likely to be true, yet because I feare that they shall more entangle vs with obscurenesse than further vs, I thinke it best to ouerpasse them. If any man list otherwise to diuide the powers of the soule, and to call the one the power of Appetite, which although it be without reason it selfe, yet doth obey reason, if it be by other meane directed, and to call the other the power of vnderstanding,

in Thæ-
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Arist.
Ethi-
corum
li. i. ca.
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Item. li.
6. cap. 2

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which is by it selfe partaker of reason, I am not much agaynst it, neither will I confute this opinion, that there are three beginnings of doing: that is to say, Sense, Vnderstanding, and Appetite. But lette vs rather choose a diuision, that is within the capacity of all men, which can not be hadde of the Philosophers. For they when they meane to speake most playnely, do diuide the soule into Appetite and Vnderstanding, but either of these they make of two sortes. Vnderstanding, they say, is sometime Comtemplatiue, which being contented with onely knowledge, hath no mouing of action, which thing Cicero thinketh to be expressed by this word ingenium, witte. Sometime they say it is practicall, which by cōceiuing of good or euill doth diuersly moue the Will. And appetite they do diuide into Will, and Lust. Will they call that when Appetite which they call Horne, obeveth to reason, and Lust they call that when the appetite shaking of the yoke of reason, runneth out to intemperance. So alwayes they imagine reason to be that in man, whereby man may rightly gouerne himselfe.

7 But we are constrayned somewhat to swarue from this maner of teaching, because the Philosophers which knew not the corruption of mans nature, which came for punishment of his fall, do wrongfully confound the two very diuerse states of man. Lette vs therefore thus thinke of it, that there are in the soule of man two partes, which shall serue at this time for our present purpose, that is to say, Vnderstanding & Will. And let it be the office of Vnderstanding, to discern betwene obiectes, or things set before it, as ech of them shall seeme worthy to be liked or disliked: and the office of Will to choose and follow that which Vnderstanding sayeth to be good, and to refuse and flee that which Vnderstanding shall disalowe, Lette vs not here be stayed at all with the nice subtelties of Aristotle, that the minde hath of it selfe no mouing, but that it is choise which moueth it, which choise he calleth the desiringe vnderstandinge. But to the ende we be not entangled with superfluous questions, lette this suffice vs, that the Vnderstanding is as it were the guide and gouernour of the soule, and that Wil hath alwayes regarde to the appoyntment of Vnderstanding, and abideth the iudgement thereof in her desires. According wherunto, Aristotle himselfe hath truely sayd, that fleeing or following is in Appetite such
 a like thing, as in the vnderstanding minde is affirming and denying. Now howe certayne the gouernement of Vnderstanding is to direct the Will: that we will consider in an other place. Here we meane onely to shew that there can be found no power in the soule but that may well be sayd to belong to the one of these two members. And in
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Themistocles
 de animalibus
 lib. 3.
 ca. 49.
 De duplici in
 tell. de
 finibus
 lib. 3.

Eth. lib.
 6. cap. 2

this sorte vnder Vnderstanding we comprehend Sense, which other do so distinguish, that they say Sense is enclined to pleasure, for which Vnderstanding followeth that which is good: and that so it commeth to passe, that the Appetite of sense is Concupiscence and Lust, the affection of vnderstanding is Will. Againe in steede of the name of Appetite, which they better like, I set the name of Wil, which is more commonly vsed.

8 God therefore hath furnished the soule of man with an vnderstanding minde, wherby he might discerne good from euill, and right from wrong, and hauing the light of reason going before him, might see what is to be followed or forsaken. For which cause the Philosophers haue called this directing parte the Guider. To this he hath adioyned Will, to which belongeth choise. With these noble gistes the first state of man excelled, so that he not onely had enough of reason, vnderstanding, wisdom, and iudgement, for the gouernement of this earthly life, but also to clime vp euen to God and to eternall felicity. Therto haue Choise added vnto it, which might direct the appetites, and order all the instrumentall motions, & that so the Wil might be altogether agreeable to the gouernement of reason. In this Integrity, man had freewill, whereby if he would he might haue attained eternall life. For here it is out of place to moue questiō of the secrete predestinatiō of God: because we are not now about to discusse what might haue chaunced or not, but what at that time was the nature of man. Adam therefore might haue stand if he would, because he fell not but by his owne will. But because his will was pliable to either side, and there was not giuen him constancy to continue, therefore he so easely fell. Yet his Choise of good & euil was free. And not y only, but also in his vnderstanding minde, and in his will was most great vprightnesse, and all his instrumentall partes orderly framed to obediēce, vntill by destroying himselfe he corrupted the good things that were in him. From hense commeth it that all the Philosophers were so blinded, for that in a ruine they sought for an vpright building, and for strong ioyntes in an vnioynted ouerthrowe. This principle they helde, that man could not be a liuing creature, endued with reason, vnlesse there were in him a free choise of good and euil: and they considered, that otherwise all the difference should be taken away betwene vertues and vices, vnlesse man did order his owne life by his owne aduise. Thus farre hadde they sayd well if there hadde bin no chaunge in man, which chaunge because they knewe not of, it is no meruaile though they confounde heauen and earth together. But as for them which professing themselves to be the disciples of Christ,

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do yet seeke for free will in man, that hath bin lost and drowned in spirituall destruction, they in goinge meane betwene the Philosophers opinions and heuently doctrine are playnely deceyued, so that they touch neither heauen nor earth. But of these thinges we shall better speake in place fitte for them: now onely this we haue to hold in minde, that man at his first creation was farre other than his posterity euer sins, which taking their beginning from him being corrupted, hath from him receiued an infection deriued to them as it were by inheritance. For then all the partes of his soule were framed to right order, then stood safe the soundnesse of his vnderstandinge minde, and his will free to choose the good. If any do obiekt that it stood but in slippery state, because his power was but weake, I answer that that state was yet such as sufficed to take from him all excuse, neither was it reasonable to restraine God to this point, to make man such a one as either could not or would not sinne at all, I graunt such a nature hadde bin better, but therefore precisely to quarel with God, as though it hadde bin his duety to haue given that vnto man, is to much vniustice, forasmuch as it was in his owne choise to giue howe much pleased him. But why he did not vphold him with the strength of stedfast continuance, that resteth hidden in his owne secrete counsell: it is our parte onely to be so farre wise as with sobriety we may. Man receaued in deede to be able if he would, but he hadde not to will y he might be able. For of this will should haue followed stedfast cōnuance. Yet is he not excuseable, which receiued so much that of his owne will he hath wrought his owne destruction. And there was no necessity to compell God to giue him any other than a meane will and a frayle will, that of mans fall he might gather matter for his owne glory.

August.
Gene. 1.
11. ca. 7.
8. 9.

De cor-
rep. &
grati. ad
valen-
tini. ca
11.

The xvj. Chapter.

*That God by his power doth nourish and maintaine the world,
vvhich himselfe hath created, and by his providence doth
gouerne all the partes thereof.*

BVt it were very fonde and bare to make God a creator for a moment, which doth nothing sins he hath once made an ende of his worke. And in this point principally ought we to differ frō the prophane men, that the presence of the power of God may shine vnto vs no lesse in the continuall state of the world, than in the first beginning of it. For though the mindes of the very wicked in onely beholding of the heauen and earth are compelled to rise vp vnto the creator, yet hath sayth a certayne peculiar maner by it selfe whereby

whereby it geueth to God the whole praise of creation. And therefore serueth that saying of the Apostle, which we before alleged, that we do not vnderstand but by faith, that the world was made by the word of God. For vnlesse we passe forward euen vnto his prouidence, we do not yet rightly conceiue what this meaneth that God is the creator, how soeuer we do seeme to comprehend it in minde, and confesse it with tongue. When the sense of the flesh hath ones set before it the power of God in the very creation, it resteth there, and when it procedeth furthest of all, it doth nothing but wey and consider the wisdom, power, and goodnesse of the workemā in making such a piece of worke (which thinges do of them selues offer and thrust them selues in sight of men whether they will or no) and a certaine generall doing in preserving and gouerning the same, vpon which dependeth the power of mouing. Finally it thinketh that the liuely force at the beginning put into all thinges by God, doth suffice to susteine them. But faith ought to perce deper, that is to say, whom it hath learned to be the creator of all thinges, by and by to gather that the same is the perpetuall gouernor and preseruer of them: and that, not by stirring with an vniuersall motion as well the whole frame of the worlde, as all the partes therof, but by sustenting, cherishing and caring for, with singular prouidence every one of those thinges that he hath created eue to the least sparow. So Dauid after he had first said that the world was created by God, by and by descendeth to the continuall course of his prouidence. By the worde of the Lord (saith he) the heauens were Psa. 33. stablished, and all the power therof by the spirite of his mouth. By and 6. by he addeth, The Lord looked downe vpon the sonnes of men, and so the rest that he saith further to the same effect. For although they do not all reason so orderly, yet because it were not likely to be beleued that God had care of mens matters, vnlesse he were the maker of the worlde, nor any man doeth earnestly beleue that God made the worlde, vndesse he be perswaded that God hath also care of his workes: therefore not without cause Dauid doth by good order conueye vs from the one to the other. Generally in dede both the Philosophers do teach, and mens mindes do conceiue that all partes of the worlde are quickened with the secrete inspiratiō of God. But yet they attaine not so farre as Dauid both himselfe procedeth and carrieth all the godly with him, saying: all thinges wayte vpon thee, that thou mayest geue them foode in due season. Thou geuest it to them and they gather it. Thou openest thy hand and they are filled with good thinges. But if thou hide thy face they are troubled. If thou take away their breath, they die and returne to their dust. Again if thou sende

A.C. 17.
28.

forth thy Spirite, they are created and thou renewest the face of the earth. Yea although they agree to the saying of Paule, that we haue our being and are moued, and do liue in God, yet are they farre from that earnest feling of grace, which he commendeth vnto vs: because they taste not of Gods speciall care whereby alone his fatherly fauor is known.

Mat. 10.
30.

2 That this difference may the better appeare, it is to be known, that the Providence of God, such as it is taught in the Scripture, is in comparison set as contrary to fortune and chaunces that happen by aduventure. Now forasmuch as it hath bin commonly beleued in all ages, and the same opinion is at this day also in a manner in all men, that all things happen by fortune, it is certaine, that that which ought to haue bin beleued concerning Providence, is by that wrong opinion not onely darkened but also in manner buried. If a man light among theues, or wilde beastes, if by winde sodenly risen he suffer shipwracke on the sea, if he be kylled with the fall of a house or of a tree if an other wandring in deserte places finde remedy for his pouertie, if hauing bin tossed with the waues, he attaine to the hauen, if miraculoussly he escape but a finger bredth from death: all these chaunces as well of prosperitie as of aduersitie the reason of the flesh doth ascribe to fortune. But whosoever is taught by the mouth of Christ, that all the heares of his hed are numbred, will seke for a cause further of, and wil firmly beleue that all chaunces are gouerned by the secreete counsell of God. And as concerning thinges without life, this is to be thought, that although every one of them haue his owne propertie naturally put into it, yet do they not put forth their power but only so farre, as they be directed by the present hande of God. They are therefore nothing els but instrumentes, whereby God continually poureth in so much effect as pleaseth him, and at his will boweth and turneth them to this or that doing. Of no creature is the power more marvellous or more glorious than of the sunne. For beside that it geueth light to the whole worlde with his brightnesse, how great a thing is this that he cherisheth and quickeneth all lyuing creatures with his heate? that he breatheth frutefulnesse into the earth with his beames? that out of sedes warmed in the bosome of the ground, he draweth a budding grenenesse, and susteyning the same with new nourishmētes doth encrease and strengthen it, till it rise vp in stalkes? That he fedeth it with continual vapour till it growe to a floure, and from a floure to fruite? That then also with baking it he bringeth it to ripenesse? That trees likewise & vines being warmed by him, do first budde & shoote forth braunches, and after sende out a flower, and of a flower do engender frute?

frute? But the Lord because he would claime the whole glory of all theses things to himselfe, made the light first to be, and the earth to be furnished with all kindes of herbes and fruites before that he created the sunne. A godly man therefore will not make the sunne to be either a principall or a necessary cause of those things which were before the creation of the sunne, but onely an instrument which God vseth because it so pleaseth him, whereas he might leaue it and do all things as easily by himselfe. Then whē we reade that the sunne stode still two daies in one degree at the praier of Iosua, & that the shadow therof went backe ten degrees for Ezechias his sake, by those few miracles God hath declared that the sunne doth not daily so rise and go down by blinde instinct of nature, but that he to renew the remembrance of his fatherly fauour towarde vs, doth gouerne the course therof. Nothing is more naturall than spring tide to come immediatly after winter, sommer after spring, & haruest in course after sommer. But in this orderly course is plainly seen so great and so vnegall diuersitie, that it may easily appere that euery yere, moneth and day, is gouerned by a new and speciall Prouidence of God.

Gen. 1. 3

Ios. 10.

13.

2. Kings

20. 11.

3 And truely God doth claime and will haue vs geue vnto him an almightinesse, not such as the Sophisters do imagine, vaine, idle, and as it were sleping, but waking, effectually, working and busied in continuall doing. Nor such a one as is only a generall beginning of a confused motion, as if he would commaunde a riuer to flow by his appointed chanel, but such a one as is bent and redy at all his particular mouinges. For he is therefore called almightie, not because he can do and yet sitteth still and doth nothing, or by generall instinct only continueth the order of nature that he hath before appointed: but because he gouerning both heauen and earth, by his Prouidence so ordereth all things that nothing chaunceth but by his aduised purpose. For whereas it is saied in the Psalme that he doth whatsoeuer he will, therein is meant his certaine and determined wil. For it were very fonde to expounde the Prophets words after the Philosophers manner, that God is the first Agent or doer, because he is the beginning and cause of all mouing: whereas the faithfull ought rather in aduersitie to ease themselves with this comfort, that they suffer nothing but by the ordinance and commaundement of God, because they are vnder his hand. If then the gouernemēt of God do so extende to all his workes, it is a very childish caullatiō to enclose it within the influence of nature. And yet they do no more defraude God of his glory than themselves of a most profitable doctrine, whosoever do restraine the Prouidence of God within so narrow boundes, as if he suffred all things

ps. 115.

3.

Cap. 16. Of the knowvledge of

to be carried with an vngouerned course according to a perpetuall law of nature. For nothing were more miserable than man if he should be left subiect to euery motion of the heauen, the aire, the earth and the waters. Beside that by that meane the singular goodnesse of God towarde euery man is to much vn honorably diminished. Dauid crieth

Psa. 8. 3.

out that babes yet hanging on their mothers brestes are eloquent enough to magnifie the glory of God, because euen so sone as they be come out of the wombe, they finde food prepared for the by his heauenly care. This is in deede generally true, so that yet our eyes and senses ouerpasse not that vnmarked which experiēce plainly sheweth, that some mothers haue full and plentifull brestes, some other almost dry, as it pleaseth God to fede one more liberally, and an other more scarcely. But they which geue the due praise to the almightinesse of God, do receiue double profit therby, the one that he hath sufficiently large abilitie to do them good, in whoes possession are both heauen and earth, and to whoes becke all creatures do attend vpon, to yeld themselues to his obedience: the other, that they may safely reſte in his protection, to whoes will are subiect all these hurtfull things that may any way be feared, by whoes authorite as with a bridle Satan is restrained with all his furies and all his preparation, vpon whoes becke doth hang all that euer is against our ſafetie. And no other way but this can the immesurable and superstitious feares be corrected or appeased, which we oftentimes conceiue by daungers happening vnto vs. Superstitiously fearful I say we be, if where creatures do threaten vs or geue vs any cause of feare, we be so afrayed therof, as if they had of themselues any force or power to do vs harme, or did vnforeſeen or by chaunce hurt vs, or as if against the hurtes that they do, there were not sufficient helpe in God. As for example. The Prophet forbiddeth the children of God that they should not feare the starres and signes of the heauen, as the vnbeleuers are wont to do. He condemneth not euery kinde of feare. But when the vnbeleuers to geue away the gouernement of the worlde from God vnto Planets, do ſaine that their felicitie or miserie doth hang on the decrees and foreshewinges of the starres, and not on the will of God, so commeth it to passe that their feare is withdrawn away from that onely one, whom they ought to haue regarded, vnto the starres and comets. Whoso therefore will beware of this vnfaithfulnesse, let him kepe alwayes in remembrance that there is not in the creatures a wandring power, working or motion, but that they are gouerned by the secrete counsell of God, so that nothing can chaunce but that which is decreed by him both witting and willing it so to be.

Ier. 10.
2.

4 First therefore let the readers learne, that Prouidence is called that, not wherwith God idly beholdeth from heaven what is done in the worlde, but wherwith as guiding the sterne he sitteth and ordreth all thinges that come to passe. So doth it no lesse belong to his handes than to his eyes. For When Abraham saied vnto his sonne. God shall Ge. 22. prouide, he meant not onely that God did forknow the successe then 3. to come, but that he did cast the care of a thing to him vnknown vpon the will of God, which is wont to bring thinges doutefull and confused to a certaine end. Wherby foloweth that Prouidence consisteth in doing: for to much fondely do many trifle in talking of bare forknowledge. Their error is not altogether so grosse which geue vnto God a gouernement but disordered, and without aduised choise, (as I haue before said,) that is to say such as whirleth and driueth about with a generall motiō the frame of the world with all the partes therof, but doth not peculiarly direct the doing of euery creature. Yet is this error not tolerable. For as they teach, it may be (notwithstanding this Prouidence which they call vniuersall) that all creatures may be moued by chaunce, or man may turne himselfe hether or thether by free choise of his will. And so do they parte the gouernement betwene God and man, that God by his power inspireth into mā a motion wherby he may worke according to the nature planted in him, and man ordereth his owne doinges by his owne voluntarie aduise: Briefely they meane that the worlde, mens matters, and men themselves are gouerned by the power, but not by the appointement of God. I speake not of the Epicureans (which pestilēce the worlde hath alway bin filled with) which dreame of an idle and slouthfull God: and other as mad as they, which in olde time imagined that God did so rule aboue the middle region of the ayre, that he left thinges beneth to Fortune: for against so euident madnesse the dumme creatures themselves do sufficiently crie out. For now my purpose is to confute that opinion that is in a manner commonly beleued, which giuing to God a certaine blinde, and I wote not what vncertaine motion, taketh from him the principall thing, that is by his incomprehensible wisdom to direct and dispose all thinges to their ende: and so in name onely and not in deede it maketh God a ruler of the worlde, because it taketh from him the gouernement of it. For what (I beseech you) is it els to gouerne, but so to be ouer them that are vnder thee, that thou mayest rule the by appointed order? Yet do I not altogether reiect that which is spoken of the vniuersall Prouidence: so that they will againe graunt me this, that the world is ruled by God, not onely because he maintaineth the order of nature which himselfe hath set, but also because he

hath a peculiar care of euery one of his workes. Trew it is that all sortes of thinges are moued by a secret instinct of nature, as if they did obey the eternall commaundement of God, and that that which God hath ones determined doth of it selfe procede forward. And hereunto may that be applied which Christ saith, that he and his father were euen from the beginning alway working. And that which

A&. 17.

28.

Heb. 1.3

Paule teacheth that in him we liue, are moued and haue our beying, and that which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues, meaning to proue the Godhead of Christ saith, that by his mightie comaundement all thinges are susteyned. But they do wrong which by this colour do hide and darken the special Prouidence, which is confirmed by so certaine and plaine testimonies of Scripture, that it is maruell that any man coulde doute of it. And surely they themselues that drawe the same veile which I speake of to hide it, are compelled by way of correction to adde, that many thinges are done by the peculiar care of God, but then they do wrongfully restraine the same onely to peculiar doinges. Wherefore we must proue that God doth so geue hede to the gouernement of the successes of all thinges, and that they all do so procede from his determined counsell that nothing happeneth by chaunce.

5 If we graunt that the beginning of motion belongeth to God, but that all thinges are either of themselues or by chaunce caried whether the inclination of nature driueth them, the mutuall succeding by turnes of daies and nightes, of winter and sommer, shalbe the worke of God, insomuch as he appointing to euery one their duties hath set them a certaine law, that is if they shoulde alway kepe one measure in egall proportion, as well the dayes that come after the nightes, the monethes after monethes, and yeres after yeres. But when sometime immoderate heates with drinckesse do burne vp all the graine, sometime vnseasonable raines do marre the corne, whē sodeine harme cometh by haile and tempestes: that shall not be the worke of God, vnlesse parhap it be because the cloudes or faire whether or coulde or heate haue their beginning of the meting of the planetes or other naturall causes. But by this meane is there no rōume left, neither for the fatherly fauour nor for the iudgementes of God. If they say that God is beneficiall enough to mankinde because he poureth into the heauē and earth an ordinarie power, wherby they do finde him nourishmēt: that is to vaine & prophane an inuention, as though the frutefulnesse of one yeare were not the singular blessing of God, and dearth and famine were not his curse and vengeance? But because it were to lōg to gather together all the reasons that serue for this purpose, let the

autho-

authoritie of God himfelfe suffice vs. In the law and in the Prophetes he doth oftentimes pronounce, that so ofte as he watereth the earth with deaw and raine, he declareth his fauor, and that when by his commaundement the heauen is hardened like yron, when corne is consumed with blasting and other harmes, when the fieldes are stricken with haile & tempestes, it is a token of his certaine & speciall vengeance. If we graunt these thinges, then is it assured that there falleth not a drop of raine but by the certaine commaundement of God. David prayseth the general Prouidence of God, that he geueth meate to the rauens birdes that call vpon him: but when God himfelfe threatneth famine to lyuing creatures, doth he not sufficiently declare that he fedeth all liuing thinges sometime with scarce & sometime with more plentifull portion as he thinketh good? It is a childish thing as I said before, to restraine this to particular doings, wheras Christ speaketh without exception, that not a sparrow of neuer so small a price doth fall to the ground without the will of his father. Surely if the flying of birdes be ruled by the purpose of God, then must we nedes confesse with y^e Prophet, that he so dwelleth on hie, that yet he humbleth himselfe to loke vpon all thinges that chaunce in heauen and earth. Ps. 146. 9.

6. But because we know that the worlde was made principally for mankindes sake, we must therfore cōsider this ende in the gouernance of man. The prophet Hieremie crieth out. I know, Lorde, that the way of man is not his owne, neither belongeth it to man to direct his owne steppes. And Salomon saith, the steppes of man are ruled by the Lord, and how shall a man dispose his owne way? Now let them say that man is moued by God according to the inclination of his owne nature, but that man himfelfe doth turne that mouing whether it pleaseth him. But if that were truely said, then shoulde man haue the free choise of his owne wayes. Paraduenture they will deny that, because he can do nothing without the power of God. But seing it is certaine that the Prophet and Salomon do geue vnto God, not onely power but also choise and appointment, they can not so escape away. But Salomon in an other place doth finely rebuke this rashnesse of men, that appoint vnto themselues an other ende without respect of God, as though they were not led by his hande. The preparations (saith he) of the harte are in man, but the aunswere of the tongue is of the Lord. It is a fonde madnesse that men will take vpon them to do thinges without God, which can not so much as speake but what he will. And the Scripture to expresse more plainly that nothing at all is done in the worlde but by his appointment, sheweth that those thinges whiche seme moste happening by chaunce are

Ps. 146.
9.

Mat. 10.
29.

Ps. 12.

Hier. 10.
23.
Pro. 20.
24.

Pro. 16.
1.

Cap. 16. Of the knowledge of

Exo. 21. subject to him: For what can you more ascribe to chaunce, than
13. when a broken bowe falling from a tree killeth a wayfaring man pas-
 sing by it? But the Lord saith farre otherwise, which confesseth that he
 hath deliuered him into the hand of the slaier. Likewise who doth not
 leaue the happening of lettes to the blindnesse of fortune? But the
 Lord suffereth it not which claimeth the iudgement of them to him-
 selfe: for he saith that it cometh not to passe by a mans owne power
Pro. 16. that stones are cast into the lap and drawen out againe, but that thing
13. which onely might be said to come of chaunce he testifieth to come
 from him selfe. For the same purpose maketh that saying of Salomon:
 The poore man and the vsurer mete together, God lighteneth both
 their eyes. For although poore men & riche be mingled together in
 the worlde, while euery one hath his state assigned him from God, he
 admonisheth that God which geueth light to all men is not blinde, &
 so he exhorteth the poore to patience, because whosoever are not
 contented with their owne state, they seke to shake of the burden that
 God hath laied vpon them. So an other Prophet rebuketh the vngod-
 ly men, which ascribe to the diligece of men or to Fortune, that some
 lie in miserie and some arise vp to honor: To come to preferment is
 neither from the east nor from the west nor from the south, for God
Psa. 75. is the iudge, he maketh low and he maketh hie. Because God can not
7. put of the office of a iudge, therupon the Prophet proueth that by his
 secret purpose some are in honor, & other some remaine in cōtemp-
 t. **7** And also I say that the very particular successes are generally
Exo. 19. witneses of gods singular prouidēce. God raised in the desert a south
13. winde to bring the people plenty of foules: when his pleasure was to
Ion. 1. haue Ionas throwen into the sea, he sent out a winde to raise vp a tem-
4. peste. But they that thinke that God gouerneth not the worlde, will
 say that this chaunced beside commō vse. But therby I do gather that
 neuer any winde doth rise or encrease but by the special commaunde-
 ment of God. For otherwise it shoulde not be true, that he maketh
Psa. 104 the windes his messangers, and fiery flame his ministers, that he ma-
4. keth the cloudes his chariots and rideth vpon the winges of the winde,
 vnlesse he did by his will driue aboute the cloudes and windes, and
 shew in them the singular presence of his power. So in an other place
Psa. 107 we are taught that so ofte the sea swelleth with blast of windes, those
23. violences do testifie a singular presence of God. He commaūdeth and
 raiseth vp the stormy windes and it listeth vp the waues therof, and the
 he turneth the storme to calme, so that the waues therof are still. As
 in an other place he saith, that he scourged the people with burning
 windes. So wheras the power of engendring is naturally geuen to men,
 yet

yet God willeth it to be imputed to his speciall grace, that he leaueth some in barrennesse, and vouchsafeth to graunt issue to other some, the frute of the wombe is his gift. Therfore said Iacob to his wife, am Ge 30. I as God that I can geue thee children? But to make an ende: there is nothing more ordinary in nature than that we be fed with bread. But the Holy ghost pronounceth that not onely the growing of the frutes of the earth is the speciall gift of God, but also that men liue not by onely bread, because it is not the very full feeding that nourisheth, but the secret blessing of God: as on the other side he threatneth that he wil breake the stay of bread. Neither coule we earnestly pray for our dayly bread, vnlesse God did geue vs foode with his fatherly hande. Therfore the Prophet, to perswade the faithfull, that God in feeding them doth fulfil the office of a good father of household, doth put them in minde that he geueth meate to all flesh. Finally when we haue on the one side: The eyes of the Lord are vpon the righteous, and his eares bent to their prayers: on the other side: The eye of the Lord is vpon the vngodly to destroy the memory of them out of the earth: let vs know that all creatures both aboue and beneth are ready to obedience that he may apply them to what vse soeuer he will, wherupon is gathered that not onely his generall prouidence remaineth in his creatures to continue the order of nature, but also by his maruellous counsell is applied to a certaine and proper ende.

Esa. 3. 1.

Psa. 136

Psa. 34.
16. 17.

8 They which would bring this doctrine in hatred, do cauilt that this is the learning that the Stoikes teach of fatum or Destenie, which also was ones laied for reproch to Augustine. As for vs, although we be loth to strue about wordes, yet we allow not this word fatum, both because it is one of those whoes prophane noueltie S. Paul teacheth vs to flie, and because some men go about with the odioufnesse therof to bring Gods truth in hatred. As for the very opinion of the Stoikes, it is wrongfully laied to our charge. For we do not, as the Stoikes do, imagine a necessitie by a certaine perpetuall knot and entangled order of causes which is contained in nature: but we make God the iudge and gouernour of all thinges, which according to his wisdom hath euen from furthest ende of eternitie decreed what he woulde do, and now by his power putteth in execution that which he hath decreed. Wherupon we affirme that not only the heauen and earth and other creatures without life, but also the purposes and willes of men are so gouerned by his Prouidence, that they be directly caried to the ende that it appointeth. What then? will one say, doth nothing happen by fortune or by chaunce? I aunswere that Basilius magnus hath truly said that fortune and chaunce are heathen mens wordes, with

Lib. 3.
ad bo.
ni. ca. 6.

Retr. li
1. cap. 1.

the signification wherof the mindes of the godly ought not to be occupied. For if euery good successe be the blessing of God, and euery calamitie and aduersitie be his curse, now is there in mens matters no place left for fortune or chaunce. We ought also to be moued with this saying of Auguſtine. In his boks against the Academikes he saith. It doth displease me that I haue so oft named fortune, albeit my meaning was not to haue any goddesse meant therby, but only a chaunceable happening in outward thinges ether good or euil. Of which word Fortune are deriued those wordes which no religion forbiddeth vs to vse, forte, forsan, forſitan, fortasse, fortuito, that is parhap, paraduventure, by fortune and by chaunce, which yet must all be applied to the Prouidence of God. And that did I not leaue vnspoken when I said, for parchaunce euē the same that is commonly called Fortune is also ruled by secret order. And wee call chaunce in thinges nothing els but that wherof the reason and cause is vnknown. I said this in dede, but it repenteth me that I did there so name Fortune. Forasmuch as I ſe that men haue a very euill custome, that where they ought to say, thus it pleased God, they say, thus it pleased fortune. Finally he doth commonly in his bookes teach, that the world should be vnorderly whirled about if any thing were leſte vnto Fortune. And although in an other place he determineth that all thinges are done partly by the free will of man, and partly by the Prouidence of God, yet doth he a little after sufficiently shew that men are subiect vnto and ruled by Prouidence, taking this for a principle, that nothing is more against conuenience of reason, than to say that any thing chaunceth but by the ordinance of God, for els it shoulde happen without cause or order by which reason he also excludeth that happening that hangeth vpo the will of men: and byandby after he plainlier ſaith that we ought not to ſeke a cause of the will of God. And so ofte as he maketh mention of ſufferaunce, how that is to be vnderſtanded ſhall very well appeare by one place where he proueth that the will of God is the ſoueraigne and firſt cause of all thinges, becauſe nothing happeneth but by his commaundement or ſufferaunce. Surely he ſaineth not God to ſit ſtill idle in a watch tour, when it is his pleaſure to ſuffer any thing, wheras he vſeth an actuall will (as I may ſo call it) which otherwiſe coulde not be called a cauſe.

Quaſt.
lib. 83.
De Tri.
lib. 3.
cap. 4.

9 But forasmuch as the dullneſſe of our vnderſtanding can not by a great way attein to the height of Gods prouidēce, we muſt vse a diſtinctiō to helpe to liſt it vp. I ſay therfore, how ſoeuer all thinges are ordeined by the purpoſe and certaine diſpoſition of God, yet to vs they are chaunſable, not that we thinke that fortune ruleth the world
and

and men, and vnaduisedly tesseeth all thinges vp and downe (for such beastlynesse ought to be farre from a Christian harte) but because the order, meane, ende and necessitie of those thinges that happen, doth for the most parte lie secrete in the purpose of God, and is not comprehended with opinion of man, therefore those thinges are as it were chaũsable, which yet it is certaine to come to passe by the will of God. For they seme no otherwise, whether we consider them in their owne nature, or whether we esteeme them according to our knowledge and iudgement. As for an example, let vs put the case, that a marchaunt being entred into a wood in cõpanie of true men, doth vnwisely stray away from his felowes, and in his wandring chaunceth vpon a denne of robbers, lighteth among theues and is killed, his death was not on-ly foreseen with goddes eye, but also determined by his decree. For it is not saied that he did foresee how farre ech mans life should extende, but that he hath sette and appointed markes which can not be passed. And yet so farre as the capacitie of our minde conceiueth, all thinges herein seme happening by chaunce. What shall a Christian here thinke? euen this, whatsoeuer happened in such a death, he will thinke it in nature chauncing by fortune as it is in dede, but yet he wil not doubt that the prouidence of God did gouerne to direct fortune to her ende. In like manner are the happeninges of thinges to come. For as all thinges that be to come are vncertaine vnto vs, so we hang them in suspense, as if they might fall on either parte, yet this remaineth settled in our hartes, that nothing shal happẽ but that which God hath already foreseen. In this meaining is the name of chaunce oft re- pered in Ecclesiastes, because at the first sight mē do not attaine to see the first cause which is farre hidden from them. And yet that which is declared in the Scriptures concerning the secret prouidence of God, was neuer so blotted out of the hartes of men, but that euen in the darkenesse there alway shined some sparkes therof. So the sothsayers of the Philistiās, although they wauer in dou:fulnesse, yet they ascribe aduersitie partly to God partly to fortune. If (say they) the arke go that way, we shall know that it is God that hath striken vs: but if it go the other way, then a chaũce hath light vpon vs. In dede they did foolishly, when their conning of sothsayng deceiued them, to flee to fortune, but in the meane while we se them constrained, so that they dare not thinke that the euil happẽ which chaũced vnto them did come of fortune. But how God with the bridle of his prouidence turneth all successes whether pleaseth him, may appeare by one notable example. Beholde euen at one moment of time, when Dauid was sounde out & nere taken in the desert of Mahon, euen then the Philistines inuaded

10 14 5

1. Sam.
6. 9.1 Sam.
23. 16.

the lande, and Saul was compelled to depart. If God meaning to provide for the safetie of his seruauant did cast this let in Saules way, surely although the Philistines going to armes were sodein and beside the expectation of men, yet may we not say that it came by chaunce. But those things that seme to vs to happen by chaunce, faith wil acknowledge to haue bin a secret mouing of God. I graunt there doth not alwaie appeare the like reason, but vndoubtedly we ought to beleue that whatsoeuer changes of thinges are seen in the worlde, they come by the secret stirring of the hand of God. But that which God purposeth is so of necessitie to come to passe, that yet it is not of necessitie precisely nor by the nature of it selfe. As therof is a familiar example in the bones of Christ. Forasmuch as he had put on a bodie like vnto ours, no wise man will deny that his bones were naturally able to be broken, yet was it impossible that they should be broken: wherby we see againe that not without cause were in scholes inuented the distinctions of necessitie in respect, and necessitie absolute, of consequent and consequence, where as God had subiect to bricckenesse the bones of his sonne, which he had exempted from being able to be broken, and so brought to necessitie by reason of his owne purpose, that that thing coule not be, which naturally might haue bin.

The xvij. Chapter.

VVherto and to what ende this doctrine is to be applied, that vve may be certaine of the profite therof.

NOW forasmuch as mē's wits are bent to vaine curious subtleties, it is scarcely possible but that they shall encombe themselves with entangled doubtles, whosoever do not know the true and right vse of this Doctrine. Therefore it shall be expedient here to touch shortly to what ende the Scripture teacheth, that all thinges are ordred by God. And first of all is to be noted, that the Prouidence of God ought to be considered as well for the time to come as for the time past: secundarily that the same is in such sorte the gouernour of all thinges, that sometime it woorketh by meanes, sometime without meanes, and sometime against all meanes. Last of all, that it tendeth to this ende, that God may shew that he hath care of all mankinde, but specially that he doth wathe in ruling of his Church, which he vouchesaueth more nerely to looke vnto. And this is also to be added, that although either the fatherly fauour & bounty-fulnesse of God, or oftentimes the seueritie of his iudgemēt do brightly appere in the whole course of his Prouidence: yet sometime the causes of those thinges that happen are secrete, so that this thought
crepeth

crepeth into our mindes, that mens matters are turned and whirled about with the blinde sway of fortune, or so that the flesh stirreth vs to murmure, as if God did to make him selfe pastime tosse men like tennise balles. True it is that if we were with quiet and still mindes ready to learne, the very successe it selfe woulde at length plainly shew, that God hath an assured good reason of his purpose, either to traine them that be his to pacience, or to correct their euill affections and tame their wantonnesse, or to bring them downe to the renouncing of them selues, or to awake their drowlinesse: on the other side to ouerthrow the prowde, to disappoint the suttletie of the wicked, to confounde their deuises. But howsoeuer the causes be secrete and vnknownen to vs: we must assuredly holde that they are laid vp in hidden store with him, and therefore we ought to crie out with Dauid, God, Psal. 40. thou hast made thy wonderfull workes so many, that none can count in order to thee thy thoughts towarde vs. I woulde declare and speake of them, but they are more than I am able to expresse. For although alwaies in our miseries we ought to thinke vpo our sinnes, that y very punishment may moue vs to repentance, yet do we see how Christ geueth more power to the secret purpose of his father, than to punish euery one according to his deseruing. For of him that was borne blinde he saith: neither hath this man sinned nor his parentes, but that the glorie of God may be shewed in him. For here naturall sense murmureth when calamitie commeth euen before birth, as if God did vnmercifully so to punish the sely innocente, that had not deserved it. But Christ doth testifie that in this looking glasse the glory of his father doth shine to our sight, if we haue cleere eyes to beholde it. But we must kepe modestie, that we draw not God to yelde cause of his doinges, but let vs so reuerence his secret iudgementes, that his will be vnto vs, a most iuste cause of all things. When thicke cloudes do couer the heauen, and a violent tempest ariseth, then bycause both a heauysome mistynesse is cast before our eyes, & the thunder troubleth our eares, and all our senses are amased with terrour, we thinke that all thinges are confounded and tumbled together: and yet all the while there remaineth in the heauen the same quietenesse and calmenesse, that was before. So must we thinke that while the troublesome state of thinges in the worlde taketh from vs abilitie to iudge, God by the pure light of his righteousnesse and wisdom, doth in well framed order gouerne and dispose euen those very troublesome motions themselves to a right ende. And surely very monstrous is the rage of many in this behalfe, which dare more boldly call the workes of God to accompt and examine his secret meaninges, and to geue vnadvised sen-

tence of thinges vnknownen, than they will do of the deedes of mortall men. For what is more vnorderly than to vse such modestie toward our egals, that we had rather suspende our iudgement than to incurre the blame of rashnesse, and on the other side proudly to triumph vpon the darke iudgementes of God, which it became vs to regarde with reuerence.

2 Therefore no man shall well and profitably wey the Prouidence of God but he that considering that he hath to do with his creator and the maker of the world, doth with such humility as he ought submit himselfe to feare and reuerence. Hereby it cometh to passe, that so many dogs at this day do with venimed bitings, or at least barking assaile this doctrine, because they will haue no more to be lawfull for God, than their owne reason informeth them. And also they raile at vs with all the spitefulnesse that they are able, for that not contented with the cōmaundementes of the law, wherein the will of God is comprehended, we do further say, that the worlde is ruled by his secret counsels. As though the thing that we teach were an inuention of our owne brayne, and as though it were not true that the holy Ghost doth euery where expressely say the same, and repeteth it with innumerable formes of speech. But because some shame restraineth them, that they dare not vomite out their blasphemies against the heauen: they saine that they contende with vs, to the ende they may the more freely play the madmen. But if they do not graunt that what soeuer happeneth in the worlde, is gouerned by the incomprehensible purpose of God, let them aunswere to what ende the Scripture saith, that his iudgementes are a depe bottomlesse deapth. For where as Moses crieth out that the will of God is not to be sought asarre of in the cloudes, or in the deapthes, because it is familiarly set forth in the law: it foloweth, that his other hidden will is compared to a bottomlesse deapth. Of the which Paule also saith: O deapth of the richesse and of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God: how vnsearchable are his iudgementes, and his waies past finding out? for who hath knowen the minde of the Lord, or who hath bin his counsellour? And it is in deede true, that in the Gospell and in the law are contained misteries which are farre aboue the capacitie of our sense: but forasmuch as God for the comprehēding of these misteries which he hath vouchesafed to open by his woorde, doth lighten the mindes of them that be his, with the Spirit of Vnderstanding: nowe is therin no bottomlesse deapth, but a way wherein we must safe walke, and a candell to guide our feete, and the light of life, and the schoole of certaine and plainly discernable trueth. But his meruailous order of gouerning the worlde is worthily called

Pla 36.
7.

Rom. 11
33.

called a bottomlesse deapth : because while it is hidden from vs, we ought reuerently to worshipping it. Right well hath Moses expressed them both in fewe woordes. The secret thinges (saith he) belong Deu. 29
to the Lorde our God : but the thinges reueled belong to vs and to 29.
our children for euer. We see how he biddeth vs not onely to studie in meditation of the law, but also reuerently to looke vp vnto the secret Prouidence of God. And in the booke of Iob is reherfed one Iob 26.
title of this deapth, that it humbleth our mindes. For after that the 14.
author of that booke in surueying vp and downe the frame of the worlde, had honourably entreated of the woorkes of God, at length he addeth: Lo, these be part of his waies, but howe littel a portion heare we of him? According to which reason in an other place he maketh difference betwene the wisdom that remaineth with God, and the measure of wisdom that he hath appointed for men. For after he hath preached of the secretes of nature, he saith that wisdom is knowne to God onely, and is hidden from the eyes of all liuyng crea- Iob 28.
tures. But byandby after he saith further, that it is published to the 12.
ende it should be serched out, because it is said vnto mā, beholde the feare of God is wisdom. For this purpose maketh the saying of Augu- Lib. 83.
stine : Bycause we know not all thinges which God doth concerning quæst.
vs in most good order, that therfore in only good will we do according cap 23.
to the law, because his Prouidence is an vnchaungeable law. Therefore sith God doth claime vnto him selfe the power to rule the world, which is to vs vnknown, let this be to vs a law of sobrenesse and modestie, quietly to obey his souereigne authoritie, that his will may be to vs the only rule of iustice, and the most iust cause of all thinges. I meane not that absolute will, of which the Sophisters do babble, separating by wicked and prophane disagreement his iustice from his power, but I meane that Prouidence, which is the gouernesse of all thinges, from which procedeth nothing but right : alchough the causes therof be hidden from vs.

3 Whosoeuer shalbe framed to this modestie, they neither for the time paste will murmure against God for their aduersities, nor lay vpon him the blame of wicked doinges, as Agamemnon in Homer did, saying, I am not the cause, but Iupiter and Destenie : nor yet againe as caried awaie with Destenies, they will by desperation throw them selues into destruction, as that yong man in Plautus which said: Vnstable is the chaunce of thinges : the Destenies driue men at their pleasure, I will get me to some rocke there to make an ende of my goodes and life together. Neither yet (as an other did) they will pre- sende the name of God to couer their owne mischeuous doinges : for

so saith Lyconides in an other comedie: God was the mouer. I be-
 leue it was the will of the gods: for if it had not bin their will, I know
 it shoulde not so come to passe. But rather they will search and learne
 out of the Scripture what pleaseth God, that by the guiding of the
 Holy ghost they may trauaile to attaine therunto. And also being
 ready to folowe God, whether soeuer he calleth, they shewe in dede
 that nothing is more profitable then the knowledge of his doctrine.
 Very foolishly do prophane men turmoile with their fondnesses, so
 that they in maner confound heauen & earth together as the saying
 is: If God haue marked the point of our death, we can not escape it:
 then it is labour vainely lost in taking hede to our selues. Therefore
 where as one man dareth not venture to go the way that he heareth
 to be daungerous, least he be murdered of theues: an other sendeth
 for Physitians, and werieth himselfe with medicines to succour his life:
 an other forbeareth grosse meates for feare of appeiring his feble
 health: an other dreadeth to dwell in a ruinous house: Finally where
 as men deuise all waies & endeouour with all diligence of minde wher-
 by they may attaine that which they desire: either all these remedies
 are vaine, which are sought, as to reforme the will of God, or els life
 and death, health and sickenesse, peace and warre, and other thinges,
 which men as they couet or hate them, do by their trauaile endeouour
 to obtaine or escape, are not determined by his certaine decree. And
 further they gather, that the praiers of the faithfull are disordered, or
 at the least superfluous, wherein petition is made that it will please the
 Lord to prouide for those thinges which he hath already decreed fro
 eternitie. To be short, they destroy all counsels that men do take for
 time to come as thinges against the Prouidence of God, which hath
 determined what he would haue done, without calling them to coun-
 sell. And the what soeuer is already happened, they so impute it to the
 Prouidence of God, that they winke at the man whom they know to
 haue done it. As hath a ruffian slaine an honest citezen? he hath exe-
 cuted (say they) the purpose of God. Hath one stolen, or com-
 mitted fornication? because he hath doen the thing that was for-
 seene and ordeined by the Lord, he is a minister of his Prouidence.
 Hath the sonne carelessly, neglecting al remedies, waited for the death
 of his father? he coulde not resist God that had so before appointed
 from eternitie. So all mischeuous doinges they call vertues because
 they obey the ordinance of God.

4 But as touching thinges to come, Salomon doth well bring in
 agrement together the purposes of men with the Prouidence of God.
 For as he laugheth to scorne their folly, which boldly do enterprise
 any

any thing without the Lorde, as though they were not ruled by his hand: so in an other place he speaketh in this maner. The hart of man purposeth his way, but the Lord doth direct his steppes, meaning that we are not hindered by the eternall Decrees of God, but that vnder his will we may both prouide for our selues, and dispose all things belonging to vs. And that is not without a manifest reason. For he that hath limited our life within appointed boundes, hath therewithall left with vs the care thereof, hath furnished vs with meanes and helpes to preferue it, hath made vs to haue knowledge before hand of daungers, and that they should not oppresse vs vnware, he hath giuen vs prouisions and remedies. Now it is playne to see what is our duety: that is to say: If God hath committed to vs our owne life to defende, our duety is to defende it. If he offer vs helpes, our duety is to vse them. If he shew vs daungers before, our duety is not to runne rashly into them. If he minister vs remedies, our duety is not to neglect them. But no daunger shall hurt, vnlesse it be fatall, which by all remedies can not be overcome. But what if daungers be therefore not fatal, because God hath assigned thee remedies to repulse & overcome them? See howe thy manner of reasoning agreeth with the order of Gods disposition. Thou gatherest that daunger is not to be taken heede of, because forasmuch as it is not fatall, we shall escape it without taking heede at all: but the Lord doth therefore enioyne thee to take heede of it, because he will not haue it fatall vnto thee. These madde men do not consider that which is playne before their eyes, that the skil of taking counsell & heede is enspired into men by God, whereby they may serue his Prouidence in preferuing of their owne life: as on the other side by negligence & slouth they procure to them selues those euils that he hath appointed for them. For how commeth it to passe, that a circumspect man while he prouideth for himselfe, doth winde himselfe out of euils that hang ouer him, and the foole perisheth by vnaduised rashnesse, but for that both folly and wisdom are the instrumentes of Gods disposition on both partes? Therefore it pleased God to hide from vs all thinges to come, to this ende that we should meete with them as thinges doutefull, and not ceasse to sette prepared remedies agaynst them, till either they be overcome or be past all helpe of care. And for this cause I haue before admonished that the Prouidence of God doth not alway shewe it selfe naked, but as God by vsing of meanes doth in a certayne maner cloth it.

§ The same men do vnorderly & vnaduisedly draw the chaunces of time past to the naked prouidence of God. For because vpon

it do hang all thinges whatsoeuer happen, therefore (say they) neither robberies, nor adulteries, nor manslaughters are committed without the will of God. Why then (say they) shall a thiefe be punished, for that he spoyled him whom the Lordes will was to punish with pover-ty? Why shall the murtherer be punished which hath slayne him whose life the Lorde had ended? If all such men do serue the will of God, why shall they be punished? But I deny that they serue the will of God. For we may not say that he which is caried with an euill minde doth seruice to God as commaunder of it, where in deede he doth but obey his owne wicked lust. He obeyeth God, which being enformed of his will doth labour to that end, whereunto Gods will calleth him. But wherby are we enformed of his will, but by his word? Therefore in doinge of thinges we must see that same will of God, which he declareth in his word. God requireth of vs only that which he commaundeth. If we do any thing agaynst his commaundement, it is not obedience but obstinacy & transgressiō. But villsse he would, we should not do it. I graunt. But do we euill thinges to this end to obey him? But he doth not commaund vs to do them, but rather we runne on headlong, not minding what he willeth, but so raging with the intemperance of our owne lust, that of set purpose we bende our trauaile against him. And by these meanes in euill doing we serue his iust ordinance, because according to the infinite greatnesse of his wisdom, he hath good skill to vse euill instrumentes to do good. And see how foolish is their maner of arguing. They would haue y^e doers unpunished for mischeuous actes, because they are not comitted but by the disposition of God. I graunt more: that theeuers and murtherers & other euill doers are the instruments of Gods Prouidence, whom the Lord doth vse to execute those iudgementes which he hath with himselfe determined. But I deny that their euill doings ought to haue any excuse therby. For why? shal they either entagle God in the same wickednesse with them, or shall they couer their naughtines with his righteousness? They can do neither of both. Because they should not be able to excuse themselves, they are accused by theyr owne conscience. And because they should not be able to blame God, they finde all the euill in themselves, & in him nothing but a lawfull vse of their euilnesse. But he worketh by them. And whence I pray you, commeth the stinke in a dead carrion, which hath bin both rotted & disclosed by heate of the sunne? All men do see that it is raised by the beames of the sunne. Yet no man doth therefore say, that the sunbeames do stinke. So when there resteth in an euill man, the matter and guiltinesse of euill, what cause is there why it should be thought that God is any thing

thing defiled with it, if he vse their seruice at his pleasure. Away therefore with this doggish frowardnesse, which may in dede a far of barke at the iustice of God, but can not touch it.

6 But these cauillations or rather doting errors of phrenetike men, shall easily be shaken away, by godly and holy meditation of the Prouidence, which the rule of godlinesse teacheth vs, so that thereof may grow vnto vs a good and most pleasant fruite. Therefore a Christian hart when it is most assuredly perswaded, that all things come to passe by the disposition of God, and that nothinge happeneth by chaunce, will alway bend his eyes to him as to the principall cause of things, and yet will consider the inferiour causes in their place. Then he will not dour that the singular prouidence of God doth warch for his preservation, which Prouidence will suffer nothing to happen, but that which shall turne to his good and saluation. And because he hath to do first of all with men, and then with the other creatures, he will assure himselfe that Gods Prouidence doth reigne in both. As touching men, whether they be good or euill, he will acknowledge that all their counsellcs, willes, enterprises and powers are vnder the hand of God, so that it is in Gods will to bow them whether he list, and to restrayne them so oft as pleaseth him. That the singular Prouidence of God doth kepe watch for the safety of the faithfull, there are many and most euident promises to witnesse. Cast thy burde vpon the Lord, and he shall nourish thee, and shall not suffer the righteous to fall for euer, because he careth for vs. He that dwelleth in the helpe of the hiest, shall abide in the protection of the God of heauen. He that toucheth you, toucheth y^e apple of mine eie. I will be thy shield, a brasen wall: I will be enemy to thy enemies. Although the mother forget her childre, yet will I not forget thee. And also this is the principall entent in the histories of the Bible, to teach that the Lord doth with such diligence keepe the wayes of the Saintes, that they do not so much as stumble against a stone. Therefore asa litle before we haue rightfully reiectcd their opinion which do imagine an vniuersall Prouidence of God, that stoupeth not specially to the care of euery creature: yet principally it shal be good to reknowledge the same speciall care toward our selues. Whereupon Christ after he had affirmed that not the sparow of least value, doth fall to the ground without the will of the Father, doth by and by apply it to this ende, that we should consider that howe much we be more worth than sparowes, with so much nyer care doth God prouide for vs, and he extendeth that care so farre that we may be bold to trust that the heares of our head are numbred. What can we wish our selues more, if not so much, as a

Psal 55.

23.

1. Pet. 5.

9.

Psa 91.

1.

Zac. 3. 8

Esa. 26.

2.

Mat. 10.

29.

heare can fall from our head but by his will ? I speake not only of all mankinde , but because God hath chosen his church for a dwellinge house for himselfe, it is no doute but that he doth by singular exâples shew his care in gouerning of it.

7 The seruauant of God being strengthened with these both, promises & examples, will ioyne with them the testimonies which teach that all men are vnder Gods power , whether it be to winne their mindes to good will, or to restrayne their malice that it may do no hurt . For it is the Lord that giueth vs fauour not onely with them that will vs well, but also in the Ægyptians, and as for the maliciousnesse of our ennemies , he knoweth how by diuerse wayes to subdue it. For sometime he taketh away their wit from them, so that they can conceiue no sound or sober aduise, like as he sent forth Sathan to fill the mouthes of all the Prophetes with lying to deceiue Achab. He made Rechabeam madde by the yong mens counsell, that he might be spoyled of his kingdome by his owne folly . Many times when he graunteth them wit, yet he maketh them so afraid & astonished, that they can not will or go about that which they haue conceiued. Sometime also when he hath suffered them to go about that which lust & rage did counsell them , he doth in conuenient time breake of their violences, & suffereth them not to proceede to the end that they purposed. So did he before the time bring to nought the counsell of Achitophell that should haue bin to Dauids destruction. So also he taketh care to gouerne all his creatures for the benefite and safety of them that be his, yea and to gouerne the deuill himselfe, which as we see durst enterprise nothing against Job without his sufferance and cōmaundement. Of this knowledze necessarily ensueth both a thankfulness of minde in prosperous successe of thinges , and also patience in aduersity, and an incredible assurednesse against the time to come. Whatsoeuer therefore shall betide vnto him prosperously and according to his hartes desire, all that he will ascribe vnto God , whether he feele the bounty of God by the ministry of men, or be holpen by liuellesse creatures. For thus he will thinke in his minde: Surely it is the Lord which hath enclined their mindes to me , which hath ioyned them vnto me to be instrumentes of his goodnesse toward me. In plenty of the frutes of the earth, thus he wil thinke, that it is the Lord which heareth the heauen , that the heauen may heare the earth, that the earth also may heare her fruites . In other thinges he will not dout that it is the onely blessing of the Lord, whereby all things prosper , and being put in minde by so many causes he will not abide to be vnthankfull.

Exo. 3.
21.

1. Kings
22. 22.
1. Kings
22. 10.

2. Sam.
17. 7.
Job. 1.
23.

8 If any aduersity happen, he will by and by therein also lift vp his minde to God, whose hand auayleth much to emprint in vs a paciēce and quiete moderation of hart. If Ioseph had still continued in recording the falsehode of his brethren, he could neuer haue taken a brotherly minde toward them. But because he bowed his minde to the Lord, he forgate the iniurie, and inclined to mekenesse and clemency, so farrefoorth that of his owne accord he comforted his brethren & sayd: It is not you that sould me into Ægypt, but by the will of God I was sent before you to saue your liues. You in deede thought euill of me, but the Lord turned it to good. If Iob had had respect to the Chaldees, by whom he was troubled, he woulde forwith hane bin kindled to reuenge. But because he did therewithall acknowledge it to be the worke of God, he comforted himselfe with this most excellent saying: The Lord hath giuen, the Lord hath taken away, the Lordes name be blessed. So Dauid: when Semei had railed and cast stones at him, if he had looked vpon man, he would haue encouraged his souldiers to reacquite the iniury. But because he vnderstoode that Semei did it not without the mouing of the Lord, he rather appeased them. Let him alone (said he) for the Lord hath commaunded him to curse. With the same bridle in an other place doth he restrain the intemperance of sorow. I held my peace (sayth he) and became as domme, because thou O Lord, diddest it. If there be more effectuell remedy against wrath & impatience: surely he hath not a little profited which hath learned in this behalfe to thinke vpon the Prouidence of God, that he may alway call backe his minde to this poynt. It is the Lords will, therefore it must be suffered, not onely because it is not lawfull to strue against it, but also because he willeth nothing but that which is both iust & expedient. In summe this is the end, that being wrongfully hurt by men, we leauing their malice (which would do nothing but enforce our sorow, and whet our mindes to reuenge) shoulde remember to climbe vp vnto God, and learne to beleue assuredly, that whatsoeuer our enemy hath mischieuously done against vs, was both suffered and sent by Gods disposition. Paule, to refraine vs from recōpensing of iniuries doth wisely putte vs in minde, that we are not to wrastle with flesh and bloud, but with the spirituall enemy the deuill, that we may prepare our selues to strue with him. But this is the most profitable lesson for the appeasing of all rages of wrath, that God doth arme as well the deuill as all wicked men to strue with vs, & that he sitteth as iudge to exercise our patience. But if the misfortunes & miseries that oppresse vs, do chaunce without the worke of men, let vs remēber the doctrine of the law: whatsoeuer is prosperous floweth

Gen. 45

8.

Iob. 21.

2. Sa. 16.

10.

Psal. 38.

10.

Eph. 6.

12.

De. 28.

from the fountayne of Gods blessing, and that all aduersaries are his cursings: and let that most terrible warning make vs afraide: If ye walke stubbornly against me, I will also walke stubbornly against you. In which is rebuked our sluggishnesse, when according to the common sense of the flesh accompting all to be but chaunce that happeneth, of both sortes we are neither encouraged by the benefites of God to worship him, nor pricked forward with his scourges to repentance.

Lam. 3. This same is the reason, why Hieremy & Amos did so sharply rebuke y
 38. Jewes, because they thought that things as wel good as euill came to
 Amo. 3. passe without y commaundement of God. To the same purpose serueth
 6. that sermon of Esay. I the God that create light & fashion darknesse,
 Esa. 45. that make peace and create euil. I God do make all these things.
 6.

9 And yet in the meane time a godly man will not winke at the inferiour causes. Neither will he, because he thinketh them the ministers of Gods goodnes by whom he hath receiued benefite, therefore let the passe vnconsidered, as though they had deserued no thake by their getlenesse: but he will hartily thinke himselfe bound vnto them, & will willingly confesse his bond, & trauail as he shall be able and as occasion shal serue, to recompence it. Finally in benefites receiued he will reuerence and prayse God as the principall author, but he will honor men as the ministers, & as the truth is in dede he will vnderstand that he is by the will of God bound to them, by whose hand it was Gods will to be beneficiall vnto him. If he suffer any losse by negligence or want of foresight, he will determine in his minde that the same was done in dede with the will of God, but he will impute it also to himselfe. If any man be dead by sicknesse whom he hath negligently handled, whereas of duety he should haue taken good hede vnto him although he be not ignoraunt that the man was come to his appointed time beyond which he could not passe, yet wil he not thereby lessen his offense, but because he had not faithfully discharged his duety toward him, he will so take it as if he had perished by fault of his negligence. Much lesse when there is vsed any fraude, and conceiued malice of minde in committing either murther or theft, will he excuse it vnder pretence of Gods Providence, but he will in one selfe euill act seuerally behold both the righteousnesse of God & the wickednes of mā, as both doth manifestly shew theselues. But principally in things to come he wil haue consideration of such inferiour causes. For he will reckon it among the blessings of God if he be not disappointed of the helpes of men which he may vse for his safety. And so he neither will be negligent in taking of counsell, nor slouthfull in cranning their helpe whom he seeth to haue sufficient wherof he may be succoured:

succoured: but thinking that whatsoeuer creatures can any thing profit him, the same are offered into his hand by God, he will apply them to his vse as the lawful instrumēt of Gods Prouidence. And because he doth not certainly know what successe the busines will haue that he goeth about, (sauiug that in all things he knoweth that the Lord will prouide for his benefit) he will with study rrauaile to y which he shall thinke expedient for himselfe, so far as he can cōceiue in minde & vnderstanding. And yet in taking of counsels he will not be caried on by his owne wit, but will cōmit & yeld himselfe to the wisdom of God, that by the guiding therof he may be directed to the right end. But his confidence shall not so stay vpon outward helpes, that if he haue the he will carelessly rest vpon them, or if he want them he will be afraid as left destitute, for he will haue his minde alway fastened vpon the Prouidence of God, neither will he suffer himselfe to be drawn away from the stedfast beholding therof, by cōsideration of present things. So though Ioab acknowledged that y successe of battaill is in the wil & hand of God, yet he gaue not himselfe to slouthfulness but did diligently execute that which belonged to his calling, but he leaueth it vnto y Lord to gouerne the end. We wil stand valiant (saith he) for our natiō, & for the cities of our God. But the Lord do what is good in his eyes. This knowledge shal despoile vs of rashnes & wrōgful cōfidence, & shall driue vs to continuall calling vpon God: & also shal vphold our mindes with good hope, so as we may not dout assuredly and boldly to despise those daungers that compasse vs about.

3. Sam.
10, 12.

10 In this point doth the inestimable felicity of a godly minde shewe foorth it selfe. Innumerable are the euils that do beseege mans life, & do threatē him so many deathes. As, not to go further than our selues: forasmuch as our body is a receptacle of a thousand diseases, yea hath enclosed & doth nourish within it the causes of diseases, man can not cary himselfe but he must needes also cary about with him many formes of his owne destruction, and draw foorth a life as it were entangled with death. For what may it else be called, where he neither is cold, nor sweateth without perill? Now whethersoeuer thou turne thee, althings y are about thee are not only vntrusty friendes to thee, but do in maner openly threaten & seme to shew thee present death. Go into a ship, there is but a fote thicknes betwene thee & death. Sit on horsebacke in the slipping of one foote thy life is in daunger. Go through the stretes of the city: euē how many tyles are vpon y houses to so many perils art thou subiect. If there be an iron tole in thy hand or thy friendes, the harme is ready prepared. Howe many wild beastes thou seest, they are all armed to thy destruction. If thou meane

to shutte vp thy selfe, euen in a garden well fenced, where may appeare nothing but pleasauntnesse of ayre and ground, there sometime lurketh a Serpent. The house which is continually subiect to fier doth in the day time threaten thee with pouerty, & in the night time with falling vpon thy head. Thy feeld forasmuch as it lyeth open to hayle, frost, drowth and other tempestes it warneth thee of barrennesse, and thereby famine. I speake not of prisoninges, treasons, robberies, open violence, of which parte do beseege vs at home, and parte do follow vs abroade. In these streights must not man needes be most miserable, which euen in life halfe dead doth painfully draw forth a carefull and fainting breath as if he had a swearde continually hanging ouer his necke. But thou wilt say that these things chaunce seldom, or at the least not alwayes, nor to all men, and neuer all at ones. I graunt, but seeing we are put in minde by y^e examples of other, that the same things may happen to our selues, and that our life ought of duety no more to be free than theirs, it can not be but that we must dred and feare them as things that may light vpon vs. Now what can a man imagine more miserable than such a fearefulnesse? Beside that, it is not without dishonorable reproch of God to say, that he hath set open man the noblest of all his creatures to their blinde and vnadvised strokes of fortune. But here my purpose is to speake only of the misery of man, which he should feele if he should be brought subiect vnder fortunes dominion.

11 But when that light of Gods Prouidence hath ones shined vpo a godly man: he is now releued and deliuered not only from the extreme anguish and feare wherewith he was befoie oppressed, but also from all care. For as iustly he feareth fortune, so he dare boldly committe himselfe to God. This is (I say) his comfort, to vnderstand that the heavenly father doth so hold in all things with his power, so ruleth them with his authority and countenance, so ordreth them with his wisdom, that nothing befalleth but by his apointment: and that he is receiued into Gods tuition, and committed to the charge of Angels, and can not be touched with any hurt of water, nor fier, nor weapon, but so farre as it shall please God the gouernour to giue them place. For so is it song in the Psalme. For he shal deliuer thee from the hunters snare, and from the noysom pestilence. He wil couer thee vnder his wings, and thou shalt be sure vnder his fethers. His trueth shal be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid of the feare of the night, nor of the arrow that flyeth by day, nor of the pestilence that walketh in the darkenesse, nor of the plage that destroyeth at none day. And fro thense procedeth that boldnesse of the Saintes to glory:

The

The Lord is my helper, I will not feare what flesh may do to me. The Lord is my protector, why shall I be afraid? If whole campes stand vp against me, if I walke in the middest of the shadow of death, I will not cease to hope well. Whence, I pray you, haue they this that their assurednesse is neuer shake away from them? but hereby, that where the world semeth in shew to be without order whirled about, they know that God worketh euery where, whose worke they trust shalbe for their preservation. Now if their safety be assailed either by the deuill or by wicked men, in that case if they were not strengthened with remembrance & meditation of Providence, they must needs by and by be discouraged. But when they call to minde, that the deuill and all the route of the wicked, are so euery way holden in by the hand of God as with a bridle, that they can neither conceiue any mischuefe against vs, nor go about it when they haue conceiued it, nor if they go neuer so much about it, can stirre one finger to bring it to passe but so far as he shall suffer, yea so far as he shall commaunde, & that they are not only holdē fast bound with fetters, but also compelled with bridle to do seruice: here haue they abouidantly wherewith to comfort themselves. For as it is the Lordes worke to arme their fury and to turne & direct it whether it pleaseth him, so is it his worke also to appoint a measure and end, that they do not after their owne will licentiously triumphe. With which perswasion Paule being stablished, did by the sufferance of God appoint his iourney in an other place which he said was in one place hindered by Satan. If he had onely sayd that he had bin stopped by Satan, he should haue seemed to giue him too much power, as if it had bin in Satans hande to ouerthrow the very purposes of God: but when he maketh God the iudge, vpon whose sufferance all iourneyes do hang: he doth therewithall shew, that Satan whatsoever he go about, can attaine nothing but by Gods will. For the same reason doth Dauid because for the sundry chaunges wherewith mans life is tossed and as it were whirled about, he doth flee to this sanctuary, sayeth that his times are in the hande of God. He might haue said either of course of his life, or time in the singular number. But by the word Times, he meant to expresse that howsoever the state of man be vnstedfast, whatsoever alterations do nowe and then happen, they are gouerned by God. For which cause Rafin & the king of Israell, when ioyning their powers to the destruction of Iuda, they seemed as fierbrands kindeled to wast and consume the land, are called by the Prophete smokinge brandes, which can do nothinge but breath out a litle smoke. So when Pharaο was terrible to all men by reason of his riches, strength and number of men, he himselfe is compared to a

Ps. 118.

6.

1. The. 2

18.

1. Cor.

16. 7.

Psal. 31.

16.

Esa. 8. 4.

Eze. 19.

4.

Cap.17. Of the knowledge of

beatt of the Sea, and his army to fishes. Therefore God sayth that he will take the Captaine and the army with his hooke and draw them whither he list. Finally because I will not tary long vpon this point, if a man marke it he shall easily see that the extremity of all miseries is the ignoraunce of Gods Prouidence, and the chiefe blessednesse standeth in the knowledge thereof.

12 Concerning the Prouidence of God, this that is sayd were enough for so much as is profitable both for the perfect learning and comfort of the faithfull, (for to fill the vaine curiosity of men, nothing can be sufficient, neither is it to be wished that they be satisfied) were it not for certaine places, which seme to meane otherwise than is aboue declared, that God hath not a stedfast and stable purpose but chaungeable according to the disposition of inferiour thinges. First, in some places is spoken of the repentance of God, as that he repented him of the creating of man, of the aduancing of Saul to the kingdom. And that he will repent him of the euill that he had determined to lay vpon his people, so soon as he perceiueth any conuersio of the. Again there are rehearsed diuerse repelles of his decrees. He had declared by Ionas to the Niniuites that after 40. dayes once past Niniue should be destroyed, but by and by he was turned with their repentaunce to a more gentle sentence. He had by the mouth of Esay pronounced death to Ezechias, which he was moued by his teares & prayers to differre. Herupon many do make argument, that God hath not appointed mens matters by eternall decree, but yearly, daily and houely decreeth this or that, as euery mans deseruings are, or as he thinketh it equity and iustice. Concerning his repentaunce this we ought to hold, that the same can no more be in God, than ignorance error and weaknesse. For if no man do wittingly & willingly throw himselfe into the case that he nede to repēt, we can not say that God doth repent, but that we must also say, that God is ignorant what will come to passe, or that he can not auoide it, or that he headlong & vnadvisedly runneth into a purpose wherof he by and by forthinketh him. But that is so far frō the meaning of the holy Ghost, that in the very mentio making of repentance he denieth that God had any repenting at all, because he is not a man that may repent. And it is to be noted that in y same chapter they are both so ioyned together, that the comparison doth very well bring the shew of repugnancy to agreement. His changing is figuratiuely spoken, that God repented that he had made Saul king, by and by after it is added. The strength of Israell shall not lye, nor shalbe moued with repenting. Because he is not a man that he may repent. In which wordes his vchangeablenesse is affirmed

Ge. 6.6.

1. Sam.

15.11.

Ier. 18.8

Ion. 3.4

Esa. 35.

3.5.

2. King.

20.5.

1. Sam.

15. 29.

med plainly without any figure. Therefore it is certaine that the ordinance of God in disposing the matters of men, is perpetuall & aboue all repentance. And that his constance should not be doubtfull, his very aduersaries haue bin cōpelled to beare him witnes. For Balaam whether he would or no, could not choose but burst out into this saying: that he is not like a man to lye: nor as a sonne of man to be changed, & that it is not possible that he should not do that he hath sayd, and not fulfill whatsoeuer he hath spoken. Nu. 23. 19.

13 What meaneth then this name of Repentaunce? euen in the same sort that all the other phrases of speech which do describe God vnto vs after the maner of men. For, because our weakenesse doth not reach to his hieneffe, that description of him which is taught vs, was meete to be framed lowe to our capacity that we might vnderstande it. And this is the manner how to frame it low for vs, to paint out him selfe not such a one as he is in himselfe, but such a one as he is perceiued of vs. Where as he himselfe is without al mouing of a troubled minde, he yet testifieth that he is angry with sinners. Like as therefore when we heare that God is angry, we ought not to imagine that there is any mouing at all in him, but rather to cōsider that this speech is borowed of our cōmon sense, because God beareth a resemblance of one chafed and angry so oft as he exerciseth iudgement: so ought we to vnderstand nothing else by this word of Repentance but a changing of deedes, because men by changing of their deedes are wont to declare that they mislike them. Because then euery chāge among men is an amendement of that which misliketh them, & amendement cōmeth of repentance: therefore by the name of repentance is meant that, that God chaungeth in his workes. In the meane time yet neither is his purpose nor his will turned, nor his affection changed, but he soloweth on with one continual course that which he had from eternity foreseene, allowed & decreed, howsoeuer the alteration seeme foden in the eyes of men.

14 Neither doth the holy history shew that Gods decrees were repelled when it sheweth that the destruction was pardoned to the Niniuites which had bin before pronouncd, & that the life of Ezechias was prolonged after warning giuen him of death. They that so construe it are deceiued in vnderstanding of thretnings: which although they do simply affirme, yet by ſ successe it shalbe perceiued that they contayned a secret condition in them. For why did God send Ionas to the Niniuites to tell them aforehande of the ruine of their city? Why did he by I say giue Ezechias warning of death? For he might haue brought to nought both him and them without sending them any Ion. 3. 10. Esa. 38. 5

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word of their destruction. He meant therefore an other thing, than to make them by foreknowing of their death to see it comming a far of. Euen this he meant: not to haue the destroyed, but to haue them amended that they should not be destroyed. Therefore this that Ionas prophesied that Ninue should fall after 40. dayes, was done to this end that it should not fall. That hope of longer life was cut of from Ezechias, was done for this purpose that he might obtaine longer life. Now who doth not see that God meant by such threatninges to awake them to repentaunce, whom he made afraid to the ende that they might escape the iudgement which they had deserued by their sinnes? If that be so agreed, the nature of the things themselues doth lead vs to this, to vnderstand in the simple threatening a secrete emplied condition, which is also confirmed by like examples. The Lord rebuking the king Abimelech for that he had taken away Abrahams wife from him, vieth these wordes. Behold thou shalt die for the woman that thou hast taken, for she hath a husband. But after he had excused himselfe, God sayd thus. Restore the wife to her husband, for he is a Prophete and shall pray for thee that thou maiest liue. If not: know that thou shalt die the death and all that thou hast. You see how in his first sentence he vehemently striketh his minde to bring him to be more hedelessly bent to make amends, & in the other doth plainly declare to him his will. Seing the meaning of other places is like: do not gather of these that there was any thing withdrawen from the first purpose of God, by this that he made void the thing which he had before pronouced. For God doth prepare the way for his eternal ordinance, when in giuing warning of the punishment he moueth those to repentance whom his wil is to spare, rather than varieth any thing in his will, no not in his word, sauing that he doth not expresse the same thing in fillables which it is yet easie to vnderstand. For that saying of Esay must needs remayne true: The Lord of Hostes hath determined, and who shall be able to vndo it? His hand is stretched out, and who shall turne it away?

The xviij. Chapter.

That God doth so vse the seruice of vicked men, and so boweth their mindes to put his iudgements in execution, that yet still himselfe remaineth pure from all spot.

THere ariseth a hard questiō out of other places, where it is said that God boweth and draweth at his will, Satan himselfe & all the reprobate. For the sense of the flesh scarcely conceiueth how he working by the, should not gather some spot of their fault,

fault, yea in his common working be free from all fault, & iustly cōdemne his ministers. Vpon this was deuised y^e distincō betwene Doing & Suffering: because many haue thought this dout vnpossible to be dissolued: that both Satan and all the wicked are so vnder the hand & power of God, that he directeth their malice vnto what end it pleaseth him, & vseth their wicked doings to the executing of his iudgements. And their modesty were peraduenture excusable, whom the shew of absurdity putteth in feare, if it were not so that they do wrōgfully with a lying defense go about to deliuer the iustice of God frō all vnrightfull blame. It semeth to thē vnreasonable, that man should by the will & commaundemēt of God be made blinde, & so by and by be punished for his blindnesse. Therefore they seke to scape by this shift, that this is done by the sufferance, but not by the will of God. But he himselfe plainly pronouncing that he doth it, doth reiect that shift. As for this that mé do nothing but by the secret cōmaundement of God, & do trouble themselues in vaine with deliberating, vnles he do by his secret direction stablisch that which he hath before determined, it is proued by innumerable and plaine testimonies. It is certayne that this which we before alleged out of the Psalme, that God doth all things that he will, belongeth to all the doings of men. If God be the certaine appointer of war & peace, as it is there sayd, & that without exception: who dare say that men are caried causelesly wth blinde motion while God knoweth not of it, & sitteth still? But in special examples will be more lightsom plainnes. By the first chapter of Iob we know, that Satan doth no lesse appere before God to receiue his cōmaundementes than do the Angels which do willingly obey. In dede it is after a diuers maner & for a diuers end, but yet so that he cā not go about any thinge but with the will of God. Although there seeme afterward to be added a bare sufferāce of him to afflict the holy man: yet because that saying is true: The Lord hath giuen, the Lord hath taken away, as it pleased God so is it come to passe. We gather that God was the author of that triall of Iob, wherof Satan & the wicked theeuers were ministers. Satan goeth about to driue the holy man by desperation to madnes. The Sabees cruelly & wickedly do inuade & rob his goods that were none of theirs. Iob knowledgeth that he was by God stripped of all his goods and made poore, because it so pleased God. Therefore whatsoeuer men or Satan himselfe attempt, yet God holdeth the sterne to turne all their trauailes to the executing of his iudgements. It was Gods will to haue the false king Achab deceived: the deuill offered his seruice thereunto: he was sent with a certayne commaundement, to be a lying spirite in the mouth of all the

Iob. I. 1

2. Kings
22. 20.

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Propnets. If the blinding and madnes of Achab be the iudgement of God, then the deuise of bare Sufferance is vaine. For it were a fond thing to say, that the iudge doth only suffer and not also decree what he will haue done, and commaunde the ministers to put it in executiō. It was the Iewes purpose to destroy Christ, Pilate and the souldiers do follow their raging lust, and yet in a solemne prayer the disciples do confesse, that all the wiked men did nothing else but that which the hand and counsell of God had determined: euen as Peter had before preached, that Christ was by the decreed purpose and foreknowledge of God deliuered to be slayne. As if he should say: that God from whom nothing is hidden from the beginninge did wittingly and willingly appoint that which the Iewes did execute, as in an other place he rehearseth, y God which shewed before by all his Prophets that Christ should suffer, hath so fulfilled it. Absolon defiling his fathers bed with incestuous adultery, committed detestable wickednes. Yet God pronounceth that this was his owne worke. For the wordes are these. Thou hast done it secretly, but I will do it openly, and before the sunne. Hieremy pronounceth that all the cruelty that the Chaldees vsed in Iury, was the worke of God. For which cause Nabucadnezer is called the seruaunt of God. God euey where crieth out that with his hissing, with the sound of his trompet, with his power & cōmaundement the wicked are stirred vp to war. He calleth the Assirian the rod of his wrath, and the axe that he moueth with his hand. The destruction of the holy city and ruine of the Temple he calleth his worke. Dauid not murmuring against God, but acknowledging him for a righteous iudge, yet confesseth that the cursings of Semei proceeded of the commaundement of God. The Lord (sayth he) commaunded him to curse. We often finde in the holy history, that whatsoever happeneth it cōmeth of the Lord, as the departing of the ten tribes, the death of the sonnes of Hely, and very many things of like sort. They that be meanly exercised in the Scriptures do see, that for shortnesses sake, I bring forth of many testimonies but a few, by which yet it appeareth plainly enough, that they do trifle & talke fondly, that thrust in a bare Sufferace in place of the Prouidēce of God, as though God sate in a watch tower wayting for the chaunces of Fortune, & so his iudgements should hang vpon the will of men.

2 Now as cōcerning secret motions, that which Salomō speaketh of y hart of a king, that it is bowed hither or thither as pleaseth God, extendeth surely to all mankind, and is as much in effect as if he had sayd: whatsoever we conceiue in mindes, is by the secret inspiration of God directed to this end. And truly if he did not work in the mindes

of

Act 4.

28.

Act. 2.

22.

Act. 3.

18.

2. Sa. 16.

22.

2. Sa. 12.

12.

Hier. 50.

25.

Esay. 5.

26.

Esa. 10. 5

Esay 19

35.

2. Sa. 10

10.

1. Kings

11. 31.

1. Sa. 2.

34.

Pro. 21.

1.

of men, it were not rightly sayd, that he taketh away the lip from the true speakers, and wisdom from aged men, that he taketh the hart from the Princes of the earth, that they may wander where is no beaten way. And herto belongeth that which we oft read, that men are fearful so far forth as their harts be taken with his feare. So Dauid went out of the campe of Saule and none was ware of it, because the slepe of God was come vpon them all. But nothing can be desired to be more plainly spoken, than where he so oft pronounceth, that he blindeth the eyes of men, and striketh them with giddinesse, that he maketh them drunke with the spirite of drowlinesse, casteth them into madnes, & hardneth their harts. These things also many do referre to Sufferance, as if in forsaking the reprobate, he suffred them to be blinded by Satan. But that solution is to fonde, forasmuch as the Holy ghost in playne wordes expresseth, that they are stricken with blindness and madnesse by the iust iudgement of God. It is sayd, that he hardned the hart of Pharao, also that he did make dull & strengthen it. Some do with an vnfauory cauillation mocke out these phraes of spech, because where in an other place it is sayd, that Pharao did harden his owne hart, there is his owne will set for the cause of his hardening. As though these things did not very well agree together, although in diuers maners, that man while he is moued in working by God, doth also worke himselfe. And I do turne backe their obiection against themselues. For, if to harden do signifie but a bare Sufferance then the very motion of obstinacy shall not be properly in Pharao. Now how weake and foolish were it so to expounde, as if Pharao did only suffer himselfe to be hardened? Moreouer the Scripture cutteth off all occasions from such cauillations. For God sayth, I will holde his hart. So of the inhabitauntes of the land of Canaan Moses sayth, that they went forth to battaile, because the Lord had hardened their harts. Which same thing is repeted by an other Prophet, saying: He turned their harts that they should hate his people. Againe in Esay he sayth, that he will send the Assirians against the deceitfull nation, & will commaund them to cary away the spoyles, and violently take the pray, not meaning that he will teache wicked and obstinate men to obey willingly, but that he will bow them to execute his iudgements as if they did beare his commaundementes grauen in theyr mindes. Wherby appeareth that they were moued by the certain appointment of God. I graunt that God doth oftentimes worke in the reprobate by Satans seruice as a meane, but yet so that Satan doth his office by Gods mouing, and proceedeth so farre as is giuen him. The euill Spirite troubled Saule, but it is sayde that it was of God,

Ezec. 7.

26.

Leu. 26.

36.

1. Sa. 26

Eccle. 7

7. &

Ro. 7. 21

Exod. 8.

15.

Exod. 4.

21.

10f 11.

20.

Psa. 105

25.

Esa. 10.

6.

1. Sa. 16.

14.

Cap. 18. Of the knowledge of

that we may know that the madnesse of Saule, came of the iuste vengeance of God. It is also sayd, that the same Sarā doth blind the mindes of the vnfaithfull: but how so, but only because the effectuall working of error cometh from God himselfe, to make them beleue lyes that refuse to obey the trueth? After the first maner of speaking it is sayd, If any Prophet shall speake lyingly, I God haue deceiued him. According to the other maner of spech it is sayd, that he geueth men into a reprobate minde: & to cast them into filthy desires, because he is the chiefe author of his owne iust vengeance, & Satan is but only a minister therof. But because we must entreate of this matter againe in the second booke, where we shall discourse of free or bond wil of mā, I thinke I haue already shortly spoken so much as this place required. Let this be the summe of all, that forasmuch as the wil of God is said to be the cause of all things, his Prouidence is thought the gouernes in all purposes & workes of men, so as it sheweth forth her force not only in the elect, which are gouerned by the holy Spirit, but also cōpelleth the reprobate to obedience.

3 Forasmuch as hitherto I haue recited onely such things as are wrytten in the Scriptures, plainly & not doutfully, let them that feare not wrongfully to sclander the heauenly oracles, take hede what manner of iudgement they take vpon them. For if by fayned pretending of ignorance they seeke a praise of modesty, what can be imagined more proudly done, than that to sette one small word against the authority of God? as I thinke otherwise, I like not to haue this touched. But if they openly speake euill, what preuaile they with spitting agaynst the heauen? But this is no new example of waywardnesse, because there haue bin in all ages wicked & vngodly men, that with raging mouth barked against this point of doctrine. But they shall feele that thinge in deede to be true, which long ago the holy Ghost spake by the mouth of Dauid, that God may ouercome when he is iudged. Dauid doth by the way rebuke the madnesse of men in this so vnbridled licentiousnesse, that of their owne filthinesse they do not onely argue against God, but also take vpon them power to condemne him. In the meane time he shortly admonisheth, that the blasphemies which they vomite vp against the heauen do not reach vnto God, but that he driuing away the cloudes of cauillations doth brightly shew forth his righteousnesse, and also our faith (because being grounded vpon the word of God, it is aboue all the worlde) doth from her hye place contemptuously looke downe vpon these mystes. For first where they object, that if nothing happen but by the will of God, then are there in him two contrary willes, because he decreeth those thinges
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2. Cor.
4.4
Eze. 14.
9.
Rom. 1.
28.

Ps. 51. 6

1. Ioh. 5.
4.

by secret purpose, which he hath openly forbidden by his law, that is easily wiped away. But before I aunswere it, I will ones againe geue the readers warning that this cauillation is throwen out not against me, but against the holy Ghost, which taught the holy man Iob this confession: As it pleased God, so it came to passe. When he was spoiled by theues, he acknowledged in the iniurie and hurte that they did him, the iust scourge of God. What saith the Scripture in other places? The sonnes of Hely obeyed not their Father, because it was Gods will to kill them. Also an other Prophet crieth out, that God which sitteth in heauen doth what so euer he will. And now I haue shewed plainly enough that God is the author of all those things which these iudges woulde haue to happen onely by his idle sufferance. He testifieth that he createth light and darkenesse, that he formeth good and euill, that no euill happeneth which he himselfe hath not made. Let them tell me, I besech them, whether he do willingly or against his will execute his owne iudgements? But as Moses teacheth, that he which is slaine by the falling of an axe by chaunce, is deliuered by God into the hand of the striker: so the whole church saith in Luke, that Herode and Pilate conspired to do those things, whiche the hande and purpose of God had decreed. And truly if Christ were not crucified with the will of God, whene came redemption to vs? And yet the will of God neither doth striue with it selfe, nor is chaunged, nor faineth that he willet not the thing that he will: but where it is but one and simple in him, it semeth to vs manyfolde, because according to the weakenesse of our wit we conceiue not how God in diuers maner willet and willet not one selfe thing. Paule, after that he hath said, that the calling of the Gêriles is a hiddē misterie, within a litle after saith further, that in it was manifestly shewed the manyfolde wisdom of God: because for the dullnesse of our witte the wisdom of God seemeth to vs manyfolde, or (as the olde interpreter hath translated it) of many fashions: shall we therefore dreame that there is any varietie in God himselfe, as though he either chaungeth his purpose, or dissenteth from himselfe? Rather when we conceiue not how God will haue the thing to be done, which he forbideth to do, let vs call to minde our owne weakenesse, and therewithall consider that the light wherein he dwellerh, is not without cause called Inaccessible, bycause it is couered with darkenesse. Therefore all godly and sobre men will easily agree to this sentence of Augustine, that sometime mā with good will willet that which God willet not. As if a good sonne willet to haue his father to liue, whom God will haue to die. Againē, it may come to passe, that man may will the same

Iob 1.
21.1. Sam.
2. 25.
Ps. 115.
3.Esa. 45.
7.
Amos 3
6.
Deu. 19.
5.A8. 4
28.Ephē. 3.
10.1. Tim. 6
16.
Enchi-
rid. ad
Lauren.
cap. 108

thing with an euill will, which God willeth with a good will. As if an euill sonne willeth to haue his father to die, and God also willeth the same. Now the first of these two sonnes willeth that which God willeth not, & the other sonne willeth that which God also willeth, and yet the naturalnesse of the first sonne doth better agree with the will of God, although he willeth a contrary thing, than the vnnaturalnesse of the other sonne that willeth the same thing. So great a difference is there what to will doth belong to man, and what to God, & to what ende the will of euery one is to be applied, to haue it either allowed or disallowed. For those things which God willeth well he bringeth to passe by the euill willes of euill men. But a littel before he had said, that the Angels apostataes in their falling away, and all the reprobate, in as much as concerneth them selues, did that which God woulde not, but in respect of the omnipotencie of God, they coulde by no meanes so do, because while they did against the will of God, the will of God was done vpon them. Whervpon he crieth out: Great are the workes of God, and ought to be sought out of all them that loue them: that in meruailous maner the same thing is not done without his will which is also done against his wil, because it coulde not be done if he did not suffre it: and yet he doth it not against his will, but willingly: and he being good, would not suffer a thing to be done euill, vnlesse for that he is omnipotent, he coulde of euill make good.

4 In the same maner is assoiled or rather vanissheth away the other obiection: that if God do not onely vse the seruice of wicked men, but also gouerneth their counsels and affections, he is the author of all wicked doinges, and therefore men are vnworthily condemned, if they execute that which God hath decreed, because they obey his will: for it is done amisse to confound his will and commaundement together, which it appeareth by innumerable examples to differ farre asunder. For though when Absalon abused his fathers wiues, it was Gods will to punish Dauids adulterie with that dishonor: yet did he not therefore commaunde the wicked sonne to committe incest, vnlesse perhaps you meane it in respect of Dauid, as he speaketh of the railinges of Semei. For when he confesseth that Semei raileth at him by the commaundement of God, he doth not therein commende his obedience, as if that froward dogge did obey the commaundement of God, but acknowledging his tongue to be the scourge of God, he patiently suffreth to be corrected. And this is to be holden in minde, that when God performeth by the wicked that thing which he decreed by his secret iudgemēt, they are not to be excused, as though they did obey his commaundement, which in dede of their owne euill lust they do

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Pr. 111.
2.

2. Sam.
16. 22.

purposely breake. Now how that thing is of God, and is ruled by his secret Providence, which men do wickedly, the election of king Iarobeam is a plaine example, in which the rashnesse and madnesse of the people is seuerly condemned, for that they peruerterd the order appointed by God, and falsely fell from the house of Dauid, and yet we know it was his will that he shoulde be annointed. Whervpon in the very wordes of Osee there appereth a certaine shew of repugnancie, that where God complayned that that kingdome was erected without his knowledge, and against his will, in an other place he saith, that he gaue the kingdome to Iarobeam in his rage. How shall these sayinges agree? that Iarobeam reigned not by God, and that he was made king by the same God? Euen thus, because neither coulde the people fall from the house of Dauid, but that they must shake of the yoke which God had layed vpon them: neither yet had God his libertie taken away, but that he might so punish the vnthankfulnesse of Salomon. We see therfore how God in not willing false breach of allegiance, yet to an other end iustly willeth a falling away from their prince, whervpon Iarobeam beside all hope was by holy annointing driuen to be king. After this maner doth the holy historie say, that there was an ennemie raised vp to spoile Salomons sonne of part of his kingdome. Let the readers diligently wey both these thinges, because it had pleased God to haue the people gouerned vnder the hand of one king. Therefore when it was diuided in two partes it was done against his will. And yet the diuision tooke beginning of his will. For surely, where as the Prophet both by wordes and ceremonie of anointing did moue Iarobeam when he thought of no such thing, to hope of the kingdome, this was not done without the knowledge or against the will of God, which commaunded it so to be done: and yet is the rebellion of the people iustly condemned, for that as it were against the will of God, they fell from the posteritie of Dauid. In this maner it is also afterward further said, that where Rehabeam proudly despised the requeste of the people, this was done by God to confirme the word which he had spoken by the hand of Ahiha, his seruant. Lo how against Gods will the sacred vnitie is torne in sunder, and yet with the will of the same God tenne tribes do forsake Salomons sonne. Let vs adde an other like example. Where the people consenting, yea laying their hands vnto it, the sonnes of Ahab were slaine, & all his offspring rooted out. Iehu said in deede truely, that nothing of the wordes of God were fallen to the ground, but that he had done all that he had spoken by the hande of his seruant Elias. And yet not vniustly he rebuketh the citezens of Samaria, for that they had put their handes vn-

1. Kings
12. 20.Osee 8.
4.
Osee 13
11.1. Kings
11. 23.2. Kings
10. 7.

Cap. 18. Of the knowvledge of God the Creator.

to it. Are ye righteous, saith he, If I haue conspired against my lord, who hath killed all these? I haue before (as I thinke) already declared plainly, how in one selfe worke both the faulte of man doth bewray it selfe, and also the righteousness of God gloriously appeareth.

Episto.

48. ad

Vincen.

And for modest wittes this aunswere of Augustine shall alway suffice: where as the father deliuered the sonne, & Christ deliuered his body, & Iudas deliuered the Lord: why in this deliuering is God righteous, and man faultie? because in the same one thing which they did, the cause was not one, for which they did it. If any be more combered with this that we now saie, that there is no consent of God with man, where man by the righteous mouing of God doth that which is not

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lawfull, let them remember that which Augustine saith in an other place: Who shall not tremble at these iudgements, where God worketh euen in the hartes of euill men what so euer he will, and yet rendereth to them according to their deseruings? And truely in the falsehood of Iudas, it shall be no more lawfull to laie the blame of the wicked deede to God, because he himselfe willed him to be deliuered, and did deliuer him to death, then it shalbe to geue away the praise of our redemption to Iudas. Therefore the same writer doth in an other place truely tel vs, that in this examinatio God doth not enquire what men might haue done, or what they haue done, but what their will was to do, that purpose and will may come into the accompt. They that thinke this harde, let them a litle while consider, how tolerable their owne waywardnesse is, while they refuse a thing witnessed by plaine testimonies of Scripture, because it exceedeth their capacitie, and do finde faulte that those things are vttered, which God, vnlesse he had knowen them profitable to be knowen, would neuer haue commaunded to be taught by his Prophetes and Apostles. For

our being wise ought to be no more but to embrace with

meke willingnesse to learne, and that without exception

whatsoever is taught in the holy Scriptures. As for

them that do more frowardly outrage in prating

against it, sith it is euident that they babble

against God, they are not worthy

of a longer confutation.

The ende of the first booke.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE INSTITVTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, WHICH intreateth of the knowledge of God the Redemer in Christ, which knowledge was first opened to the Fathers in the time of the Lawe, and then to vs in the Gospell.

The first Chapter.

That by Adames sinne and falling away, mankinde became accursed, and did degenerate from his first estate: wherein is intreated of Originall sinne.



NO T without cause hath the Knowledge of himselfe bin in the olde prouerbe so much commended to man. For if it be thought a shame to be ignorant of all things that pertaine to the course of mans life, then much more shameful is the Not knowing of our selues, whereby it commeth to passe, that in taking counsell of any thing necessary, we be miserably daseled, yea altogether blinded. But how much more profitable this lesson is, so much more diligently must we take heede; that we do not disordrely vse it, as we see some of the Philosophers haue done. For they in exhorting man to know him selfe, do withall appoint this to be the ende, why he shoulde know him selfe, that he shoulde not be ignorant of his owne dignitie and excellencie: and nothing els do they will him to beholde in himselfe, but that wherby he may swell with vaine confidence, and be puffed vp with pride. But the knowledge of our selues, first standeth in this point, that considering what was geuen vs in creation, and how bountifully God continueth his gracious fauour toward vs, we may know how great had bin the excellencie of our nature, if it had continued vncorrupted: and we may withall thinke vpon this, that there is nothing in vs of our owne, but that we haue as gotten by borrowing all that God hath bestowed vpon vs, that we may alwaies hang vpon him. Then, that we call to minde our miserable estate after the fall of Adam, the feeling wherof may throw downe all glorying and trust of our selues, ouerwhelme vs with shame and truely humble vs. For as God at the beginning fashioned vs like his owne image, to the ende to raise vp our mindes both to the

study of vertue and to the meditation of eternall life, so least the so great noblenesse of our kinde, which maketh vs different from brute beastes, shoulde be drowned with our slothfulnesse, it is good for vs to know, that we are therfore endued with reason and vnderstanding, that in keping a holy and honest life, we shoulde procede on forward to the appointed ende of blessed immortalitie. But the first dignitie can not come in our minde, but by and by on the other side the heavy sight of our filthinesse and shame doth thrust it selfe in presence, since we in the person of the first man are fallen from our first estate, where vpon groweth the hatred and lothing of our selues, and true humilitie, & there is kindeled a new desire to seeke for God, in whom euery of vs may recover those good thinges, wherof we are founde altogether voided and emptye.

2 This thing surely the truth of God appointeth to be sought in examining of our selues, I meane, it requireth such a knowledge as may both call vs away from all confidence of our owne power, and making vs destitute of all matter to glory vpon, may bring vs to submission. Which rule it behoueth vs to keepe, if we will attaine to the true marke both of right knowledge and welldoing. Neither yet am I ignorant how much more pleasant is that other opinion that allureth vs rather to consider our good thinges, than to looke vpon our miserable nedynesse and dishonor, which ought to ouerwhelme vs with shame. For there is nothing that mans nature more coueteth, than to be stroked with flatterie: and therefore when he heareth the giftes that are in him to be magnified, he leaneth to that side with ouermuch lightnesse of belefe: wherby it is so much lesse to be maruelled, that herein the greatest parte of men haue perniciously erred. For sith there is naturally planted in all mortal men a more than blinde loue of them selues, they do most willingly perswade them selues, that there is nothing in them that they ought worthyly to hate. So without any maintenance of other, this most vaine opinion doth ech where get credit, that man is abundantly sufficient of him selfe to make him selfe liue well and blessedly. But if there be any that are content to thinke more modestly, howe soeuer they graunt somewhat to God, least they shoulde seeme arrogantly to take all to them selues, yet they so parte it, that the principall matter of glory and confidence alway remaineth with them selues. Now if there come talke, that with her allurementes tickleth the pride that already of it selfe itcheth within the bones, there is nothing that may more delite them. Therefore as any hath with his extolling most fauourably aduanced the excellencie of mans nature, so hath he bin accepted with the well

well lyking reioicement in manner of all ages. But what soeuer such commendacion there be of mans excellencie that teacheth man to reſte in him ſelfe, it doth nothing but delite with that her ſweeteneſſe, and in dede ſo deceiueth, that it bringeth to moſt wretched deſtruction all them that aſſent vnto it. For to what purpoſe auaileth it for vs, ſtanding vpon all vaine confidence to deuife, apoint, attempt and go about thoſe thinges that we thinke to be for our behoofe, and in our firſt beginning of enterpriſe to be forſaké and deſtitute of ſounde vnde:ſtanding and true ſtrength, and yet to go on boldely till we fall downe into deſtruction? But it can not otherwiſe happen to them that haue affiaunce that they can do any thing by their owne power. Therefore if any man geue heede to ſuch teachers that holde vs in conſidering onely our owne good thinges, he ſhall not profite in learning to know him ſelfe, but ſhall be carried violently away into the worſt kinde of ignorance.

3 Therefore, where as in this point the trueth of God doth agree with the common naturall meaning of all men, that the ſecond part of wiſedome conſiſteth in the knowledge of our ſelues, yet in the very manner of knowing there is muche diſagreement. For by the iudgement of the fleſh, a man thinketh that he hath then well ſearched himſelfe, when truſting vpon his owne vnderſtanding and integrity, he taketh boldeneſſe, and encourageth him ſelfe to doing the duties of vertue and bidding battell to vices, trauaileth with all his studie to bende himſelfe to that which is comly and honeſt. But he that loketh vpon and trieth himſelfe by the rule of Gods iudgement, findeth nothing that may raiſe vp his minde to good affiance: and the more inwardely that he hath examined him ſelfe, the more he is diſcouraged, till being altogether ſpoiled of all confidence, he leaueth to himſelfe nothing towards the well ordering of his life. And yet woulde not God haue vs to forgette the firſt nobleneſſe that he gaue to our father Adam, which ought of good right to awake vs to the studie of righteouſneſſe and goodneſſe. For we can not conſider either our owne firſt eſtate, or to what ende we are created, but we ſhalbe pricked forward to studie vpon immortalitie, and to deſire the kingedome of God. But that conſideration is ſo farre from putting vs in courage, that rather diſcouraging vs, it throweth vs downe to humbleneſſe. For what is that firſt eſtate of ours? euen that from whence we are fallen. What is that ende of our creation? euen the ſame from which we are altogether turned away: ſo that lothing our owne miſerable eſtate, we may grone for ſorrowe, and in groning may alſo ſigh for the loſſe of that dignitie. But now when we

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say that man ought to beholde nothing in himselfe that may make him of bolde courage, we meane that there is nothing in him vpon affiance wherof he ought to be proude. Wherefore, if any list to heare what knowledge man ought to haue of himselfe, let vs thus diuide it, that first he consider to what ende he is created, & endued with giftes that are not to be despised, by which thought he may be styrred vp to the meditatioⁿ of the hearing of God and of the life to come. Then let him weye his owne strength, or rather needy want of strength, by perceiuing whereof he may lie in extreme confusion, as one vtterly brought to naught. The first of these considerations tendeth to this ende, that he may know what is his duetie: and the other, how much he is able to do towarde the perfourming of it. We will entreate of them both, as the order of teaching shall require.

4 But bicause it must nedes be that it was not a light negligence, but a detestable wicked acte which God so seuerely punished, we must consider the very fourme of the same in the fall of Adam, that kindled the horrible vengeance of God vpon all mankind. It is a childish opinion that hath commonly bin receiued, concerning the intemperaⁿce of glottonie, as though the summe and head of all vertues consisted in the forbearing of one only frute, when there flowed on euery side store of all sortes of deinties that were to be desired, and when in that blessed frutefulnessse of the earth, there was not onely plenty, but also varietie to make fare for pleasure. Therefore we must looke further, bicause the forbidding him from the tree of the knowledge of good and euill, was the triall of obedience, that Adam in obeying might proue that he was willingly subiect to the gouernem^{en}t of God. And the name of the tree it selfe sheweth, that that commaundement was geuen for none other ende, than for this that he contented with his owne estate, shoulde not with wicked lust aduaunce himselfe higher. But the promise whereby he was bidden to hope for eternall life, so long as he did not eate of the tree of life, and againe the horrible threatening of death so sone as he shoulde taste of the tree of knowledge of good and euill, serued to proue and exercise his faith. Herof it is not harde to gather, by what meanes Adam prouoked the wrath of God against him selfe. Augustine in deede saieth not amisse, when he saieth, that pride was the beginning of all euils. For if ambicioⁿ had not lifted vp man higher than was lawfull and than was permitted him, he might haue continued in his estate: but we must fetch a more full definition from the maner of the tentation that Moses describeth. For sith the woman was with the deceit of the Serpent lead away by infidelitie, now it appeareth that disobedience was the beginning

ginning of the fall. Which thing Paule confirmeth, teaching that all men were losse by one mans disobedience. But it is withall to be noted, that the first man fell from the subiection of God, for that he not onely was taken with the entisementes of Satan, but also despising the trueth, did turne out of the waie to lying. And surely Gods worde being ones despised, all reuerence of God is shaken of. Bicause his maiestie doth no other waies abide in honor among vs, nor the worship of him remaine inuiolate, but while we hang vpon his mouth. Therfore infidelitie was the roote of that falling away. But therupon arose ambition and pride, to which was adioyned vnthankfulnesse, for that Adam in coueting more than was graunted, did vnreuerently despise the so great liberalitie of God wherwith he was enriched. And this was a mōstruous wickednesse, that the sonne of the earth thought it a small thing that he was made after the likenesse of God, vnlesse he might also be made egall with God. If Apostasie be a filthy and detestable offence, wherby man withdraweth him selfe from the allegiance of his creatour, yea outrageously shaketh of his yoke: then it is but vaine to extenuate the Sinne of Adam. Albeit it was no simple Apostasie, but ioyned with shamefull reproches against God, while they assented to the sclanders of Satan, wherin he accused God of lying, enuie, and niggardly grudging. Finally, infidelitie opened the gate to ambition, ambition was the mother of obstinate rebellion, to make men cast away the feare of God, and throw themselues whether their lust caried them. Therfore Bernard doth rightly teach that the gate of saluation is opened vnto vs, when at this day we receiue the Gospell by our eares: euen as by the same windowes, when they stode open to Satan, death was let in. For Adam woulde neuer haue bin so bolde, as to do against the commaundement of God, but for this that he did not beleue his worde. Truely this was the best bridle for the right keping of all affections in good order, to thinke that ther is nothing better than to kepe righteousness in obeying the commaundementes of God, and then that the chiefe ende of happy life is to be beloued of him. He therfore being carried away with the blasphemies of the Deuill, did (asmuch as in him lay) extinguish the whole glory of God.

5 As the spirituall life of Adam was, to abide ioyned and bounde to his creatour, so his alienation from him was the death of his soule. Neither is it maruell if he by his falling away, destroyed all his owne posteritie, which peruerted the whole order of nature in heauen and in earth. All the creatures do grone, saith Paule, being made subiect to corruption against their will. If one should aske the cause: no doubt

it is for that they beare parte of that punishment that man deserued, for whose vse they were created. Sith the curse that goth throughout all the coastes of the worlde proceeded from his fault both vpward and downewarde, it is nothing against reason, if it spread abroad into all his issue. Therefore after that the heavenly image in him was defaced, he did not alone suffer this punishment, that in place of wisdom, strength, holynesse, truth, and iustice (with which ornamentes he had bin clothed) there came in the most horrible pestilences, blindnesse, weakenesse, filthinesse, falsehode, and iniustice, but also he entangled and drowned his whole offspring in the same miseries. This is the corruption that commeth by inheritaunce, which the olde writers called original sinne, meaning by this worde sinne, the corruption of nature, which before was good and pure. About which matter they haue had much contention, by cause there is nothing farther of from common reason, than all men to be made gilty of one mans fault, and so the sinne to become common. Which semeth to haue bin the cause why the oldest Doctors of the Church did but darkely touch this point, or at least did not set it out so plainly as was conuenient. And yet that fearefulnesse could not bring to passe, but that Pelagius arose, whose prophane inuention was that Adam sinned onely to his owne losse, and hurted not his posteritie. So through this sutteltie, Satan went about by hiding the disease, to make it incurable. But when it was proued by manifest testimonie of Scripture, that sinne passed from the first man into all his posteritie, he brought this cauillation, that it passed by imitation, but not by propagation. Therefore good men trauelled in this point, and aboue all other Augustine, to shew that we are corrupted not by forrein wickednesse, but that we bring with vs from the wombe of our mother a viciousnesse planted in our begetting, which to deny was to great shamelesnesse. But the rashnesse of the Pelagians and Celestians will not seeme maruelous to him, which by the writings of the holy man shal perceauce, how shamelesse beastes they were in all other thinges. Surely it is not doutelessly spoken that Dauid confesseth that he was begotten in iniquities, and by his mother conceaued in sinne. He doth not there accuse the sinnes of his father or mother, but the better to set forth the goodnesse of God towarde him, he beginneth the confession of his owne wickednesse at his very begetting. Forasmuch as it is euident that that was not peculiar to Dauid alone, it followeth that the common estate of all mankind is noted vnder his example. All we therfore that descend of vncleane sede, are borne infected which the contagion of sinne, yea before that we see the light of this life, we be in the sight of God filthy and spotted.

For

Psa. 51.
7.Ioh. 14.
4.

For who coulde geue cleane of the vncleannesse? not one: as it is in the booke of Iob.

6 We heare that the vncleannesse of the parentes so passeth into the children, that all without any exception at their beginning are defiled. But of this defiling we shall not finde the beginning, vnlesse we go vp to the first parent of all vs, to the well head. Thus it is therfore, that Adam was not only the progenitor, but also the roote of mans nature, and therefore in his crruption was all mankinde worthely corrupted: which the Apostle maketh plaine by comparing of him and Christ. As (saith he) by one man sinne entred into the whole world, and death by sinne, and so death went ouer all men, forasmuch as all haue sinned: so by the grace of Christ, righteousness and life is restored vnto vs. What will the Pelagians here prate? that Adams sinne was spread abroad by imitation? Then haue we no other profit by the righteousness of Christ, but that he is an example set before vs to follow? Who can abide such robberie of Gods honor? If it be out of question that Christes righteousness is ours by communication, and therby life: it followeth also, that they both were so lost in Adam, as they be recouered in Christ: and that sinne and death so crept in by Adam, as they are abolished by Christ. The wordes are plaine, that many are made righteous by the obediēce of Christ, as by the disobedience of Adam they were made sinners: and that therfore betwene them two is this relation, that Adam wrapping vs in his destruction, destroyed vs with him, & Christ with his grace restored vs to saluation. In so cleare light of truth, I thinke we nede not a longer or more laborous prooffe. So also in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, when he goeth about to stablish the godly in the trust of the resurrection, he sheweth that the life is couered in Christ that was lost in Adam, he that pronounceth, that we all are dead in Adam, doth also therewithall plainly testifie, that we were infected with the filth of sinne. For damnation coulde not reach vnto thē that were touched with no giltinesse of iniquitie. But it can be no way plainlyer vnderstāded what he meaneth, than by relation of the other member of the sentence, where he teacheth that hope of life is restored in Christ. But it is well enough knownen that the same is done no other way, than whē by maruellous maner of cōmunicating, Christ poureth into vs the force of his righteousness. As it is written in an other place, that the spirite is life vnto vs, for righteousness sake. Therefore we may not otherwise expounde that which is said that we are dead in Adam, but thus, that he in sinning did not onely purchase mischeefe and ruine to himselfe, but also threw downe our nature headlong into like destruction. And that not

Rom. 5.
12.

1. Cor.
15. 22.

Rom. 8.
10.

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onely to the corruption of himselfe, which pertaineth nothing to vs, but because he infected all his sede with the same corruption wher-
 Ephe. 2. into he was fallen. For otherwise the saying of Paule could not stand
 3. true, that all are by nature the sonns of wrath, if they were not already accursed in the wombe. And it is easily gathered, that nature is there meant not such as it were create by God, but such as it was corrupted in Adam. For it were not cōuenient, that God should be made the author of Death. Adam therefore so corrupted him selfe, that the infectiō passed from him into all his offspring. And the heauenly iudge
 Ioh. 3. 6 himselfe Christ, doth also plainly enough pronouce, that all are borne euill and corrupted, where he teacheth, that what soeuer is borne of flesh, is flesh, and that therefore the gate of life is closed against all men, vntill they be begotten againe.

7 Neither for the vnderstanding thereof is any curiouse disputation nedefull, which not a litle combred the olde writers, whether the soule of the sonne do procede by deriuation from the soule of the father, bycause in it the infection principally resteth. We must be content with this, that such giftes as it pleased the Lord to haue bestowed vpon the nature of man, he left them with Adam, and therefore when Adam lost them after he had receiued them, he lost them not onely from himselfe, but also from vs all. Who shall be carefull of a conueyance from soule to soule, when he shall heare that Adam receiued these ornamentes which he lost, no lesse for vs than for himselfe? that they were not geuen to one man alone, but assigned to the whole nature of man? Therefore it is not against reason, if he being spoiled, nature be left naked and poore: if he being infected with Sinne, the infection crepeth into nature. Therfore from a rotten roote arose vp rotten branches, which sent their rottenesse into the other twigges that sprong out of them. For so were the children corrupted in the father, that they also were infectiue to their children: that is to say, so was the beginning of corruption in Adam, that by continuall flowyng from one to an other, it is conueyed from the auncesters into the posteritie. For the infection hath not her cause in the substance of the flesh or of the soule, but bycause it was so ordeyned of God, that suche giftes as he had geuen to the first man, man shoulde both haue them, and lose them as well for him selfe as for his. As for this that the Pelagians do cauill, that it is not likely that the children do take corruption from godly parentes, sith they ought rather to be sanctified by their cleanness, that is easily confuted. For they descende not of their spirituall regeneration, but of their carnall generation.* Therefore, as Augustine sayeth, whether the vnbeleuer be
 con-

* Cōtra
 Pelag.
 & Ce.
 lest.

condemned as gilltie, and the beleuer quitte as innocent, they both do beget not innocentes, but gilltie, bycause they beget of the corrupted nature. Now where as they do in manner partake of the parentes holinesse, that is the speciall blessing of the people of God, which proueth not but that the first and vniuersall curse of mankinde went before. For of nature is gilltinesse, and sanctification is of supernaturall grace.

8 And to the ende that these thinges be not spoken of a thing vncertaine and vnknown, lette vs define Originall sinne. But yet I meane not to examine all the definitions that are made by writers, but I will bring forth one onely, which I thinke to be most agreeable with trueth. Originall sinne therefore semeth to be the inheritably descending perversnesse and corruption of our nature, poured abroade into all the partes of the soule, which first maketh vs gilltie of the wrath of God, and then also bringeth forth these workes in vs, which the Scripture calleth the workes of the flesh: and that is it properly that Paule oftentimes calleth Sinne. And these workes that arise out of it, as are adulteries, fornications, thestes, hatreds, murders, banketinges, after the same manner he calleth the fruites of sinne, albeit they are likewise called sinnes both commonly in the Scripture, and also by the same Paule him selfe. Therefore these two thinges are distinctly to be noted: that is, that being so in all partes of our nature corrupted and peruered, we are now euen for suche corruption onely holden worthily damned and conuicted before God, to whom is nothing acceptable but righteousness, innocencie and purenesse. And yet is not that bonde in respect of an others faulte. For where it is said, that by the sinne of Adam we are made subiect to the iudgement of God, it is not so to be taken, as if we innocent and vnderferuing did beare the blame of his faulte. But bycause by his offending we are all clothed with the curse, therefore it is said that he hath bounde vs. Neuerthelesse, from him not the punishment onely came vpon vs, but also the infection distilled from him, abideth in vs, to the which the punishment is iustly due. Wherefore howe so euer Augustine doeth oftentimes call it an others sinne, (to shewe the more plainely, that it is conueyed into vs by propagation) yet doeth he also affirme withall that it is propre to euery one. And the Apostle him selfe expressely witnesseth, that therefore death came vpon all menne, bycause all men haue sinned, and are wrapped in Originall sinne, and defiled with the spottes thereof. And therefore the very infantes themselues, while they bring with them their owne damnation from their mothers wombe, are bounde,

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not by an others, but by their owne faulte. For though they haue not as yet brought forth the frutes of their owne iniquitie, yet they haue the seede thereof enclosed within them: yea their whole nature is a certaine seede of Sinne: therefore it can not be but hatefull and abhominable to God. Wherevpon followeth, that it is properly accompted sinne before God: for there could be no guiltinesse without sinne. The other point is, that this peruersenesse neuer cesseth in vs, but continually bringeth forth newe frutes, euen the same workes of the fleshe that we haue before described: like as a burning fornace bloweth out flame and sparces, or as a spring doeth without ceassing cast out water. Therefore they which haue defined Originall sinne, to be a lacking of Originall righteousness which ought to haue bin in vs, although in deede they comprehend all that is in the thing it selfe: yet they haue not fully enough expressed the force and efficacie thereof. For our nature is not onely bare and empirie of goodnesse, but also is so plenteous and frutefull of all euilles, that it can not be idle. They that haue saide, that it is a concupiscence, haue vsed a worde not very farre from the matter, if this were added, which is not graunted by the most parte, that what so euer is in man, euen from the vnderstanding to the will, from the soule to the flesh, is corrupted and stuffed ful with this concupiscence: or, to ende it shortlier, that whole man is of him selfe nothinge els but concupiscence.

9 Wherefore, I haue saide that all the partes of the soule are possessed of sinne, sith Adam fell awaye from the fountaine of righteousness. For not onely the inferiour appetite allured him, but wicked impietie possessed the very castle of his minde, and pride pearced to the innermost parte of his hearte. So that it is a fonde and foolish thing, to restraine the corruption that proceded from thence, onely to the sensuall motions as they call them, or to call it a certaine nouriture, that allureth, stirreth and draweth to sinne onely that parte, which among them is called Sensualitie. Wherein Peter Lombarde hath disclosed his grosse ignorance, which seeking and searching for the place of it, saith that it is in the flesh, as Paule witnesseth, not properly in dede, but bycause it more appeareth in the flesh, as though Paule did meane onely a parte of the soule, and not the whole nature which is in comparison set against supernaturall grace. And Paule there taketh away all doubt: teaching that corruption resteth not in one parte alone, but that nothing is pure and cleane from the deadly infection thereof. For entreating of corrupted nature, he doth not onely condemne the inordinate motions of appetites that appeare, but

but specially trauaileth to proue that the vnderstanding minde is subiecte to blindenesse, and the hearte to peruersnesse. And the same third chapter to the Romaines is nothing els but a description of originall sinne. That appeareth more plainly by the renewing. For the spirite which is compared with the olde man and the flesh, doth not onely signifie the grace whereby the inferiour or sensuall parte of the soule is amended, but also containeth a full reformation of all the partes. And therefore Paule doth commaund, not onely that Ephc. 4. our grosse appetites be brought to naught, but also that we our sel- 27. ues be renewed in the spirite of our minde, as likewise in an other place he biddeth vs to be transformed in newnesse of minde. Where- Rom. 12 vpon followeth, that the same parte, wherein most of all shineth the 2. excellence and noblenesse of the soule, is not onely wounded, but also so corrupted, that it needeth not onely to be healed, but in manner to put on a newe nature. How farre sinne possesseth both the vnderstanding minde and the hearte, we will see hereafter. Here I onely purposed shortly to touch that the whole man from the heade to the foote is so ouerwhelmed as with an ouerflowing of water, that no parte of him is free from sinne, and that therefore what soeuer proceedeth from him is accompted for sinne, as Paule saith, that all the Rom. 8. affections of the flesh or thoughtes, are enmities against God, and 7. therefore death.

10 Now let them go, that presume to make God author of their sinnes, bycause we say that menne are naturally sinnefull. They do wrongfully seeke the worke of God in their owne filthynesse, which they ought rather to haue sought in the nature of Adam, while it was yet sounde and vncorrupted. Therefore our destruction cometh of the faulte of our owne flesh and not of God, for asmuch as we perished by no other meane but by this, that we degendred from our first estate. But yet let not any man here murmure and say, that God might haue better foreseen for our saluation, if he had prouided that Adam shoulde not haue fallen. For this obiection both is to be abhorred of all godly mindes, for the to much presumptuous curiositie of it, and also pertaineth to the secret of predestination which shall after be entreated of in place conuenient. Wherefore let vs remembre that our fall is to be imputed to the corruption of nature, that we accuse not God himselfe the author of nature. True in dede it is, that the same deadly wounde sticketh fast in nature: but it is muche materiall to knowe, whether it came into nature from ells where, or from the beginning hath rested in it. But it is euident that the wounde was geuen by sinne. Therefore there is no cause why

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Ecc1. 7. we shoulde complaine but of our selues: which thing the Scripture
13. hathe diligently noted. For Ecclesiastes saith: This haue I founde,
that God hath made manne righteous, but they haue sought many
inuentions. It appeareth that the destruction of man is to be impu-
ted onely to him selfe, for asmuche as hauing gotten vprightnesse
by the goodnesse of God, he by his owne madnesse is fallen into
vanitie.

Eph. 2. 3 **11** We saie therfore, that man is corrupted with faultinesse na-
turall, but such as proceded not from nature. We denie that it pro-
ceded from nature, to make appeare that it is rather a qualitie come
from some other thing, whiche is happened to man, than a substan-
tiall propertie that hathe bin putte into him from the beginning.
Yet we call it Naturall, that no man shoulde thinke that euery man
getteth it by euill custome, wheras it holdeth all men bounde by in-
heritable descending right. And this we do not of our owne heads
without authoritie. For, for the same cause the Apostle teacheth,
that we are all by nature the children of wrath. How coulde God,
whome all his meanest workes do please, be wraathfull against the
noblest of all his creatures? But he is rather wraathfull against the
corruption of his worke, than against his worke it selfe. Therefore
if, for that mans nature is corrupted, manne is not vnjustly saide to
be by nature abominable to God, it shalbe also not vnaptely cal-
led naturally peruerse and corrupted. As Augustine feareth not in
respect of nature corrupted, to call the sinnes natural, which do neces-
sarily reigne in our flesh where the grace of God is absente. So va-
nysheth away the folish tryfeling deuise of the Maniches, which whē
they imagined an euillnesse hauing substance in man, presumed to
forge for him a new creator, least they should seeme to assigne to the
righteous God the cause and beginning of euill.

The ij. Chapter.

*That man is now spoiled of the Freedome of vwill, and made
subiect to miserable bondage.*

S I N we haue seen, that the dominion of sinne, sins the time
that it helde the first man bounde vnto it, doth not onely rei-
gne in all mankinde, but also wholly possesseth euery soule: now
must we more nerely examine, sins we are brought into that
bondage, whether we be spoyled of all Freedome or no: And if
yet there remaine any parcell, how farre the force therof procedeth.

But

But to the ende that the trueth of this question may more easily appeare vnto vs, I will by the way set vp a marke, where vnto the whole summe may be directed. And this shalbe the best way to auoid errorr, if the daungers be considered that are like to fall on both sides. For when man is put from all vprightnesse, by and by he therby taketh occasion of slouthfulnesse: and because it is sayd, that by himselfe he can do nothing to the study of righteousnesse, forthwith he neglecteth it wholly, as if it pertayned nothing vnto him. Againe, he can presume to take nothing vpon himselfe, be it neuer so litle, but that both Gods honor shalbe therby taken frō him, & man himselfe be ouerthrowen with rash confidence. Therefore to the end we strike not vpon these rocks, this course is to be kept, that man being enformed that there remaineth in him no goodnes, and being on euery side compassed about with most miserable necessity, may yet be taught to aspire to the goodnes whereof he is voyd, and to the liberty wherof he is deprived, and may be more sharply stirred vp from slouthfulnes, than if it were sayned that he is furnished with greatest power. How necessary this second point is, euery man seeth. The first, I see is doubted of by mo than it ought to be. For this beinge sette out of controuersie, it ought then plainely to stand for trueth, that nothing is to be taken away from man of his owne, as farre as it behoueth that he be throwne downe from false boasting of himselfe. For if it were not graunted to man to glory in himselfe euen at that time, when by the bountifulnes of God he was garnished with most singular ornamentes, how much ought he now to be humbled, sith for his vnthankfulnesse he is thrust downe from hie glory into extreame shame? At that time, I say, when he was aduaunced to the hiest degree of honor, the Scripture attributeth nothing else vnto him, but that he was created after the image of God, whereby it secretly teacheth, that man was blessed, not by his own good things, but by the partaking of God. What therefore remaineth now, but that he being naked and destitute of all glory, do acknowledge God, to whose liberality he could not be thankfull when he flowed ful of the riches of his grace: and that now at length with confession of his owne pouerty he glorifie him, whom in the acknowledging of his good gifts, he did not glorifie? Also it is as much for our profite, that all praise of wisdom and strength be taken from vs, as it pertayneth to the glory of God, that they ioine our ruine with the robbery of God, that giue vnto vs any thing more, than that which is true. For what is else done when we are taught to fight of our owne force, but y^e we be lifted vpō hie on a staffe of a reede, that it may by and by breake, and we fall to the ground? Albeit, our forces are

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yet to much commended when they are compared to the staffe of a reede . For it is but smoke all that wayne men haue imagined and do babble of them . Wherefore not without cause is this excellent sentence oft repeted by Augustine, that free will is rather throwen down headlonge , than stablished by them that defende it . This I thought needefull to speake before, as by way of preface for many mens saks, which when they heare mans power ouerthrowen from the ground, that the power of God may be buylded in manne, do much hate this manner of disputinge as daungerous, much more superfluous, which yet appeareth to be both in religion necessarie , and for vs most profitable.

2 Whereas we haue a litle before sayd , that in the vnderstanding minde, and in the heart are placed the powers of the soule, now let vs consider what they both are able to do . The Philosophers in deede with great cōsent do imagine that in the vnderstanding minde sitteth reason, which like a lampe giueth light to all cōsels, & like a Queene gouerneth the will, for they say y it is so endued with diuine light, that it can giue good counsell, and so excelleth in liuely force that it is able well to gouerne. On the other side, that sense is dull and bleare eyed, that it alway creepeth on the ground, and walloweth in grosse objects, and neuer listeth vp it selfe to true insight . That the appetite, if it can abide to obey reason , and do not yeld it selfe to sense to be subdued, is caried on to the study of vertues, holdeth on the right way, and is transformed into will: but if it giue it selfe subiect into the bondage of sense , it is by it corrupted and peruered , so that it degendreth into lust. And whereas by their opinion there do sit in the soule those powers that I haue spoken of before , vnderstanding , sense , appetite or will, which word will is now more commonly vsed, they say that vnderstanding is endued with reason , the best gouernesse toward good and blessed life , so that it do hold it selfe within his owne excellence, and shew forth the force that is naturally giuen it . But that inferiour motion of it, which is called sense , wherewith man is drawen to error & deceite, they say to be such, that it may be tamed with the rod of reason, and by litle and litle be vanquished . They place will in the middest betwene reason and sense, as a thing at her owne ordering, & hauinge liberty whether it list to obey to reason, or giue forth it selfe to be rauished by sense.

3 Sometime in deede they do not deny , being ouercome by very experience , how hardly man stablisheth reason to raigne as queene within himselfe, while sometime he is tickled with intisements of pleasures, sometime deceiued with false semblance of good things, sometime

time importunately stricken with immoderate affections, and violently haled out of the way as it were with ropes or strings of sinowes, as Plato sayth. For which reason Cicero sayth, that these sparkes giuen by nature, are with peruerse opinions & euill maners by and by quenched: But when such diseases haue once gotten places in the mindes of men: they graunt that they do more outrageously ouerflow, than that they easely may be restrayned: and they sticke not to compare them to wilde horses which throwing away reason as it were casting the Chariot driuen, do range vnrulely and without measure. But this they make no question of, that vertues and vices are in our owne power. For if (say they) it be in our choise to do this or that, then is it also in our choise not to do. Now if it be in our choise not to do, then is it also to do, but of free choise we seeme to do those things that we do, and to forbear those things that we forbear. Therefore if we do any good thinge when we list, we may likewise leaue it vndone: if we do any euell, we may also eschue the same. Yet some of them haue burst forth into so great licentiousnesse, that they haue boasted that it is in deede Gods gift that we liue, but our owne that we liue well & holily. And thence commeth that saying of Cicero in the person of Cotta: because euery man himselfe getteth vertue to himselfe, therefore neuer any of the wise men did thanke God for it. For (sayth he) for vertue we be praised, & in vertue we glory, which should not be if it were the gift of God, and not of our selues. And a litle after. This is the iudgement of al men that fortune is to be asked of God, but wisdom to be taken of himselfe. This therefore is the summe of the opinion of all the Philosophers, that the reason of mans vnderstanding is sufficient for right gouernance: that Will being subiect to it, is in deede moued by Sense to euill thinges. But euen as it hath free election, so can it not be stopped, but that it follow reason for her guide in all things.

4 Among the Ecclesiasticall wryters, albeit there haue bin none that did not acknowledge both that the soundnesse of reason in man hath bin sore wounded by sinne, and his will exceedingly entangled with peruerse desires, yet many of them haue to much assented to the Philosophers: of which the auncient, as I thinke, did so much aduance the strength of man, vpon this consideration, lest if they should haue expressely confessed his weakenesse, first they should haue made the Philosophers, with whom they the contended, to laugh at them: and then least they should giue to the flesh, which of it selfe was dull to goodnesse, a new occasion of slouthfulness. Therefore because they woulde not teache any thinge that were an absurdity in the common

De leg.
16. li. 1.
Tu. que.
lib. 3.

Ari. eth
li. 3. ca. 5

Seneca.

De natu
de lib. 3

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Of the knowledge of

iudgement of men, their study was to make the doctrine of the Scripture halfe to agree with the teachings of the Philosophers. But that they principally regarded that second point, not to make place for slouthfulnesse, appeareth by their owne words. Chrysostome hath in one place: Because God hath put both good and euill thinges in our owne power, he hath giuen vs Freedome of election, and he withholdeth not y vnwilling, but embraceth the willing. Agayne, Oftentimes he that is euill, if he will, is turned into good, and he that is good by slouthfullnes falleth and becometh euill, because God made our nature to haue free will, and he layeth not necessity vpon vs, but giuing conuenient remedies, suffreth all to lye in the minde of the patient. Againe, As vnlesse we be holpen by the grace of God, we can neuer do any thing well: so vnlesse we bring that which is our owne, we can not obtaine the fauour of God. And he had said before, that it should not be all of Gods helpe, but we must also bring somewhat. And this is commonly a familiar word with him, let vs bring that which is ours, God wil supply the rest. Wherwith agreeth that which Hierom sayeth, that it is our part to beginne, but Gods to make an ende: our parte to offer what we can, his to fulfil what we can not. You see now that in these sayinges they gaue to man towarde the study of vertue more than was meete, because they thought that they could not otherwise awake the dullnesse that was naturally in vs, but if they did proue that in it onely we sinned. With what apt handeling they haue don the same, we shall after se. Surely that the sayings which we haue rehearsed are most false, shall by and by appeare. Now although the Grecians more than other, & among them principally Chrysostome haue passed measure in aduancing the power of mans will, yet all the old wryters, except Augustine, do in this point so either vary, or wauer, or speake doutefully, that in manner no certainty can be gathered of their wrytings. Therefore we will not tary vpon exact reckening of euery one of their sayinges, but heare and there we will touch out of euery one of them so much as the playne declaration of the matter shall seeme to require. As for them that followed after, while euery one for himselfe sought praise of witte, in defending of mans nature, they fell continually by little and little one after another into worse and worse, till it came so farre, that man was commonly thought to be corrupted only in his sensuall parte, and to haue reason altogether, and will for the more parte vncorrupted. In the meane time this flew about in all mens mouthes, that the naturall gifts were corrupted in man, and the supernaturall were taken away, But to what meaning that tended, scarcely the hundreth man did euen slightly vnderstande.

As

Hö.de
prodi-
tione
Iudz.
Chryf.
in Gen.
hom.18
Hom.52

Dialog.
3.cōtra
Pelagiū

As for my parte, if I would plainly shew of what sorte is the corruption of nature, I could be easely contented with these words. But it is much materiall that it be heedefully weyed what a man, being in all partes of his nature corrupted and spoiled of his supernaturall giftes, is able to do. They therefore which boasted themselues to be the Disciples of Christ, spake of this matter to much like Philosophers. For the name of Freewill still remayned amonge the Latines, as if man had still abiden in vncorrupted state. And the Grecians were not ashamed to vse the worde much more arrogantly: For they called it Autexousion, that is to say of her owne power, as if man had the power of himselfe. Because therefore all, euen to the common people, had receiued this principle, that man was endued with Free will, and many of them that would seeme excellent, can not tell how farre it extendeth: first let vs search out the force of the word it selfe, and then let vs proceede on by the simplicity of the Scripture, to shewe what man is able to do of his owne nature, toward good or euill. What Free will is, where as it is a word commonly found in all mens wrytinges, yet few haue defined. Yet it semeth that Origen rehearsed that thing whereof they were all agreed, when he sayd, that it is a power of reason to discerne good or euell, and a power of will to choose either of them. And Augustine varierh not from him, when he teacheth that it is a power of reason and will, whereby good is chosen while grace assisteth, and euill when grace ceaseth. Bernarde, while he meaneth to speake more suttelly, speaketh more darkely, which sayeth, that it is a consent by reason of the liberty of will that can not be lost, and the iudgement of reason that can not be auoyded. And the definition of Anselmus is not familiar enough, which sayth that it is a power to kepe vprightnesse for it selfe. Therefore Peter Lombarde and the o-

Lib.3.
περί
χαρ.

Lib.2.
Dist.24

Part.1.
quæst.
83 art.
3.

ther Schoolemen, haue rather embraced Augustines definition, because it both was playner & did not exclude the grace of God, without the which they sawe that Will was not sufficient for it selfe. But they bring also of their owne such things as they thought either to be better, or to serue for playner declaration. First, they agree that the name of Arbitrium, that is free choise, is rather to be referred to reason, whose parte is to discerne betwene good and Euill things: and the adiectiue Free, pertayneth properly to wil, which may be turned to either of both. Wherefore sith Freedome properly belongeth to will, Thomas sayth that it would very well agree, if Free will be called a power of chosing, which being mixt of vnderstanding and appetite, doth more encline to appetite. Nowe haue we in what thinges they teach that the power of Free will consisteth, that is to say, in rea-

Cap. 2. Of the knowledge of

son and will. Nowe remayneth that we shortly see howe much they giue to either parte.

Amb.li.
1.cap.2. 5 They are commonly wont to make subiect to the free determination of man, thinges meane, that is which belong not to the kingdom of God : but they do referre true righteousnesse to the speciall grace of God and spirituall regeneration. Which thing while the author of the booke Of the calling of the Gentiles meaneth to shew, he reckoneth vp three sortes of Willes, the first Sensitiue, the second Naturall, the third Spirituall, of which he sayth, that man hath the first two at his owne liberty, the last is the worke of the holy ghost in man. Which whether it be true or no, shall be entreated in place fit for it, for now my purpose is but shortly to rehearse the opinions of other, and not to confute them. Herby it cometh to passe, that when wryters speake of free will, they principally seeke not what it is able to do to ciuile or outward doings, but what it can do to the obedience of the law of God. Which later point I thinke so to be the principall, that yet I thinke the other is not to be neglected. Of which meaning I trust, I shall shew a good reason. There hath bin a distinction receiued in Schooles, that reckoneth vp three sortes of freedomes, the first from necessity, the second from sinne, the third from misery. Of which the first so naturally sticketh fast in man, that it can by no meane be taken away: the other two are lost by sinne. This distinction I willingly receiue, sauing that there necessity is wrongfully confounded with compulsion : betwene which two how much difference there is, and how necessary that difference is to be considered, shall appeare in an other place.

Libr. 2.
dist. 26. 6 If this be receiued, then shall it be out of controuersie that man hath not free will to do good workes, vnlesse he be holpen by grace, and that by speciall grace, which is giuen to the onely elect by regeneration. For I do not passe vpon these phrenetike men, which babble that grace is offered generally and without difference. But this is not yet made playne, whether he be altogether deprivied of power to do well, or whether he haue yet some power, although it be but litle and weake, which by it selfe, in dede can do nothing, but by helpe of grace doth also her parte. While the Maister of the Sentences goeth about to make that playne, he sayeth there are two sortes of grace necessary for vs, whereby we may be made meete to do a good worke : the one they call a Working grace, whereby we effectually will to do good : the other a Together working grace, which followeth good will in helping it. In which diuision this I mislike, that while he giueth to the grace of God an effectuall desire of good, he secretly

secretly sheweth his meaninge that man already of his owne nature, after a certaine manner, desireth good though vneffectually. As Bernarde affirming that good will is in deede the worke of God, yet this he graunteth to man, that of his owne motion he desireth that good will. But this is farre from the meaning of Augustine, from whom yet Lombard would seeme to haue borrowed this diuision. In the second part of the diuision, the doubtfulnes of speach offendeth me, which hath bred a wrong exposition. For they thought that we do therefore work together with the Seconde grace of God, because it lieth in our power, either to make voyde the First grace by refusing it, or to confirm it by obediēly following it. Whereas the author of the booke Of the calling of the Gentiles, doth thus expresse it, that it is free for them that vse the iudgement of reason, to departe from grace, that it may be worthy rewarde not to haue departed, and that the thing which could not be done but by the working together of the holy Ghost, may be imputed to their merites, by whose wil it was possible to haue not bin done. These two things I had will to note by the way, that now, reader, thou maist see howe much I dissent from the soundest sorte of the Schoolemen. For I do much farther differ from the later Sophisters, euen so much as they be farther gone from the auncient time. But yet somewhat, after such a sorte as it is, we perceauē by this diuision, after what manner they haue giuen Free will to man. For at length Lombard sayth, that we haue not free will therefore, because we are alike able either to do or to thinke good and euill, but onely that we are free from compulsion: which freedome is not hindered, although we be peruerse and the bondmen of sinne, and can do nothing but sinne.

Amb. li.
2. cap. 4

Libr. 2.
dist. 25.

7 Therefore, man shalbe sayd to haue free will after this sorte, not because he hath a free choise as well of good as of euill, but because he doth will by Will, and not by compulsion. That is very well sayd: but to what purpose was it to garnish so smale a matter with so proud a title? A goodly liberty forsooth, if man be not compelled to serue sinne: so is he yet a willing seruauēt that his will is holden fast bounde with the fetters of sinne. Truly I do abhorre struinge about wordes wherewith the Church is vaynely wearied: but I thinke that such wordes are with great religious carefullnesse to be taken heede of, which sound of any absurdity, specially where the error is hurtfull. Howe fewe I pray you, are there, which when they heare that Free will is assigned to man, do not by and by conceaue, that he is lord both of his owne minde and will, and that he is able of himselfe to turne himselfe to whether parte he will? But some one will say:

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this perill shalbe taken away, if the people be diligently warned of the meaning of it. But rather forasmuch as the wit of man is naturally bēt to falsity, he will sooner conceiue an errour out of one litle word, than a trueth out of a long tale. Of which thing we haue a more certaine experience in this very word, than is to be wished. For omitting y^e expōitiō of the old wryters, all they in maner that came after, while they sticke vpon the naturall signification of the word, haue bin caried into a trust of themselues that bringeth them to destruction.

8 But if the authority of the fathers do moue vs, they haue in dede cōtinually the word in their mouth: but they do withall declare, how much they esteeme the vse of it. First of all Augustine, which sticketh not to call it Bonde will. In one place he is angry with them that denie free will but he declareth his chiefe reason why, when he sayth onely, Let not any man be so bold to deny the freedom of wil, that he go about to excuse sinne. But surely in an other place he confesseth, that the will of man is not free without the holy Ghost, forasmuch as it is subiect to lustes that do binde and conquere it. Againe, that when will was ouercome with sinne whereinto it fell, nature began to want freedome. Againe, that man hauing ill vsed his free will, lost both himselfe and it. Againe, free will is become captiue, that it can do nothing toward righteousness. Againe, that it can not be free, which the grace of God hath not made free. Againe, that y^e iustice of God is not fulfilled when the lawe commaundeth, and man doth of his owne strength, but when the holy Ghost helpeth, and mans will not free, but made free by God, obeyeth. And of all these thinges he shortly rendereth a cause, when in an other place he wryteth, that man receiued great force of free will when he was created, but he lost it by sinning. Therefore in an other place, after that he had shewed that free will is stablished by grace, he sharply inueyeth against them that take it vpon them without grace. Why therefore (sayth he) dare wretched men either be proud of free will before that they be made free, or of their owne strength if they be already made free? And they marke not that in the very name of free will, is mention of freedome. But where the spirit of the Lord is, there is freedome. If then they be the bondmen of sinne, why do they boast them of free will? For of whom a man is ouercome, to him he is made bond. But if they be made free, why do they boast them as of their owne worke? Are they so free, that they will not be his bondseruantes, which sayth: Without me ye can do nothing? Beside that also in an other place he seemeth sportingly to mocke at the vse of that worde, when he sayd, that will was in dede free, but not made free, free to righteousness, but the bondseruaunt

Lib. 1.
contra
Iul.
Hom. 53
in Ioan.
Ad A-
nast. ca.
44.
De per-
fect.
Iust. En-
chir. ad
Lau. ca.
30.
Ad Bo-
nist. li. 3.
cap. 8.
Ibi. c. 7.
Ad Bo-
nist. li. 1.
cap. 3.
Ad Bo-
nist. li. 3.
cap. 7.
De ver-
bis apo-
ser. 3.
De spi-
ritu &
litera.
cap. 30.
2. Cor. 3.
8.
Ioh. 15.
5.
De cor-
rep. &
gra. c. 13

seruaunt of sinne . Which saying in an other place he repeateth and expoundeth, that man is not free from righteousnesse, but by choise of will, and from sinne he is not free but by grace of the Sauour. He that doth testifie, that the freedome of man is nothing else but a free-making or manumission from righteousness, seemeth trimly to mocke at the vaine name thereof. Therefore if any man will permit the vse of this word with no euil signification, he shall not be troubled by me for so doinge. But because I thinke it can not be kept without great peril, & that it should turne to a great benefit to the church, if it were abolished: neither will I my selfe vse it, and I would wish other, if they aske me counsell, to forbear it.

9 I may seeme to haue brought a great preiudice against my selfe, which haue confessed, that all the ecclesiasticall wryters, except Augustine, haue spoken so doutfully or diuersly in this matter, that no certaynety can be had out of their wrytinges. For some will so construe this, that I meant therefore to thrust them from giuinge any voice herein, because they are all against me. As for me, I meant it to no other end but this, that I simply & in good faith would haue godly wittes prouided for, which if they wayte vpon those mens opinion in this poynt, they shall alway wauer vncertaine. In such sorte do they sometime teach, man being spoyled of all strength of freewill, to flee to grace onely: sometime they furnish or seeme to furnish him with his owne armour. But it is not hard to make appeare, that in such doutfulnesse of speech, they nothing, or very litle esteeming mans strength haue giuen the praise of all good thinges to the holy Ghost, if I here recite certaine sentences of theirs, whereby that is playnely taught. For what meaneth that saying of Cyprian, which Augustine so oft repeateth, that we ought to glory of nothing, because we haue nothing of our owne, but that man wholly despoyled in himselfe, may learne to hang all vpon God. What meaneth that saying of Augustine and Eucherius, when they expound, that Christ is the tree of life, to whom he that reacheth his hand, shall liue? and that the tree of knowledge of good and euill, is the free choise of will, wherof who so tasteth, forsaking the grace of God, he shall dye? What meaneth that of Chrysostome, that euery man is naturally not onely a sinner, but also altogether sinne? If we haue no good thing of our owne: If man frō top to toe be altogether sinne: if it be not lawfull to attempt howe much the power of free will is able to do, howe then may it be lawfull to parte the prayse of a good worke betwene God and man? I could rehearse of this sort very many sayings out of other, but least any man should cauill, that I choose out those things onely that make

De pre-
destina-
tione
Sancto-
rū. li. 4.
Aug. in
Gen.

Hom. in
aduēt.

for my purpose , and do craftily leaue out such things as make against me , therefore I do forbear such rehearsall . Yet this I dare affirme, howsoeuer they be somtime to busie in aduancing free will, that this yet was their purposed marke , to teach man being altogether turned away from trust of his owne power, to haue his strength reposed in God alone. Now come I to the simple setting forth of the trueth, in considering the nature of man.

10 But I am here constrayned to reapeate that , which in the beginning of this chapter , I spake by way of preface. As any man is most discouraged and throwen downe with conscience of his owne misery, needinesse, nakednesse and shame , so hath he best profited in knowledge of himselfe. For there is no danger to be feared, least man will take to much from himselfe, so that he learne, that what he wanteth is to be recouered in God , but to himselfe he can take nothing more than his owne right, be it neuer so litle, but that he shall destroy himselfe with vaine confidence, and conueying the honor of God to himselfe, become guilty of haynous sacrilege. And truely so oft as this lust inuadeth our minde, that we desire to haue somewhat of our own, which may rest in our selues rather than in God, let vs know that this thought is ministred vs by no other counsellor , but by him that perswaded our first parentes , to haue a will to be like vnto Gods , knowing both good and euill . If it be the word of the deuill that raiseth vp man in himselfe , let vs giue no place vnto it, vnlesse we list to take counsell of our enemy. It is pleasaunt in deede, for a man to haue so much strength of his owne, that he may rest in himselfe. But that we be not allured to this vaine affiance, let so many sore sentences make vs afraid, by which we be throwen downe: as are, Cursed is he which tru-

Jer. 17. 5 steth in mā, & setteth flesh to be his arme. Againe, that God hath not

Psa. 147 pleasure in the strength of a horse, neither deliteth in the legs of man,

10. but deliteth in them that feare him, & attend vpon his mercy. Againe,

Esa. 40. that it is he which giueth strength vnto him that saynteth , and vnto

29. him that hath no strength , he encreaseth power , euen the yong men shall faint and be weary, and the yong men shall stumble and fall, but

they that wayte vpon the Lord, shall renue their strength. All which

sayings tend to this end , that we leane not vpon any opinion of our

owne strength, be it neuer so litle, if we meane to haue God fauoura-

Iac. 4. 6. ble vnto vs, which resisteth the proude, & giueth grace to the humble.

And then againe, lette these promises come into our remembrance. I

will poure out water vpon the thirsty, & Floudes vpon the dry ground.

Esa. 44. Againe, All ye that thirst, come vnto the waters. Which promises do

3. testifie, that none are admitted to receiue the blessings of God , but

Esa. 55. 1 they

they

they that pyne away with feeling of their owne pouerty. And such promises are not to be passed ouer, as is that of Esay: Thou shalt haue no more sunne to shine by day, neither shall the brightnesse of the Moone shine vnto thee: for the Lord shall be thine euerlasting light, and the God thy glory. The Lord in deede doth not take away the shining of the Sunne or Moone from his seruantes, but because he will himselfe alone appeare glorious in them, he calleth their confidence far away, euen from those thinges, that are compted in their opinion most excellent:

11. Truly, that saying of Chrysostome hath alway exceedingly well pleased me, that the foundation of our Wisdom is humilitie: but yet more that saying of Augustine, As (sayth he) that same Rhetoritian beinge asked, what was the first thinge in the rules of eloquence, answered Pronunciation: and what was the second, he answered Pronunciation: and what was the third, he answered Pronunciation: so if one aske me of the rules of Christian religion, the First, the Second, and Third time, and alwayes I would answer Humilitie. But he meaneth not humility, when a man knowinge some litle vertue to be in himselfe, abstayneth from pride and haughtinesse of minde, but when he truly feeleth himselfe to be such a one, as hath no refuge but in humility: as in an other place he declareth. Lette no man (sayeth he) flatter himselfe: of his owne he is a deuiill. That thinge whereby he is blessed, he hath of God onely. For what hast thou of thine owne, but sinne? Take away from thee, sinne which is thine owne, for righteousness is Gods. Agayne, why is the possibility of nature so presumed on? it is wounded, maimed, troubled and lost, it needeth a true confession, and not a false defense. Agayne, when euery man knoweth that in himselfe he is nothing, and of himselfe he hath no helpe, his weapons in himselfe are broken, the warres are ceased. But it is needfull, that all the weapons of wickednesse be broken in sunder, shiuered in in peeces and burnt, that thou remayne vnarmed and haue no helpe in thy selfe. Howe much more weake thou art in thy selfe, so much the more the Lord receiueth thee. So vpon the three score and tenne Psalmes he forbiddeth vs to remember our owne righteousness, that we may acknowledge the righteousness of God: and he sheweth that God doth so commende his grace vnto vs, that we may knowe our selues to be nothing, that we stand onely by the mercy of God, when of our selues we are nothing but euill. Lette vs not therefore strue here with God for our right, as if that were withdrawn from our saluation which is giuen to him. For as our humblenesse is his

Hom.
de perf.
euange.
Epi. 56.
ad Diol.

In Ioan.
hom. 49

Li de
Nat. &
gratia,
cap. 50.
In pl. 45

hiennesse, so the confession of our humblennesse hath his mercy ready for remedy. Neither yet do I require that manne not conuincd should willingly yelde himselfe: nor if he haue any power, that he shoulde turne his minde from it, to be subdued vnto true humilitie. But that laying away the disease of selfeloue and desire of victory wherewith beinge blinded, he thinketh to highly of himselfe, he should well consider himselfe in the true lookinge glasse of the Scripture.

12 And the common saying which they haue borrowed out of Augustine pleaseth me well, that the naturall giftes were corrupted in man by sinne, and of the supernaturall he was made empty. For in this later parte of supernaturall giftes, they vnderstande as well the light of faith as righteousness, which were sufficient to the attayning of heauenly life and eternall felicity. Therefore banishing himselfe from the Kingdome of God, he was also depriued of the spirituall giftes, wherewith he had bin furnished to the hope of eternall saluation. Whereupon followeth, that he is so banished from the Kingdome of God, that all thinges that belong to the blessed life of the soule, are extinguished in him, vntill by grace of regeneration he recouer them. Of that sorte are faith, the Loue of God, charity toward our neighbours, the study of holinesse and righteousness. All these thinges, because Christ restoreth them vnto vs, are compted thinges comming from an other to vs, and beside nature, and therefore we gather that they were once taken away. Againe, soundnesse of the vnderstandinge minde and vprightnesse of hart were then taken away together, and this is the corruption of naturall giftes. For though there remayne somewhat left of vnderstanding and iudgement together with will, yet can we not say, that our vnderstanding is sound and perfect, which is both feeble and drowned in many darkenesses. And as for our will, the peruersenesse thereof is more than sufficiently knowen. Sith therefore reason, whereby a man discerneth betwene good and euill, whereby he vnderstandeth and iudgeth, is a naturall gift, it could not be altogether destroied, but it was partely weakened, partely corrupted, so that foule ruynes thereof appeare. In this sense doth Iohn say, that the light shineth yet in darkenesse, but the darkenesse comprehended it not: In which wordes both thinges are plainly expressed, that in the peruered and degendred nature of man, there shine yet some sparkes that shewe that he is a creature hauing reason, and that he differeth from brute beastes, because he is endued with vnderstanding: and yet that this light is choked with great thickenesse of ignorance, that it can not effectually gette abroade.

Ioh. 1. 5

So Will, because it is vnseparable from the nature of man, perished not, but was bound to peruerse desires, that it can couet no good thinge. This in deede is a full definition, but yet such as needeth to be made playne with more wordes. Therefore, that the order of our talke may proceede according to that first distinction, wherein we diuided the soule of man into vnderstandinge and will: lette vs first examine the force of vnderstandinge. So to condemne it of perpetuall blindenesse, that a man leaue vnto it no manner of skill in any kinde of thinges, is not onely against the worde of God, but also against the experience of common reason. For we see that there is planted in man a certayne desire to search out trueth, to which he would not aspire at all, but hauing felt some sauour therof before. This therefore is some sight of mans vnderstanding, that he is naturally drawn with loue of trueth, the neglectinge whereof, in brute beastes proueth a grosse Sense without reason, albeit, this litle desire such as it is, saynteth before it entre the beginning of her race, because it byandby falleth into vanity. For the witte of man can not for dullnesse keepe the right way to search out trueth, but strayerh in diuerse erroures, and as it were gropinge in darkenesse, oftentimes stumbleth, till at length it wander and vanisheth away, so in seekinge trueth, it doth bewray howe vnfitte it is to seeke and finde trueth. And then it is sore troubled with an other vanity, that oftentimes it discerneth not those thinges, to the true knowledge whereof it were expedient to bend it selfe, and therefore it tormenteth it selfe with fonde curiosity, in searchinge out thinges superfluous and nothing worth: and to thinges most necessary to be known, it either taketh no heede, or negligently or seldome turneth, but surely scarce at any time applieth her study earnestly vnto them. Of which peruersenesse, whereas the prophane wryters do commonly complayne, it is founde, that all menne haue entangled themselves with it. Wherefore Salomon in all his Ecclesiastes, when he hadde gone through all these studies, in which men thinke themselves to be very wise, yet he pronounceth, that they are all vayne and trifling.

13 Yet do not all trauailes of Witte so alway become voyde, but that it attayneth somewhat, specially when it bendeth it selfe to these inferiour thinges. Yea and it is not so blockish, but that it tasteth also some litle of the hier thinges, howefoeuer it more negligently apply the searching of them, but yet not that with like power of conceauinge. For when it is caried vppe aboue the compasse of this present life, then is it principally conuincd of her owne weakenesse.

Wherefore, that we may the better see howe farre accordinge to the degrees of her ability it proceedeth in euery thinge, it is good that I putte foorth a distinction. Lette this therefore be the distinction, that there is one vnderstandinge of earthly thinges, an other of heauenly thinges. Earthly thinges I call those that do not concerne God and his Kingdome, true righteousnesse, and the blessednesse of eternall life, but haue all their respect and relation to this presente life, and are as it were containd within the boundes thereof. Heauenly thinges, I call the pure knowledge of God, the order of true righteousnesse, and the mysteries of the heauenly kingdome. Of the first sorte are policy, gouernance of household, all handy craftes, and liberall Sciences. Of the second sorte are the knowledge of God and Gods will, and the rule to frame our life accordinge to it. Concerninge the first, this we must confesse, because man is a creature by nature giuen to liue in companies together: he is also by naturall instinctiō bent to cherish and to preserue the felloweshippe of these companies, therefore we see that there are in the mindes of all men vniuersal impressiōs of a certaine ciuill honestie and order. Hereby it commeth to passe, that there is found no man that vnderstandeth not, that all companies of menne ought to be kept in order with lawes, and that conceiue not in his minde the principles of these lawes. Hereof commeth that same perpetuall consent, as well of all nations as of all men vnto lawes, because the feedes thereof are naturally planted in all men without any teacher or lawmaker. And I weye not the diffensions and fightinges that afterward arise while some desire to peruert lawe and right, the loose absolute gouernementes of kinges, that lust strayeth abroad in steede of right, as theeues and robbers, some (which is a fault more than common) thinke that to be vniust, which other haue stablished for iust: and on the other side stiffely say, that to be laudable, which other haue forbidden. For these men do not therefore hate lawes, because they do not knowe that lawes are good and holy, but for that they raginge with headdy lust, do fight against manifest reason, and for theyr fanisie do abhorre that, which in vnderstandinge of minde they allowe. The later sorte of struinge is such, that it taketh not away the first conceiuinge of equitie. For when men do strue amonge themselues, concerninge the poyntes of lawes, they agree together in a certayne summe of equity. Wherein is proued the weakenesse of mannes witte, which euen then when it seemeth to followe the right way, yet halteth and staggereth, but still this remayneth true, that there is sowne in all
men

menne a certaine seede of politike order. And that is a large proufe, that in the orderinge of this life, no manne is voyde of the light of reason.

14 Nowe do followe the artes, both the liberall, and the handy craftes: in learninge whereof, because there is in vs all a certayne aptnesse, in them also doth appeare the force of mannes witte: but albeit, all menne be not apt to learne them all, yet is this a token certayne enough of the common naturall power, that there is almost no manne founde, whose conceite of witte doth not in some art or other shew foorth it selfe. Neither haue they onely a power or facility to learne, but also to deuise in euery art some newe thinge, either to amplifie or make perfecter that which hath bin learned of an other that went before, which thinge, as it moued Plato erroneously to teach, that such conceauinge is nothinge else, but a callinge to remembraunce, so by good reason it ought to compell vs to confesse, that the beginninge thereof is naturally planted in the witte of man. These poyntes therefore do playnely testifie, that there is giuen to men naturally an vniuersall conceiuinge of reason and of vnderstandinge. Yet is it so an vniuersall benefite, that therein euery man ought for himselfe to acknowledge the peculiar grace of God. To which thankfullnesse the creator himselfe doth sufficiently awake vs, when he createth natural fooles, in whom he maketh vs to see with what giftes mans soule excelleth, if it be not endued with his light, which is so naturall in all men, that it is yet altogether a free gift of his liberality towarde euery man. But the inuention and orderly teachinge of the same artes, or a more inwarde and excellent knowledge of them which is proper but to a fewe, is no perfect argument of the common conceiuinge of witte, yet because without difference it happeneth to the godlye and vngodlye, it is rightfully reckened amonge naturall giftes.

15 So oft therefore as we light vpon prophane wryters, let vs be put in minde by that maruelous light of trueth that shineth in them, that the wit of man, how much soeuer it be, peruerted and fallen from the first integrity, is yet still clothed and garnished with excellent giftes of God. If we consider that the spirite of God is the onely fountayne of trueth, we will neyther refuse nor despise the trueth it selfe, wheresoeuer it shall appeare, except we will dishonorably vse the spirite of God: for the giftes of the holy Ghost can not be set light by, without contempt and reproch of himselfe. And what? Shall we deny that the trueth shined to the olde Lawyers, which

haue set forth Ciuile order and Discipline with to great equity? Shall we say that the Philosophers were blinde both in that exquisite contemplation, and cunning description of nature? Shall we say that they had no wit, which by setting in order the art of speach, haue taught vs to speake with reason? Shall we say that they were madde, which in setting forth Phisicke, haue employed their diligence for vs? What of all the Mathematicall sciences? shall we thinke them doting errorres of madde men? no, rather we can not reade the wrytings of the olde men, concerning these things, without great admiration of their wit. But shall we thinke any thinge praiseworthy or excellent, which we do not reknowledge to come of God? Lette vs be ashamed of so great vnthankfullnesse, into which the Heathen Poetes fell not, which confessed that both Philosophie and Lawes, and all good artes, were the inuentions of Gods. Sith then it appeareth that these men, whom the Scripture calleth naturall men, were of so sharpe and deepe sight in searching out of inferiour things, lette vs learne by such examples, howe many good things the Lorde hath left to the nature of manne, after that it hath bin spoyled of the true God.

16 But in the meane time yet let vs not forget, that these are the most excellent good giftes of the spirite of God, which for the common benefite of mankinde he dealeth abroade to whom it pleaseth him. For if it behoued, that the vnderstandinge and skill that was required for the framinge of the tabernacle, should be poured into Beseleel and Oliab by the spirit of God, it is no maruell if the knowledge of those things which are most excellent in mans life, be sayde to be communicated vnto vs by the spirite of God. Neither is there cause why any man should aske, what haue the wicked to do with Gods spirite, which are altogether estranged from God. For where it is sayd that the spirite of God dwelleth in the faithfull onely, that is to be vnderstanded of the spirite of sanctification, by the which we are consecrate to God himselfe, to be his temples: yet doth he neuerthelesse fill, moue and quicken all thinges with the vertue of the same spirite, and that according to the property of euery kinde which he hath giuen to it by law of creation. If it haue bin the Lords will that we should be holpen by the trauaile and seruice of the wicked in naturall Philosophie, Dialecticke, the Mathematicall knowledges, and other: lette vs vse it, least if we neglect the giftes of God, willingly offered in them, we suffer iust punishment for our slouthfullnes. But least any shoulde thinke a man to be blessed, when vnder the elementes of this world there is graunted vnto him so great an ability

abilitie to conceiue truth, it is also to be added that all this power to vnderstand, and the vnderstanding that followeth therof, is a vanishing and transitorie thing before God, where there is not a stedfast foundation of truth. For Augustine teacheth most truely, whome (as we haue said) the Master of the Sentences, and the other Scholemen are compelled to assent vnto, as the free giftes were taken from man after his fall, so these naturall giftes which remained, were corrupted. Not that they can be defiled of themselues in asmuch as they come from God, but bycause they cease to be pure to a defiled man, that he should haue no praise of them. Lib. 2.
dist. 25.

17 Let this be the summe: that it is seen that in all mankinde is reason which is prope to our nature, which maketh vs to differ from brute beastes, as brute beastes do differ in sense from thinges without life. For where as there be borne certaine naturall fooles and idiots, that defeaute obscureth not the generall grace of God. But rather by such sight we are put in minde, that what is left vnto our selues, ought iustly to be ascribed to the kindenesse of God, bycause if he had not spared vs, our rebellion had drawn with it the destruction of our whole nature. But wheras some do excell in sharpenesse of conceiuing, some other do passe in iudgement, some haue a quicker witte to learne this or that arte: in this variete God setteth forth his grace vnto vs, that no man shoulde claime to him selfe as his owne, that which floweth from Gods mere liberalitie. For howe becometh one more excellent than an other, but that in common nature might appere aboute other the speciall grace of God, which in omitting many, saith openly that it is bounde to none. Beside that, God poureth in singular motions, according to the calling of euery man. Of which thing we mete with many examples in the bookes of the Iudges, where it is said, that the spirite of the Lord clad them, whome he called to rule the people. Finally, in euery noble acte there is a speciall instruction. By which reason the strong men followed Saul, whose heartes the Lord had touched. And when his ministring in the kingdome was prophesied of, Samuel said thus: The spirite of the Lord shall come vpon thee, and thou shalt be an other man. And this was continued to the whole course of gouernement: as after it is spoken of David, that the spirite of the Lord came vpon him from that day forward. But the same is spoken in an other place as touching particular motions: yea in Homere men are said to excell in witte, not onely as Iupiter hath deale to euery man, but also as the time required. And truely experience teacheth, while many times such men stand amased as were most sharpe and depewitted, that the wittes of men are in the Iudic. 6
34
1 Sam.
10. 6.
1 Sam.
16. 13.

hand and will of God to rule them at euery moment: for which reason it is said, that he taketh witte from the wise, that they may wander out of the way. But yet in this diuersitie we see remaining some markes of the Image of God, which do make difference betwene all mankinde and other creatures.

18 Now is to be declared what mans reason seeth, when it cometh to the kingedome of God and to that spirituall insight, which consisteth chiefly in three thinges: to know God, and his fatherly fauour towarde vs, wherein our saluation standeth: and the way to frame our life according to the rule of his lawe. Both in the first two, and in the second, properly they that are most witty, are blinder than molles. I denie not that there be here and there read in Philosophers, concerning God, many thinges well and aptely spoken, but yet such as do alway fauour of a certaine giddy imagination. The Lord gaue them in dede, as is aboue said, a little tast of his Godhead, that they shoulde not pretende ignoraunce to colour their vngodlinesse: and many times he moued them to speake many thinges, by confession wherof them selues might be conuincid: But they so sawe the thinges that they saw, that by such seying they were not directed to the truth, much lesse did attaine vnto it, like as a wayfaring man in the middelt of the feylde, for a sodaine momēt, seeth faire and wide the glistering of lightning in the night time, but with such a quickly vanishing sight, that he is soner couered againe with the darkenesse of the night, than he can stirre his fote, so farre is it of that he can be brought into his way by such a helpe. Beside that, those small droppes of truth, wherwith, as it were by chaunce, they sprinkle their bookes, with how many and how monstrous lies are they defiled? Finally, they neuer so much as smelled that assurednesse of Gods good will toward vs, without which mans witte must nedes be filled with infinite confusion. Therefore mans reason neither approacheth, nor goeth toward, nor ones directeth sight vnto this truth, to vnderstand who is the true God, or what a one he will be towarde vs.

19 But bycause we being dronke with a false persuation of our owne deepe insight, do very hardely suffer our selues to be perswaded, that in matters of God it is vtterly blinde and dull: I thinke it shall be better to cōfirme it by testimonies of Scripture than by reasons. This doth Iohn very well teache in that place whiche I euen now alleged, whē he writeth, that life was in God from the beginning, and the same life which shoulde be the light of men, and that the light did shine in darkenesse, and the darkenesse comprehended it not. He sheweth in dede, that mans soule is lightened with the brightnesse of Gods light,

so that it is neuer altogether without some small flame, or at least some sparckle of it, but yet, that with such a light he comprehendeth not God. And why so? bycause mans quickenesse of wit, as towarde the knowledge of God, is but mere darkenesse. For when the holy Ghost calleth men darkenesse, he at ones spoileth them of all abilitie of spirituall vnderstanding. Therefore he affirmeth, that the faithfull which embrace Christ, are borne not of bloude, or of the will of the flesh, or of man, but of God. As if he shoulde saie: flesh is not capable of so hie wisdom to conceiue God and that which is Gods, vnlesse it be lightened with the spirite of God. As Christ testified, that this was a speciall reuelation of the father, that Peter did know him.

Iohn 1.

13.

Mat. 16.

17.

20 If we were perswaded of this, which ought to be out of all controuerfie, that our nature wanteth all that, which our heavenly father geueth to his elect by the spirite of regeneration, then here were no matter to doubt vpon. For thus speaketh the faithfull people in the Prophet: For with thee is the fountaine of life, and in thy light we shall see light. The Apostle testifieth the same thing, when he saith that no man can call Iesus the Lord, but in the holy Ghost. And Iohn Baptist seyng the dulnesse of his disciples, crieth out, that no man can receiue any thing, vnlesse it be geuen him from aboue. And that he meaneth by Gifte a speciall illumination, and not a common gifte of nature, appereth hereby, that he complaineth that in so many wordes as he had spoken to commend Christ to his Disciples, he preuayled nothing. I see (sayeth he) that wordes are nothing to informe mens mindes concerning diuine thinges, vnlesse the Lord geue vnderstanding by his spirite. Yea and Moses, when he reprocheth the people with their forgetfulnesse, yet noteth this withall, that they can by no meanes grow wise in the mysteries of God, but by the benefite of God. Thyne eyes (saith he) haue seene those greate tokens and wonders, and The Lord hath not geuen thee a heart to vnderstande, nor eares to heare, nor eyes to see. What should he expresse more, if he called vs blockes in considering the workes of God? Wherupon the Lord by the Prophet promisseth for a great grace, that he will geue the Israelites a heart, that they may know him: signifying thereby, that mans witte is onely so much spiritually wise, as it is lightened by him. And this Christ plainly confirmed with his owne mouth, when he sayeth that no man can come to him, but he to whome it shalbe geuen from the Father. What? is not he him selfe the liuely Image of the Father, in whom the whole brightnesse of his glorie is expressed vnto vs? Therefore he coulde not better shewe what our power is to knowe God, than when he sayeth, that we haue no eyes

Psa. 34.

10.

1. Cor.

12.

Iohn 3.

27.

Deu. 29

2.

Ier. 24.

7.

Iohn 6.

44.

to see his Image, where it is so openly set presente before vs. What? Came he not into the earth for this purpose, to declare his Fathers will vnto men? And did he not faithfully do his office? Yes surely. But yet nothing is wrought by his preaching, vnlesse the inwarde Scholemaster, the holy Ghost, set open the way to our mindes. Therefore none come to him, but they that haue hearde and bin taught of the Father. What maner way of learning and hearing is this? Euen, when the holy Ghost by maruellous and singular vertue formeth the eares to heare, and the mindes to vnderstande. And least that shoulde seme straung, he allegeth the prophacie of Esaie, where when he promiseth the repairing of the Church that they which shall be gathered together to saluation, shall be taught of the Lord. If God there foresheweth

Esa. 54.
13. some peculiar thing concerning his electes, it is euident that he speaketh not of that kinde of learning that was also common to the wicked and vngodly. It remaineth therefore that we must vnderstande it thus, that the way into the kingdome of God is open to no man, but to him to whom the holy Ghost by his enlightening shall make a new minde. But Paule speaketh most plainely of all, which of purpose entering into discourse of this matter, after he had condemned all mens wisdom of follie and vanitie, and vtterly brought it to naught, at the last concludeth thus: that naturall man can not perceiue those things that are of the spirite of God: they are foolishnesse vnto him, and he can not vnderstand them, bycause they are spiritually iudged.

1. Cor. 2
14. Whome doeth he call naturall? euen him that stayeth vpon the light of nature. He I say comprehendeth nothing in the spirituall misteries of God. Why so? is it bycause by slouthfulnesse he neglecteth it? Nay, rather although he would trauaile neuer so much, he can do nothing, bycause forsooth they are spiritually iudged. What meaneth that? bycause being vtterly hidden from the sight of man, they are opened by the onely reuelation of the spirite: so that they are reckened for follie where the spirite of God geueth not light. Before he had auanced those thinges that God hath prepared for them that loue him, aboue the capacitie of eyes, eares and mindes. Yea he testified that mans wisdom was as a certaine veile, wherby mans minde was kept from

1. Cor. 1
20. seyng God. What meane we? The Apostle pronounceth, that the wisdom of this worlde is made follie by God: and shall we forsooth geue vnto it sharpenesse of vnderstanding, whereby it may pearce to the secrete places of the heauenly kingdome? Farre be such beastliness from vs.

21 And so that which here he taketh away from men, in an other place, in a prayer, he geueth it to God alone. God (sayeth he) and the father

father of glory, geue to you the spirite of wisdome and reuelation. *Eph. 1.*
 Now thou hearest that all wisdom and reuelation is the gift of God. *15.*
 What followeth? and lighten the eyes of your minde. Surely if they
 neede a new reuelation, the are they blinde of themselues. It followeth
 after: That ye may knowe what is the hope of your calling. &c.
 Therefore he confesseth, that the wittes of men are not capable of
 so great vnderstanding, to know their owne calling. And let not some
 Pelagian babble here, that God doth remedie that dulnesse or vn-
 skilfulnesse, when by the doctrine of his worde he directeth mans vn-
 derstanding, whether without a guide he coulde not haue attained.
 For David had a lawe, wherein was comprehended all the wisdome
 that may be desired, and yet not contented with that, he requireth to
 haue his eyes opened, that he may consider the misteries of the same
 lawe. By which speech truely he secretly sayeth, that the sunne riseth *Ps. 119.*
 vpon the earth where the worde of God shineth to men: but they get *18.*
 not much thereby, vntill he himselfe, that is therefore called the fa- *1ac. 1.*
 ther of lightes, do geue them or open their eyes, bycause where so *17.*
 euer he shineth not with his spirite, all things are possessed with darke-
 nesse. So the Apostles were well and largely taught by the best schole-
 master: yet if they had not needed the spirite of trueth to instruct their *Ioh. 14.*
 mindes in that same doctrine which they had hearde before, he would *26.*
 not haue bidden them loke for him. If the thing that we aske of God,
 we do thereby confesse that we wante: and God in that that he prom-
 iseth it vs, doth argue our neede, let no man now doubt to confesse
 that he is so much able to vnderstande the misteries of God, as he is
 enlightened with his grace. He that geueth to him selfe more vnder-
 standing, is so much the more blinde, for that he doth not acknow-
 ledge his owne blindenesse.

22 Nowe remaineth the thirde pointe, of knowing the rule of
 well framing of life, which we do rightly call the knowledge of the
 workes of righteousness, wherein mans wit semeth to be of some-
 what more sharpe sight, than in the other two before. For the Apostle
 testifieth, that the Gentiles which haue no lawe, while they do the *Rom. 2.*
 workes of the lawe, are to themselues in steede of a lawe, and do shewe *14.*
 the lawe written in their heartes, their consciences bearing them wit-
 nesse, and their thoughtes accusing them within themselues, or excu-
 sing them before the iudgement of God. If the Gentiles haue righte-
 ousnesse naturally grauen in their mindes, surely we can not say that
 we are altogether blinde in the order of life. And nothing is more cō-
 mon, than that man by the lawe naturall, of which the Apostle spea-
 keth in that place, is sufficiently instructed to a right rule of life. But

Cap.2.

Of the knowledge of

let vs weye to what purpose this knowledge or the lawe is planted in men: then it shall by and by appeare, how farre it bringeth them towarde the marke of reason and truth. The same is also euident by the wordes of Paule, if a man do marke the placing of them. He had saide a litle before, that they whiche sinned in the lawe, are iudged by the lawe: they that haue sinned without lawe, do perish without lawe. Bycause this might seme vnreasonable, that the Gentils should perish without any iudgement going before, he by and by addeth, that their conscience is to them in steade of a lawe, and therfore is sufficient for their iust damnation. Therefore the ende of the lawe naturall is, that man may be made inexcusable. And it shall be defined not ill after this sorte, that it is a knowledge of conscience, that sufficiently discerneth betwene iust and vniust, to take away from men the pretence of ignorance, while they are proued guilty by their owne testimonie. Such is the tenderesse of man towarde him selfe, that in doing of euils, he alway turneth away his minde so much as he maie from the filing of sinne. By which reason it seemeth that Plato was moued to thinke that there is no sinne done but by ignorance. That in dede were firly sayd of him, if mens hypocrisie went so farre in hiding of vices, that the minde might not know it selfe guilty before God. But when the sinner seeking to escheue the iudgement emprinted in him, is now and then drawene backe vnto it, and not suffered so to winke, but that he be compelled whether he will or no, some time to open his eyes: it is falsely said that he sinneth onely by ignorance. Themistius saith more truely, which teacheth that vnderstanding is seldome deceived: that it is blindenesse when it goeth any further, that is, when he cometh downe to the speciall case. Euery man, if it be generally asked, will affirme, that manslaughter is euill: but he that conspireth to kill his enemies, deliberateth vpon it, as on a good thing. The adulterer generally will condemne adulterie, but in his owne, priuately he will flatter him selfe. This is ignorance, when a man comming to the speciall case forgetteth the rule, that he had lately agreed vpon in the general question. Of which thing Augustine discourseth very finely in his exposition of the first verse of the lviij. Psalme: albeit the same thing is not continuall. For sometime the shamefulnessse of the euill deede so presseth the conscience, that not deceiuing him selfe vnder false resemblance of a good thing, but wittingly and willingly he runneth into euill. Out of which affection came these sayinges: I see the better and allow it, but I follow the worse. Wherefore, me thinke, Aristotle hath very aptely made distinction betwene Incontinence and Temperance. Where incontinence reigneth, he sayeth, that there by

reason

In Pro-
tagora.

Paraph.
in lib. 3.
de ani-
ma. cap.
46.

Medæa
apud
Ouidiū.
Ethic. 7
cap. 3.

reason of troubled affection or passion, knowledge is taken away from the minde, that it marketh not the euill in his owne acte, which it generally seeth in the like: and when the troubled affection is cooled, repentaunce immediatly followeth. But intemperaunce is not extinguished or broken by feeling of sinne, but on the other side obstinately standeth still in her conceiued choise of euill.

24 Now when thou hearest iudgement vniuersally named in the difference of good and euill, thinke it not euery sounde and perfect iudgement. For if mans heartes are furnished with choise of iust and vniust, only to this ende, that they should not pretende ignorance, it is not then nedefull to see the truth in euery thing. But it is enough & more, that they vnderstand so farre that they can not escape away, but being conuict by witnesse of their conscience, they euen now already beginne to tremble at the iudgemēt seate of God. And if we will trie our reason by the lawe of God, which is the exemplar of true righteousness, we shall finde how many wayes it is blinde. Truly it attaineth not at all to those that are the chiefe thinges in the First table, as of confidence in God, of geuing to him the prayse of strength and righteousness, of calling vpon his name, of the true keping of Sabbath. What soule euer, by naturall sense did smell out, that the lawfull worshipping of God consisteth in these and like thinges? For when prophane men will worshippe God, although they be called away a hundred times from their vaine trifles, yet they alway slide backe thither againe. They denie in deede that sacrifices do please God, vnlesse there be adioyned a purenesse of minde: whereby they declare, that they conceiue somewhat of the spirituall worshipping of God, which yet they byandby corrupt with false inuentions. For it can neuer be perswaded them, that all is true that the lawe prescribeth of it. Shall I saie, that that wit excelleth in any sharpe vnderstanding, which can neither of it selfe be wise, nor harken to teaching? In the commaundementes of the Second table it hath some more vnderstanding, by so much as they came nerer to the preseruacion of ciuile fellowship among menne. Albeit euen herein also it is founde many times to faile. To euery excellent nature it semeth most vnreasonable, to suffer an vniust, and to imperious a maner of gouerning ouer them, if by any meane he may put it away: and the iudgement of mans reason is none other, but that it is the part of a seruile and base courage, to suffer it patiently: and againe, the parte of an honest and free borne heart, to shake it of. And reuenge of iniuries is reckened for no faulte among the Philosophers. But the Lorde condemning that to much noblenesse of courage, commaundeth his to kepe the same patience,

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that is so ill reported among men. And in all the keeping of the lawe, our vnderstanding marketh not desire of minde at all. For a naturall man suffereth not him selfe to be brought to this, to acknowledge the diseases of his desires. The light of nature is choked vp, before that it come to the first entrie of this bottomlesse depth. For when the Philosophers note immoderat motions of minde for faultes, they meane those motiōs that appere and shew forth themselues by grosse tokens, but they make no accompt of those euill desires that do gently tickle the minde.

25 Wherefore, as Plato was worthily founde fault withall before, for that he imputed all sinnes to ignorance, so is their opinion to be reiectēd, which teach that purposed malice and frowardnesse is vsed in all sinnes. For we finde it to much by experience, how oft we fall with our good intent. Our reason is ouerwhelmed with so many sortes of being deceyued, is subiect to so many errorrs, stumblēth at so many stayes, is entangled with so many streightes, that it is farre from sure directiōg. But how little it is esteemed before the Lord in all partes of our life, Paule sheweth when he sayeth, that we are not sufficient to thinke any thing of our selues, as of our selues. He speaketh not of will or affection, but he taketh also this away from vs, that we shoulde not thinke that it can come in our mindes how any thing is to be done well. Is our diligence, insight, vnderstanding, and heade so corrupted, that it can deuise or thinke vpon nothing that is right before the Lord? that semeth to harde to vs, that do vnwillingly suffer our selues to be spoyled of the sharpenesse of reason, which we accompt a most precious gift. But to the holy Ghost it semeth most full of equitie, which knoweth that all the thoughtes of wisemen are vaine: and which pronounceth plainly, that all the inuention of mans heart is onely euill. If all that our witte conceiued, deuisseth vpon, purposeth and goeth about, is alway euill, how can it come in our minde to purpose that which pleaseth God, to whom onely holynesse and righteousnesse is acceptable? So is it to be seen, that the reason of our minde, which way so euer it turne it selfe, is miserably subiect to vanitie. Dauid knew this weakenesse in him selfe, when he prayed to haue vnderstanding geuen him, to learne the Lordes commaundementes aright. For he secretly sayeth therein, that his owne wit sufficeth him not, which desireth to haue a new geuen him. And that he doth not onely once, but almost ten times, in one Psalmē, he repeteth the same prayer. By which repeting he priuely declareth, with how great neede he is driuen to pray it. And that which he prayeth for himselfe alone, Paule commonly vseth to pray for the Churches. We cease

2. Cor.
3. 5.

Psa. 94.
11.

Gen. 6.
3. and
8. 21.

Psa. 119.
34.

Phil. 1. 4

cease not (sayeth he) to pray for you, and to desire that ye may be filled with the knowledge of God in all wisdom and spirituall understanding, that ye may walke worthily of God. &c. But so oft as he maketh that thing the good gift of God, let vs remember that he doth withall testifie, that it lieth not in mans power. And Augustine so farre acknowledged this default of reason to vnderstand those things that are of God, that he thinketh the grace of illumination to be no lesse necessarie for our mindes, than the light of the sunne is for our eyes. And not content with that, he addeth a correctiō of that, saying, that we lift vp our eyes to see the light: but the eyes of our minde lie shut, vnlesse the Lorde open them. And the Scripture teacheth that our mindes are not enlightned one day alone, that they may afterward see by themselves: for that which I euen now alleged out of Paule, belongeth to continuall proceedinges and encreasinges. And this doth Dauid expressely set out in these wordes: With my whole harte I haue sought thee, make me not to stray from thy commaundementes. For when he had bene regenerated, and had not slenderly profited in true Godlinesse, yet he confesseth, that for euery moment he needeth continuall direction, least he shoulde swarue from the knowledge wherewith he is endued. Therefore, in an other place he prayeth to haue the right spirite renewed, which he had lost by his owne faulte, because it belongeth to the same God to restore vnto vs the same thing being lost for a time, which himselfe gaue at the beginning.

Aug. li.
2. De
peccat.
mer. &
remis.
cap. 5.

Psa. 119
10.

Psal. 51.
12.

26 Now is will to be examined, wherein standeth the cheefe libertie of free choise, for it hath bene already sene, that choise doth rather belong to will, than to vnderstanding. First, that this thing which the Philosophers haue taught, and is receiued with common cōsent, that is, that all things by naturall instinctiō desire that which is good, may not seeme to belōg to the vprightnesse of mans will: Let vs marke that the force of free will, is not to be considered in such appetite, as rather procedeth of the inclination of the essence, than of the aduise-ment of the vnderstanding minde. For euen the scholemen do confesse, that free will hath no action, but when reason turneth it selfe to obiectes, wherby they mean that the obiect of appetite must be such, as may be subiect to choise, and go before deliberation, which prepareth the way for choise. And truely, if a man cōsider what is the naturall desire of good in man, he shall finde that it is common to him with beastes. For they also desire to be well, and when any shew of good appeareth that moueth their sense, they follow it. But man doth neither chose by reason, that he may follow with diligence that thing which is in deede good for him, according to the excellence of his

immortall nature,nor taketh reason to couſel,nor bendeth his minde, but without reaſon,without counſell,like a beaſt, followeth the inclination of nature. This therefore maketh nothing for the freedome of will, if a mā by ſenſe of nature be caryed to deſire that which is good: but this is requiſite , that he diſcerne good by right reaſon , and when he hath knowene it, that he choſe it, and whē he hath choſen it, that he follow it . But leaſt any man ſhoulde doubt , there is to be noted a double ſophiſticall argumēt.For appetite is not here called the proper maner of will , but a naturall inclination : and good is called not as of vertue or iuſtice,but of eſtate, as we ſay. This man is well,or in good caſe: Finally,although a man do neuer ſo much deſire to attaine that is good, yet he followeth it not . As there is no man to whom eternall bleſſedneſſe is not pleaſant, yet is there none that aſpireth vnto it, but by the mouing of the holy Ghoſt. Wherefore,ſith the naturall deſire in men to be well,maketh nothing to proue the fredome of will, no more than in metals and ſtones,doth the affection inclining to the perfection of their ſubſtance:let vs conſider in other thinges, whether Will be ſo infected and corrupted in all partes,that it engendreth nothing but euill : or whether it kepeth ſtill any parcell vnhurte , from whence do grow good deſires.

27 They that do attribute to the firſt grace of God , that we will effectually,ſeme on the other ſide to ſay ſecretely , that there is in the ſoule a power of it ſelfe to aſpire to good , but it is ſo weake , that it cannot growe to a perfecte affection, or raiſe vp any endeouour. And there is no doute that the ſcholemen haue commonly embraced this opinion , or which was borrowed by Origen and certaine of the olde writers : forſomuch as they are wonte to conſider man in pure naturall thinges, (as they terme it) ſuch a one as the Apoſtle deſcribeth him in theſe wordes.I do not the good that I would, but the euill that I woulde not,that I do.To will is preſent vnto me,but to performe it, I finde not . But after this maner is the diſcours that Paule there followeth , altogether wrongfully peruerſed. For he entreatheth of the Chriſtian wraſtling (which he ſhortly toucheth to the Galathians) which the faithfull continually fele within themſelues,in the battel of the fleſh and the ſpirite. But the ſpirite is not of nature, but of regeneration. And that the Apoſtle doth there ſpeake of the regenerate, appeareth by this,that whē he had ſaid, that there dwelleth no goodneſſe in him,he addeth an expoſition , that he meaneth it of his fleſh . And therefore he ſaith , that it is not he that doth the euill , but ſinne that dwelleth in him. What meaneth this correction in me, that is, in my fleſh ? Euen as much as if he had ſaid thus : God dwelleth not in me of my

Rom. 7.
15.

Gal. 5.
17.

my selfe, for there is no good to be founde in my flesh. Herevpon followeth that manner of excuse: I my selfe do not the euill, but sinne that dwelleth in me. Which excuse belongeth onely to the regenerate, which do with the cheefe parte of their soule tende vnto good. Nowe, the conclusion that is adioyned after, declareth all this matter evidently. I am delited (saith he) with the lawe, according to the inward man. But I see an other lawe in my members, fighting against the law of my mind. Who hath such a struiuing in himselfe, but he that being regenerate by the spirite of God, carieth the leauinges of his flesh about with him? Therefore Augustine, whereas once he had thought, that that had bene spoken of the nature of man, reuoked his exposition as false, and ill agreeing together. And truely, if we allowe this, that men without grace haue some motions to good, though they be but small, what shall we aunswere to the Apostle which saith, that we are not sufficient so much as to thinke any good? What shall we aunswere to the Lorde that pronounceth by Moses, that euery inuention of mans hearte is onely euill. Wherefore, sith they haue stumbled by false taking of one place, there is no cause why we shoulde staye vpon their iudgement. Let rather this saying of Christ preuaile. He that doth sinne, is the seruauent of sinne. We are all sinners by nature, therefore we be all holden vnder the yoke of sinne. Nowe if whole manne be subiect to the dominion of sinne, then must it needes be, that the will it selfe which is the chiefe seate thereof, be bounde faste with most streight bondes. For otherwise the saying of Paule woulde not stande together, that it is God which worketh will in vs, if any will did go before the grace of the holy Ghost. Away therefore with all that many haue triflingly spoken concerning preparation. For although sometime the faithfull do praye to haue their hearte formed to the obedience of the lawe, as Dauid doth in many places: yet it is to be noted, that euen that desire of praying is from God. Which we may gather of his wordes, for whē he wisheth to haue a cleane hearte created within him, surely he taketh not on him selfe the beginning of creation. Therefore let rather this saying of Augustine haue place with vs: God will preuent thee in all thinges: And sometime preuent thou his wrath. Howe? Confesse that thou hast all these thinges of God that what so euer good thou haste, is of him: what soeuer euill, it is of thy selfe. And a little after. Nothing is ours but sinne.

Rom. 7.
22.Ad Bonif. lib. 1
cap. 10.
Et in.
Retract.2. Cor.
3. 5.
Gen. 8.
21.Iohn. 8.
34.Phil. 3.
13.Psa. 51.
12.De verbis Apo.
stoli Scti.
10.

That out of the corrupt nature of man procedeth nothing but damnable.

BVt man can not be any way better knowene in either part of his soule, than if he come forth with his titles wherewith the Scripture doth set him out. If he be painted whole in these wordes of Christ, That which is borne of flesh, is flesh: as it is easy to proue, then is he proued to be a very miserable creature. *Ioh. 3. 6*

For the affection of the flesh, as the Apostle witnesseth, is death, for asmuch as it is enimitie against God, and so is not subiect, nor can be subiect to the lawe of God. *Rom. 8. 6* Is flesh so peruerse, that with all her affection she continually vseth enimitie against God? that she can not agree with the righteousnesse of the lawe of God? Finally, that she can bring forth nothing but matter of death? Nowe, graunt that in the nature of man is nothing but flesh, and gather any good out of it if thou canst. But (they say) the name of flesh belongeth onely to the sensuall, and not the hier parte of the soule. But that is sufficiently confuted by the wordes of Christ, and of the Apostle. It is the Lordes argument, that man must be borne againe, bycause he is flesh. He commaundeth not to be borne againe according to the body. But in minde he is not borne againe, if a parte of it be amended, but when it is all renewed. And that doth the comparifon, set in both places, confirme. For the spirite is so compared against the flesh, that there is left no meane thing betwene them. Therefore whatsoeuer is not spirituall in man, is after the same reason called fleshly. But we haue nothing of the Spirite but by regeneration. It is therefore flesh whatsoeuer we haue of nature. But of that matter, if otherwise we could haue any doubt, that is taken away from vs by Paule, where after he had described the olde man, whome he had saide to be corrupt with concupiscences of error, he biddeth vs to be renewed in the spirite of our minde: you see he doth not place vnlawefull and euill lustes onely in the sensitiue part, but also in the very minde, and therefore requireth a renewing of it. And truely a little before he had painted out such an image of mans nature, as did shewe that there was no parte wherein we were not corrupted and peruerred: for whereas he writeth that all nations do walke in the vanitie of their minde, are darkened in vnderstanding, estranged from the life of God, by reason of the ignoraunce that is in them, and the blindenesse of their heart: *Eph. 4. 13.* it is no doubt that this is spoken of all them whome the Lorde hath not reformed to the vprightnesse both of his wisdom and iustice: which

which is also made more plaine by the comparifon byandby adioyned, where he putteth the faithfull in minde, that they haue not fo learned Chrift. For of thefe wordes we gather, that the grace of Chrift is the onely remedie whereby we be deliuered from that blindenefse, and the euils that enfue thereof. For fo had Efaie also prophecied of Esa. 60. the kingdome of Chrift, when he promifed, that the Lorde should be 2. an euerlafting light to his Church, when yet darkenefse couered the earth, and a mift the peoples. Whereas he testifieth, that the light of God shall arife onely in the Church, truly without the Church he leaueth nothing but darkenefse and blindenefse. I will not reherse particularly fuch things as are written euery where, fpecially in the Pfalmes and in the Prophetes againft the vanity of man. It is a great thing that Dauid writeth, if he be weyed with vanitie, that he shall be vayne Pfal. 61. than vanitie it felfe. His wit is wounded with a greuous weapon, 10. when all the thoughtes that come out of it, are fcorned as foolifh, trifeling, madde and peruerfe.

2 No eafier is the condemnation of the heart, when it is called guilefull and peruerfe about all thing: but bycaufe I studie to be fhort, I will be contente with one place alone, but fuch a one as shall be like Iere. 17. a moft bright loking glaffe, wherin we may beholde the whole image 9. of our nature. For the Apoftle, when he goeth about to throwe downe the arrogance of mankind, doth it by thefe testimonies, That Rom. 13 there is not one righteous manne, 10. There is not one manne that vnderftandeth or that feeketh God, All are gone out of the way, they Pfal. 14. are made vnprofitable together, there is none that doth good, no 53. not one: their throte is an open fepulcher, with their tongues they Esa. 59 worke deceitfully, the poifon of Serpentes is vnder their lippes, whose 7. mouth is full of curfing and bitterneffe: whose feete are fwifte to fhedde bloude, in whose wayes is sorrowe and unhappineffe, which haue not the feare of God before their eyes: With thefe thunderboltes he inuetyeth, not againft certaine menne, but againft the whole nation of the fonnes of Adam. Neither declineth he againft the corrupt manners of one or two ages, but accuseth the continuall corruption of nature. For his purpofe is in that place, not fimplly to chide men, to make them amende, but to teach rather that all menne are oppreffed with calamitie, impoffible to be ouercome, from which they can not get vp againe, vnleffe they be plucked out by the mercie of God. And bycaufe, that coulde not be proued vnleffe it had bin by the ouerthrowe and deftruction of nature, he brought forth thefe testimonies whereby is proued that our nature is more than deftroyed. Let this therefore remaine agreed, that menne are fuch as

they be here described, not onely by faulte of euill custome, but also by corruptnesse of nature. For otherwise the Apostles argument can not stande, that there is no saluation for manne but by the mercie of God, bycause he is in him selfe vtterly losse and past hope. I will not here busie my selfe in prouing the applying of these testimonies that no man shoulde thinke them vnfitly vsed. I will so take them as if they had bin first spoken by Paule, and not taken out of the Prophetes. First he taketh awaie from manne righteousenesse, that is integritie and purenesse, and then vnderstanding. The wante of vnderstanding, he proueth by Apostasie or departing from God, whome to seeke is the first degree of wisdom. But that wante must nedes happen to them that are fallen awaie from God. He sayeth further, that all are gone out of the waie and become as it were rotten, that there is none that doeth good, and then he adioyneth the haynous faultes, wherewith they defile their members that are ones let lose into wickednesse. Last of all he testifieth that they are voide of the feare of God, after whose rule our steppes shoulde haue bin directed. If these be the inheritable gittes of mankind, it is in vaine to seke for any good thing in our nature. In deede I graunt that not all these faultes do appeare in euery manne: yet can not be denied that this Hydra lurketh in the heartes of all menne. For as the bodie while it already fostreth enclosed within it, the cause and matter of disease, although the paine be not yet vehement, can not be called healthy: no more can the soule be reckened sounde, while it swarmeth full of such diseases of vices, albeit the similitude doth not agree in all pointes. For in the body be it neuer so muche diseased, there remayneth a quickenesse of life: but the soule beyng drowned in this gulf of destruction, is not onely troubled with vices, but also altogether voide of all goodnesse.

3 The same question in a manner which hath bin before assoyled, now riseth vp againe of newe. For in all ages there haue bin some, which by guiding of nature haue bin bente to vertue in all their life. And I regarde it not, though many slippings may be noted in their manners: yet by the very studie of honestie they haue shewed a profe, that there was some purenesse in their nature. What rewarde such vertues haue before God, although we will more fully declare when we shall speake of the merites of workes, yet we must somewhat speake in this place: so farre as is necessarie for making plaine of this present argument. These examples therefore seeme to put vs in minde, that we shoulde not thinke mans nature all together corrupt, for that by her instruction some men haue not onely excelled in some noble

noble actes, but also in the whole course of their life haue behaued themselves most honestly. But here we must thinke, how in this corruption of nature there is some place for the grace of God, not to cleanse it, but inwardly to restraine it. For if the Lord would suffer the mindes of all men as it were with loose reines to runne wildly into all sortes of lustes, without doubt there would be no man, but he would in plaine experience make vs beleue, that all those euils where-with Paule condemneth all nature, are most truely saide of him. For what? Canst thou exempt thy selfe out of the number of them, whose feete are swift to shed bloude, their handes defiled with robberies and manslaughters, their throates like vnto open Sepulchres, their tongues deceitfull, their lippes venymous, their workes vnprofitable, wicked, rotten, deadly, whose minde is without God, whose inwardes are peruersenesse, whose eyes are bent to entrappings, their heartes lift vp despiteously to triumph ouer other, and all the partes of them applied to infinite mischeues. If euery soule be subiect to all such monsters, as the Apostle boldly pronounceth, truely we see what would come to passe, if the Lorde would suffer the lust of manne to wander after his owne inclination. There is no madde beast that is so hedlong caried away, there is no streame be it neuer so swifte and strong, whereof the ouerflowing is so violent. The Lorde healeth these diseases in his electe by this meane that we will by and by sette forth. In some he only restraineth them with putting a bridle in their mouth, onely that they breake not out, so farre as he foreseeth to be expedient for preserving of the vniuersitie of thinges. Hereby some are holden in by shame, some by feare of lawes, that they burst not forth into many sortes of filthinesse, howbeit they do for a great part not hide their vncleannesse. Some bycause they thinke that an honest trade of life is good, do after a certaine sorte aspire towarde it. Some rise vp above the common sorte, that by their maiestie they may kepe other in their duetie. So God by his prouidence bridleth the peruersenesse of nature, that it breake not forth into doying: but he cleanseth it not within.

4 But yet the doubt is not dissolued. For either we must make Camillus like vnto Catiline, or els in Camillus we shall haue an example that nature, if it be framed by diligence, is not altogether without goodnesse. I graunte in deede that those goodly giftes whiche were in Camillus bothe were the giftes of God and sceme worthy to be commended, if they be weyed by themselves, but how shall they be proues of naturall goodnesse in him? muste we not returne to the minde, and frame our argumente in this sorte? If a

Cap.3.

Of the knowledge of

Aug. li. 4. cōtra Iulianum. naturall manne excelled in such vprightnesse of manners, then nature is vndoubtedly not without power towarde the studie of vertue. But what if the minde were peruerse and crooked, and folowing any thing rather than vpright straightnesse? And that it was such, there is no doubt, if you graunt that he was a naturall manne. Nowe what power of mans nature to goodnesse will you reherse vnto me in this behalfe, if in the greatest shewe of purenesse it be founde that he is alway carried to corruption: Therefore, least ye commend a man for vertue, whose vices deceyue you vnder vertues Image, do not so geue vnto the will of manne power to desire goodnesse, so long as it remayneth fast in her owne peruersenesse. Albeit this is a most sure and easy solution of this question, that these are not common giftes of nature, but speciall graces of God, which he diuersely and to a certaine measure dealeth among men that are otherwise vngodly. For which reason we feare not in common speache to call one man well natured, and an other of euill nature, and yet we cease not to include them bothe vnder the vniuersall state of mans corruption, but we shewe what speciall grace God hath bestowed vpon the one, which he hath not vouchesaue to geue to the other, when his pleasure was to make Saule king, he formed him as a new man: and that is the reason why Plato alluding to the fable of Homere, sayeth that Kings sonnes are created notable by some singular marke, bycause God prouiding for mankind, furnisheth these with a princely nature whome he appointeth to beare gouernemēt: and out of this store house came all the great Capitaines that are renomed in histories. The same is also to be thought of priuate men. But bycause as euery man hath most excelled, so his ambition hath most moued him forward (with which spotte all vertues are defiled, so that they lose all fauour before God,) it is to be accompted nothingworth, what soeuer semeth praiseworthy in vngodly men, beside that the chiefe parte of vprightnesse faileth, where there is no study to aduaunce the glory of God, which all they wante whome he hath not regenerate with his spirite. Neither is it vainely spoken in Esaie, that vpon Christ resteth the spirite of the feare of God, wherby we are taught, that so many as are strange from Christ, are without the feare of God, which is the beginning of wisdom. As for the vertues that deceiue vs with vaine shewe, I graunt they shall haue praise in the court of policie, and in the commō fame of men, but before the heauenly iudgement seate, they shall be of no valewe to deserue righteousnesse.

5 With such bondage of sinne therefore as Will is deteyned, it can not ones moue it selfe to goodnesse, much lesse apply it selfe. For such mouing

mouinge is the beginninge of turning to God, which in Scriptures is wholly imputed to the grace of God. As Jeremy praieth to the Lord Ier. 31.
 to turne him, if he will haue hime turned. Whereupon the Prophet 18.
 in the same chapter, describing the spiritual redemption of the faithful people, sayth that they were redeemed out of the hand of a stronger, meaning with how straight fetters a sinner is bound so long as being forsaken of the Lord, he liueth vnder the yoke of the Deuill. Yet Will stil remayneth, which with most bent affection is both enclined & hasteth to sinne. For man was not deprivied of Will when he did cast himselfe into this necessity, but of the soundnesse of Will. And Bernarde sayth not vnaptly, which teacheth that to Will is in vs all: but to Will good is a profiting, to will ill is a default: and therefore simply to will, is the worke of man: to will euill, of corrupte nature: to wil wel, of grace. Now whereas I say, that will put from liberty is by necessity drawe or led into euill, it is maruell if that should seeme a hard speech vnto any man, which neither hath any absurdity in it, nor varieth from the vse of holy men: But it offendeth them that can make no difference betwene necessity and compulsion. But if a man aske them, is not God of necessity good? is not the deuill of necessity euill? what can they aunswere? For so is goodnesse knit with Gods diuinity, that it is no more necessary that he be God then that he be good. And the deuill is by his fall so estranged from partaking of goodnesse, that he can do nothing but euill. But now if any robber of God do barke against this and say, that God deserueth smale praise for his goodnes, which he is compelled to keepe: shall not this be a ready aunswere to him, that it commeth to passe by his infinite goodnesse and not by violent impulsion, that he can not do euill. Therefore if this, that it is of necessitye that God doe well, do not hinder the free will of God in doing wel, if the deuill which can not do but euil yet willingly sinneth who shall then say that a man doothe therefore lesse willingly sinne for this that he is subiect to necessity of sinning. This necessity, whereas Augustine ech where speaketh of it, euen then also when he was enuiously pressed with the cauillation of Celestius, he stucked not to affirme in these wordes, by liberty it came to passe that man was with sinne, but now the corruption which flowed for punishment, hath of liberty made necessity. And so oft as he falleth into mention thereof, he douteth not to speake in this manner of the necessary bondage of sinne. Therefore let this summe of that distinction be kept, that man sins he is corrupted, sinneth in deede willingly and not against his will nor compelled, by a most bent affection of minde, and not by violent compulsion, by motion of his owne lust, and not by for-

Lib. de
 perfect.
 instit.

De nat.
 & grat.
 & alibi.

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ren contraynt: but yet of such peruersenesse of nature as he is, he can not but be moued and driuen to euil. If this be true, then surely it is playnely exprest that he is subiect to necessity of sinning. Bernard agreeing to Augustine wryteth thus, only man among all liuing creatures is free: and yet by meane of sinne, he also suffereth a certayne violence, but of wil and not of nature, that euen therby also he should not be depriued of freedome, for that which is willing is free. And a litle after, wil being chaunged in it selfe into worse, by I wot not what corrupt and maruelous manner, so maketh necessity, that very necessity for as much as it is willing, can not excuse will, and will forasmuch as it is drawn by allurement, can not exclude necessity, for this necessity is after a certaine manner willing. Afterward he sayth, y^e we are pressed downe with a yoke, but yet none other but of a certaine willing bondage, therefore by reason of our bondage we are miserable, by reason of our will we are inexcusable, because will when it was free, made it selfe the bondseruaunt of sinne. At length he concludeth, that the soule is so after a certaine maruelous and euill manner holden both a bonde seruaunt and free, vnder this certaine willinge and ill free necessity: a bondseruaunt by reason of necessity, free by reason of wil, and that which is more maruelous and more miserable, therein guilty wherein it is free, therein bond wherein it is guilty, and so therein bond wherein it is free. Hereby truely the readers do perceiue that I bringe no newe thinge, which longe ago Augustine brought forth out of the consent of all godly men, and almost a thousand yeares after was kept still in monkes Cloysters. But Lombarde when he could not distinguish necessity from compulsion, gaue matter to a pernicious error.

6 On the other side it is good to consider what manner remedy is that of the grace of God, whereby the corruption of nature is amended and healed. For whereas the Lord in helping vs, giueth vs that which we want, when we shall knowe what his worke is in vs, it will streightway appeare on the other side what is our needinesse. When Phi. 1. 6 the Apostle sayeth to the Philippians, that he trusteth that he which beganne a good worke in them, will performe it vnto the day of Iesus Christ: it is no dout, that by the beginninge of a good worke, he meaneth the very beginninge of conuersion, which is in will. Therefore God beginneth a good worke in vs by stirring vp in our heartes the loue, desire and endeouour of righteousnesse, or (to speake more properly) in bowing, framing and directing our heartes to righteousnesse: he endeth it in confirminge vs to perseuerance. And that no man should cauill that good is begonne by the Lord, when will
being

being of it selfe weake is holpen : the holy Ghost in an other place declareth what will is able to do beinge left vnto it selfe . I will giue you (sayth he) a newe heart . I will put a newe spirite in the middes of you . And I will take away the stony heart from your flesh , and I will giue you a heart of flesh . And I will put my spirite in the middes of you , and I will make you to walke in my commaundementes . Who shall say that the weakenesse of mans will is strengthened with helpe , whereby it may effectually aspire to the choise of that that is good , when it must be whole transformed and renewed ? If there be any softenesse in a stone , which by some helpe being made tenderer will abide to be bowed euery way , then will I graunt that the heart of man is pliable to obey that which is right , so that that which in it is perfect , be supplied by the grace of God . But if he meant to shewe by this similitude , that no goodnesse could euer be wrong out of our heart vnlesse it be made throughly newe : lette vs not parte betwene him and vs , that which he chalengeth to himselfe alone . If therefore a stone be transformed into fleshe , when God turneth vs to the desire of that which is right : then is all that which was of our owne will taken away , and that which commeth in place thereof is all of God . I say that will is taken away , not in that it is will , because in the conuersion of man , that which was of the first nature abideth whole : also I say that it is created newe , not that will then beginneth to be , but that it be turned from an euill will into a good . And this I affirme to be wholly done by God , because we are not able so much as to thinke , as the same Apostle witnesseth : therefore in an other place he sayth , that God doth not onely helpe our weake will , or amende our peruerse will , but that he worketh in vs to will . Whereupon is easily gathered , that which I sayd before , that whatsoeuer good is in will , it is the worke of onely grace . In which sense in an other place he sayeth , that it is God that worketh all in all . Neither doth he there intreate of the vniuersall gouernement , but giueth vnto God alone the praise of all good things that the faithfull haue . And in saying , all , truely he maketh God the author of spirituall life , euen from the beginning to the ende . Which selfe same thing he had taught before in other wordes , sayinge that the saythfull are of God in Christ . where he plainly maketh mention of the new creation , wherein that which was of common nature before , is destroyed . For there is to be vnderstanded a comparison betwene Adam and Christ , which in an other place he more playnly expresseth , where he teacheth that we are the worke of God created in Christ to good workes , which he hath prepared that we shoulde walke in them . For he goeth about

Eze. 36.
16.2. Cor. 3
6.Phili. 2
13.2. Cor.
12.6.1. Cor.
8.6.

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by this reason to proue, that our saluation is of free gift, because the beginning of all goodnesse, is at the seconde creation, which we ob-
tayne in Christ. But if there were any power of our selues, were it
neuer so smale, we should haue also some portion of merite. But he
to proue vs altogether nothing worth, reasoneth that we haue deser-
ued nothing, because we are create in Christ to good workes, which
God hath prepared. In which wordes he signifieth againe, that all
partes of good workes, euen from the first motiō, are propre to God
onely. For this reason, the Prophete after he had sayd in the Psalme
that we are the workmanship of God, that there should be no parti-
tion, addeth by and by, We made not our selues. That he speaketh
there of regeneration, which is the beginning of spirituall life, appea-
reth by the tenor of the text, where it by and by after followeth, that
we are his people & the flocke of his pastures. We see now, how he not
contented simply to haue giuen to God the praise of our saluation,
doth expressely exclude vs from all fellowship with him, as if he would
say, that there resteth no peece, be it neuer so litle, for man to glory in,
because it is all of God.

7 But there will be some peradventure that will graunt, that Will
being of her owne nature, turned away from good, is conuerted by
the only power of the Lord: but so that being prepared before, it hath
also her owne parte in doing, as Augustine teacheth, that grace goeth
before euery good worke, but so, that will doth accompany it and not
leade it, as a wayting maide after it, and not a foregoer. Which thing
being not euill spoken by the holy man, Peter Lombarde doth disor-
derly wryth to this purpose. But I affirme, that as well in the wordes
of the Prophet which I haue alleaged, as in the other places, these two
thinges be playnely signified, that the Lord doth both correct our
corrupted will or rather destroy it, & also of himselfe putteth in place
therof a good will. In as much as it is preuented by grace, in that re-
spect I giue you leaue to call it a wayting maide: but for that beinge
reformed, it is the worke of the Lord, this is wrongfully giuen to man
that he doth with will cōming after, obey grace going before. Ther-
fore it is not wel wrytten of Chrysostome, that neither grace without
will, nor will without grace can worke any thing: as if grace did not
worke very well it selfe, as euen now we haue seene by Paule. Neither
was it Augustines purpose, when he called mannes will the waytinge
maide of grace, to assigne vnto her a certaine second office in doing a
good worke, but because this only was his intent, to confute the wic-
ked doctrine of Pelagius, which did set the principall cause of salua-
tion in mans deseruing: therefore he stode only vpon this point, that
grace

Ad Bo-
nif. Epi.
106.

Ser. de
inuent.
S. Cru-
cis.

grace was before all deseruing: which was sufficiēt for the matter that he then had in hande, not meddling in the meane time with the other question, concerning the perpetuall effect of grace, which yet in another place he excellently well handleth. For sometimes when he saith, y^e the lord doth preuent the vnwilling that he may wil, & followeth the willing that he wil not in vayne, he maketh him altogether the whole author of the good worke. Albeit his sentences touching this matter, are to plaine to neede any long arguing vpon them. Men (sayth he) do labour to finde in our will something that is our owne and not of God, but how it may be found I know not. And in his first booke against Pelagius and Celestius, where he doth expounde that saying of Christ, Euery one that hath heard of my father cometh to me, he sayth: Freewill is so holpen not only that it may know what is to be done, but also may do it when it hath knowen it. And so when God teacheth, not by the letter of the law, but by the grace of the spirite, he so teacheth, that he that hath learned, doth not only see it in knowing, but also desire it in willing, and performe it in doing.

Au.li.2.
de re-
miss.
peccat.
cap. 18.
Ioh. 6.
45.

8 And because we are now in hand with the chiefe point wherupō the matter hangeth, let vs go forward and proue the summe thereof to the readers, onely with a fewe & y^e most plaine testimonies of the Scripture. And then, least any man should accuse vs of wrongful wresting the Scripture, let vs shew that the trueth which we affirme being taken out of the Scripture, wanteth not the testimony of this holy man, I meane Augustine. For I thinke it not expedient, that all the thinges be rehearsed that may be brought out of the Scriptures, for confirmation of our meaning, so that by the most chosen that shalbe brought forth, y^e way may be prepared to vnderstand all the rest that are here and there commonly red. And againe, I thinke it shall not be vnfitly done, if I openly shew that I agree well with that man whom worthily the consent of godly men doth much esteeme. Surely it is euident by plaine and certaine proufe, that the beginning of goodnesse is from no where else but only from God, for there can not be found a will bent to good, but in the elect. But the cause of election is to be sought out of man. Whereupon followeth, that man hath not right Wil of himselfe, but it proceedeth frō the same good pleasure, whereby we are elect before the creatiō of the world. There is also an other reason not vnlike vnto that. For whereas the beginning of willing and doing well is of faith, it is to be seene whensē faith it selfe cometh. For asmuch as the whole Scripture crieth out that it is a free gift of God, it followeth, y^e it is of the mere grace of God, whē we, which are with all our minde naturally bent to euill, begin to will that which is good.

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Of the knowledge of

Therefore the lord, whē he nameth these two things in the conuersiō of his people, to take away from them a stony heart, and to giue them a heart of flesh, plainly testifieth that that which is of our selues must be done away, that we may be conuerted to righteousness: and that whatsoever commeth in place therof, is from himselfe. And he vitereth not this in one place only. For he sayth in Ieremy: I wil giue them one heart and one way, that they may feare me all their dayes. And a litle after. I will giue the feare of my name into their heart, that they departe not from me. Againe in Ezechiel: I will giue them one heart, and I will giue a new spirite in their bowels. I will take away the stony heart out of their flesh, and I will giue them a heart of flesh. He could not more euidently claime to himselfe, & take from vs whatsoever is good and right in our will, than when he declareth that our conuersion is a creation of a new spirite, and of a new heart. For it followeth alway, that both out of our will proceedeth no goodnesse till it be reformed: and that after reformation, so much as it is good, is of God and not of vs.

9 And so reade we the prayers of holy men made to that effect, as, The Lord encline our heart to him (sayth Salomon) that we may kepe his commaundementes. He sheweth the frowardnesse of our heart which naturally reioyseth to rebell agaynst the lawe of God if it be not bowed. And the same thinge is in the Psalme: Lord incline my heart to thy testimonies. For the comparison of contrariety is alway to be noted, which is betwene the peruerse motion of the heart whereby it is caried to obstinacy, and this correction whereby it is led to obedience. When Dauid feeling himselfe for a time without the directing grace, prayeth God to create a new heart within him, to renew a right spirite within his bowelles: doth he not acknowledge that all the partes of his heart are full of vncleannesse, and his spirite wrythen with crooked peruersenesse? and in calling the cleannesse which he prayeth for, the creature of God, doth he not attribute it wholly to God? But if any manne take exception and say, that the very prayer is a token of a godly and holy affection: our aunswere is ready, that though Dauid were by that time somewhat come to amende-ment, yet doth he still compare his first state with that sorowfull fall that he had felt. Therefore taking vpon him the person of a man estraunged from God, he for good cause prayeth to haue giuen him all these thinges that God giueth to his elect in regeneration. And so beinge like a deade man, he wisheth himselfe to be created of new, that of the bondslaue of Satan, he may be made the instrument of the holy Ghost. Maruelous & monstrous surely is the lust of our pride.

God

God requireth nothing more earnestly, than y^e we should most religiously keepe his Sabbath, that is in resting from our owne workes, but of vs nothing is more hardly obtained, than bidding our owne workes farewell, to giue due place to the workes of God. If sluggishnesse hindered not, Christ hath giuen testimony euident enough of his graces to make them not to be enuiouly suppressed. I am (sayth he) the Vine, you be the branches: My Father is a husbandman. As the branche can not beare fruite of it selfe, vnlesse it abide in the Vine, no more can you, vnlesse you abide in me. For without me you can do nothing. If we beare fruite none otherwise than a braunche buddeth being plucked out of the ground and without moysture: we neede no more to seeke what is the aptnesse of our nature to goodnesse. And this is a playne conclusion: Without me ye can do nothing. He doth not say that we are to weake to be sufficient for our selues: but in bringing vs to nothing, he excludeth all opinion of power be it neuer so litle. If we being grafted in Christ, beare fruite like a Vine, which taketh her efficacy of liuelinesse both from the moisture of the earth, and from the deaw of heauen, and from the cherishing of the sunne: I see nothinge remayne for vs in doinge a good worke, if we keepe whole for God that which is his. That fonde subtle deuise is alleaged in vaine, that there is a iuyce already enclosed within the branch, and a certayne power to bringe foorth fruite, and that therefore it taketh not all from the earth or from the first roote, because it bringeth somewhat of her owne. For Christ doth meane nothinge else, but that we are a drie stick and nothing worth, when we be seuered from him, because by our selues beinge separate, we haue no power to do well: as also in an other place he sayth. Euery tree that my father hath not planted, shall be rooted vp. Wherefore the Apostle ascribeth all the whole vnto him in the place already alleaged. It is God (saith he) that worketh in vs both to will and to performe. The first parte of a good worke is will: the second is a strong endeuour in doing it: y^e author of both is God. Therefore we steale it from God, if we take to our selues any thing, either in will or in effectuall working. If it were sayd that God doth helpe our weake will, then somewhat were left for vs. But when it is sayd that he maketh will, now all the good that is in it, is set out of vs. And because the good will is yet still oppressed with weight of our flesh y^e it cā not rise vp. He said further, that to ouercome the hardnesse of that battell, there is ministred vnto vs stedfastnesse of endeuour, euen to the effect. For otherwise it could not stand together which he teacheth in an other place, that it is God alone that bringeth to effect all thinges in all, wherein we haue before taught

Ioh. 15.
1.Mat. 15
13.Phili. 2.
13.1. Co2.
12. 6.

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that the whole course of spirituall life is comprehended. For which
 Psa. 86. reason, Dauid, after he had prayed to haue the wayes of the Lord o-
 11. pened vnto him, that he might walke in his trueth, by and by addeth:
 Vnite thou my heart to feare thy name. In which wordes he signifi-
 eth, that euen they that are well minded, are subiect to so many with-
 drawings of minde, that they easily vanish or fal away if they be not
 stablished to constancy. For which reason in an other place, after he
 had prayed to haue his steppes directed to kepe the word of God he
 Ps. 100. requireth also to haue strength giuen him to fight, Lette not any ini-
 19. 100. quity (sayth he) beare rule ouer me. After this sorte therefore doth
 33. the Lord both beginne and ende good worke in vs: that it may all be
 his worke, that will conceiueth a loue of that which is right, that it is
 enclined to the desire thereof, that it is stirred vp and moued to en-
 deuour of following it. And then that our choise, desire, and endeuour
 faint not, but do proceede euen to the effect: last of all, that man goeth
 forward constantly in them, and continueth to the end.

10 And he moueth the will, not in such sorte as hath in many ages
 bin taught and beleued: that it is afterward in our choise, either to o-
 bey or withstand the motiō, but with mightily strengthening it. Ther-
 fore that must be reiected which Chrysostome so oft repeteth: whom
 he draweth, he draweth being willing. Whereby he secretly teacheth
 that God doth onely reach out his hand, to see if we will be holpen
 by his aide. We graunt that such was the state of man while he yet
 stode, that he might bow to either parte. But sith he hath taught by
 his example how miserable is freewill, vnlesse God both will and can
 in vs: what shall become of vs, if he giue vs his grace according to that
 smale proportion? But rather we do obscure and extenuate it with
 our vnthankfullnes. For the Apostle doth not teach, that the grace
 of a good wil is offred vs if we do accept it, but that he wil performe
 it in vs: which is nothing else, but that the Lord by his spirite doth di-
 rect, bowe and gouerne our heart, and reigneth in it as in his owne
 possession. Neither doth he promise by Ezechiel, that he will giue to
 the elect a new spirite onely for this ende, that they may be able to
 walke in his commaundementes, but to make them walke in deede.
 Eze. 11. Neither can Christs saying, (euery one that hath heard of my Father
 19. and 36. 27. commeth to me) be otherwise taken, than to teach that the grace of
 10h. 9. 45. God is effectuell of it selfe: as Augustine also affirmeth. Which grace,
 Lib. de praedest sanct. God vouchsafeth not to giue to all men generally without regarde,
 as that saying (as I thinke) of Occam, is commonly spoken among
 the people, that it denieth nothing to him that doth what lieth in him.
 Men are in deede to be taught that Gods goodnesse is layd open for
 all

all men, without exception that seeke for it. But forasmuch as they onely beginne to seeke for it, whom the heauenly grace hath breathed vpon, not so much as this litle peece ought to be plucked away from his praise. Truly this is the prerogatiue of the elect, that being regenerate by the spirite of God, they are moued and gouerned by his guiding. Therefore Augustine doth worthily as well mocke them, that claime any parte of willing them to themselues, as he doth reprehend other which thinke that, that is generally giuen to all men, which is the speciall testimony of free election. Nature, (sayth he) but not grace, is common to all men. Calling it a bricke firttelty of witte like glasse, that glistereth with mere vanity, where it is generally extended to all which God giueth onely to whom it pleaseth him. And in an other place. How camest thou? by beleuing. Feare thou, least while thou takest vpon thee that thou hast founde the iust way, thou perish out of the iust way. I came (sayest thou) by Free will, I came by mine owne will, why swellest thou? wilt thou heare that this also is giuen thee? Heare euen him that calleth: No man cometh to me vnlesse my Father draw him. And it is without controuersie gathered out of Iohns wordes, that the heartes of the godly are so effectually gouerned by Gods working, that they follow with an vnchangeable affection. He that is begotten of God (sayth he) can not sinne, because the seede of God abideth in him. For we see that the meane motion which the Sophisters imagine, which we at our liberty may either obey or refuse, is openly excluded, where an effectuall constancy to continue is affirmed.

Aug. de
verbis
Apost.
ser. 11.

Ioh. 6.
44.
1. Ioh. 3.
9.

II Of continuance there shoulde no more dout haue bin made, but that it should haue bin taken for the free gift of God vnlesse the most wicked errour had growen in force, that it is distributed according to the desert of men, as euery man hath shewed himselfe not vnthankfull to the first grace. But forasmuch as this errour hath growen vpon that point, that they thought it to be in our hand to refuse or receiue the grace of God offered, that opinion being driuen away, this other doth also fall of it selfe. Albeit herein they erre two manner of wayes. For beside this that they teach that our thankfulness toward the first grace and our lawfull vse thereof, are rewarded with the later giftes: they adde also, that nowe grace alone doth not worke in vs, but that it is onely a worker together with vs. Of the first this we ought to beleue, that the Lord while he dayly enricheth and heapeth his seruantes with newe giftes of his grace, because he liketh and fauoureth the worke which he hath begonne in them, findeth in them somewhat whereupon to bestowe greater graces. And

hereto serue those sayinges : To him that hath,shalbe giuen. Againe:

Mat. 25 Oh, good seruaunt, because thou hast bin faithfull in few things, I
21. will set thee ouer many. But here two things are to be taken heede of,
Luc. 19. that neither the lawefull vse of the first grace be sayd to be rewarded
17. with the later graces, nor it be so compted a rewarding, that it cesse to
be reckened the free grace of God. I graunt therefore, that this blessing
of God is to be looked for of the faithfull, that howe much the
better they haue vsed the first graces, they shalbe encreased with so
much the greater. But I say, that this vse also is of the Lord, and that
this rewarding is of his free good will. And they vse no lesse wrong-
fully than vnhappyly that olde destruction of workinge and together
working grace. Augustine vsed the same in deede, but delaying it with
a fit definition, y^e God in together working with vs doth ende, that w^h
in working he beginneth, and that it is still the same grace but chaun-
gerth name, according to the diuerse manner of effect. Wherupon fol-
loweth, that he doth not parte it betwene God and vs, as if there were
a mutuall meeting together by y^e motioⁿ of both, but only noteth the
multiplicatioⁿ of grace. To which purpose belongeth that which in an
other place he teacheth, that many giftes of God do go before the
good will of man, among the which the selfe same is one. Wherupon
followeth, that he leaueth nothing that it may claime to it self. Which
thing Paul also hath namely expressed : For when he had sayd that it
Phi. 2. is God, which worketh in vs both to will and to performe, he by and by
13. addeth, that he doth them both of his good will declaringe by this
word, that it is his free goodnesse. Whereas they are wont to say, that
after we haue once giue place to the first grace, our owne endeouours
do now worke together with the grace that followeth. To this I an-
swere: If they meane that we, after we haue bin once by the power
of the Lorde broken to the obedience of righteousnesse, do of our
owne accorde go forward, and are inclined to follow the working of
grace, I speake nothinge against it. For it is most certayne, that
there is such a readines of obeying, where the grace of God reigneth.
But whense commeth that, but from this, that the spirite of God al-
way agreeinge with it selfe, doth cherishe and confirme to stedfast-
nesse of continuing, the same affection of obeying, which it selfe en-
gendred at the beginning. But if they meane that man taketh of him-
selfe somewhat wherby to labour with the grace of God, they are most
pestilently deceiued.

12 And to this purpose is that sayinge of the Apostle wrongfully
1 Cor. 15. 10. wraisted by ignoraunce: I haue laboured more than they all: not I, but
the grace of God with me. For they take it so: that because it might
seeme

seeme somewhat arrogantly spoken that he preferred himselfe before them all, therefore he corrected it with referring the praise to the grace of God, but yet so, that he calleth himselfe a worker together with grace. It is maruell that so many which otherwise were not euill men, haue stombled at this straw. For the Apostle doth not wryte that the grace of the Lord laboured with him, to the intent to make himselfe partener of the labour, but rather by this correction he giueth away all y praise of the labour to grace only. It is not ! (sayth he) that haue laboured, but the grace of God that was with me. But the doubtfulnes of the speach deceiued them: but specially the ill translation wherein the force of the Greke article was left out. For if it be translated word for word, he doth not say, that grace was a worker together with him, but that the grace that was with him was the worker of all. And the same thing doth Augustine teach, not darkely, though shortly, where he thus saith: The good will of man goeth before many gifts of God, Psa. 59. but not before all. But of them which it goeth before, it selfe is one, 11. then followeth his reason: because it is wrytten: His mercy hath preuēted me: And his mercy shall follow me. It preuenteth man not wil- Psa. 23. linge, to make him will: & it followeth him willinge, that he wil not in 6. vaine. With whom Bernard agreeth bringing in the church speaking Ser. 2 in thus: Drawe me in a maner vnwillinge, that thou maist make me wil- Caut. ling: draw me lying slouthfull, that thou maist make me runne.

13 Now let vs heare Augustine speaking in his owne wordes, least the Pelagians of our age, that is to say, the Sophisters of Sorbone, shoulde as they are wont, lay to our charge that all antiquitie is against vs, wherein they followe their father Pelagius, by whom long ago Augustine was drawn foorth into the same contention. In his booke of Correpction and Grace wrytten to Valentine he entreateth largely that which I will rehearse shortely, but yet do it in his owne wordes: that to Adam was giuen the grace of continuinge in good if Capi. 2. he would: and to vs is giuen to will, and by will to ouercome concupiscence: that he therefore had to be able if he would, but not to will that he might be able: to vs is giuen both to will and to be able. That the first liberty was to be able not to sinne, ours is much greater, not to be able to sinne. And least he shoulde be thought to speake of the perfection to come after immortality (as Lombard wrongfully draweth it to that meaning) within a litle after he plucketh out this dout. For (sayth he) the will of holy men is so much kindeled by the holy Ghost, that they therefore are able, because they so wil: they therefore will, because God worketh y they so will. For if in so great 2. Cor. weakenesse, in which yet behoueth the power to be made perfect, 12. 9.

Cap. 3. Of the knowledge of

for repressing of pride, their owne will were left vnto the, that by the help of God they may if they will, and God doth not worke in them to will : then amonge so many temptations will shoulde needes fall downe for weakenesse, and therefore could not continue. Therefore is succour giuen to the weakenesse of mans will, that it should be moued without swaruing or seuering by the grace of God, and therefore shoulde not faint how weake so euer it be. Then he entreateth more largely howe our heartes do of necessity follow the mouing of God that worketh affectiō in them. And he sayth, that the Lord doth draw men in deede with their owne wills, but with such as he himselfe hath wrought. Nowe haue we that thing testified by Augustines mouth, which we principally desire to obtaine, that grace is not only offered by God to be receiued or refused at euery mans Free election, but also that grace is the same, that formeth the election and will in the heart: so that euery good worke that followeth after, is the frute and effect thereof, and that it haue no other will obeying it, but the same which it hath made. For these are also his wordes out of an other place, that nothing but grace maketh euery good worke in vs.

- Cap. 14. 14 But whereas he sayth in an other place, that will is not taken away by grace, but from an euill will turned into a good, and holpen when it is good : he meaneth onely that man is not so drawn, that without any motion of heart he is caried as by an outwarde impulsion, but that he is inwardly so affected, that from his very heart he obeyeth. That grace is specially and freely giuen to the elect, he writeth thus vnto Boniface: We know that grace is not giuen to all men, and to them to whom it is giuen, it is not giuen according to the merites of workes, nor according to the merites of will, but of free fauour : and to them to whom it is not giuen, we know that it is by the iust iudgement of God that it is not giuen. And in the same Epistle he strongly fighteth against that opinion, that the grace followinge is giuen to the deseruinges of men, because in not refusinge the first grace, they shewed themselues worthy. For he will haue Pelagius graunt, that grace is necessary to vs for euery of our doinges, and is not giuen in recompense to workes, that it may be grace in deede. But the matter can not be comprehended in a shorter summe, than out of the eight chapter of his booke to Valentine of Correction and Grace, where first he teacheth that mans will obtayneth not grace by liberty, but liberty by grace : and that by the same grace, by affection of delite printed in him, it is framed to continuance, that it is strengthened with inuincible force : that while grace gouerneth, it neuer falleth away : when grace forsaketh, it by and by tombleth downe. That
- Epi. 100 5. by
- Epi. 100 6.
- Epi. 46.

by the free mercy of God it both is conuerted to good, and beinge conuerted abideth in it, that the direction of mans will to good, and stedfastnesse after direction, hangeth vpon the onely will of God, and not vpon any merite of his owne. And so to man is left such a free will, if we list so to call it, as he wryteth of in an other place, that can neither be turned to God, nor abide in God but by grace, & by grace is able all that it is able.

The iiij. Chapter.

How God vvorketh in the heartes of men.

YT is sufficiently proued, as I thinke, that man is so holden captiue with the yoke of Sinne, that of his owne nature he can neither aspire by desire, nor trauaile by endeuour to goodnesse, beside that, we haue rehearsed a distinction betwene compulsion & necessity, whereby it might appeare, that when he sinneth of necessity, yet neuerthelesse he sinneth willingly. But forasmuch as while he is subiect in bondage to the Deuill, he seemeth rather to be ledde by the deuils will than his owne, it resteth nowe to be declared of what sorte are both kindes of workinge. And then is this question to be assoiled, whether in euill workes there be any thinge to be attributed to God: in which the Scripture sheweth that there is vsed some workinge of his. In one place Augustine compareth mans will to a horse, which is ready to be ruled by the will of his rider: and God and the Deuill he compareth to riders. If God (sayth he) sit vpon it, he like a sober and cunning rider, gouerneth it temperatly, spurreth it forward if it be to slow, plucketh it backe if it be to quicke, restrayneth the wantonnesse and wildnesse of it, tameth the stubbornnesse of it, and guydeth it into the right way. But if the Deuill haue possessed it, he like a foolish and wanton rider, violently carieth it through places where no way is, driueth it into ditches, rolleth it downe steepe places, spurreth it forward to stubbornnesse & scarcenesse: which similitude we will for this time be cōtented with, sith there commeth not a better in place. Where it is sayd that the will of a naturall man is subiect to the rule of the Deuill, to be stirred by him, it is not ment therby that man as it were strīuing against it, & resisting is compelled to obey, as we compell bondslaves against their wil, by reason of being their lordes, to do our cōmaundementes: but that beinge bewitched with the deceites of Satan, it of necessity yeldeth it selfe obedient to euery leading of him. For whom the Lord vouchesaueth not to rule with his spirite, them

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by iust iudgement he sendeth away to be moued of Satan. Where-
2. Cor. 4 fore the Apostle sayth, that the God of this world hath blinded the
4. mindes of the vnbeleuers ordained to destructiō, that they should not
Eph. 2. 2 see the light of the Gospell. And in an other place: That he worketh
in the disobedient children. The blindinge of the wicked, and all the
wicked deedes that follow therupon, are called the workes of Sathan,
of which yet the cause is not to be sought elsewhere, than in the will
of man, out of which ariseth the roote of euell, wherein resteth the fun-
dation of the kingdome of Sathan, which is Sinne.

2 But farre other is the order of Gods doing in such thinges. And
that the same may appeare more certainly vnto vs: let the hurt done to
Iob. 1. the holy mā Iob by the Chaldees, be an example. The Chaldees kil-
led his herdmen, and like enemies in warre, droue away his cattell for
booties. Now is their wicked deede plainely seene, and in that worke
Sathan is not idle, from whome the History sayeth, that all this did
proceede. But Iob himselfe did acknowledge the worke of the Lorde
in it, whom he sayth to haue taken away from him those thinges, that
were taken away by the Chaldees. How can we referre the selfe same
worke to God, as author, to Sathan as author, and to man as author of
it, but that we must either excuse Sathan by the company of God, or
report God to be the author of euill? Very easily: if first we looke vpo
the ende, why it was done, and then the manner how. The purpose of
the Lord is by calamity to exercise the patience of his seruauant: The
deuil goeth about to driue him to despaire. The Chaldees against right
and law, seeke gayne of that which is an other mans. Such diuer-
sity in purposes, maketh great difference in the worke. And in the
manner of doing there is no lesse diuersity. The Lord leaueth his ser-
uauant to Sathan to be afflicted: and the Chaldees, whom he did chose
for ministers to execute it, he did leaue & deliuer to him to be driuen
to it. Sathan with his venemous stings, pricked forward the mindes of
the Chaldees which otherwise were peruerse of theselues to do that
mischiefe: they furiously runne to do wrong, and do binde and defile
all their members with wicked doing. Therefore it is properly said, that
Sathan doth worke in the reprobate, in whom he exerciseth his king-
dome: that is to say, the kingdome of wickednesse. It is also sayd that
God worketh in them after his maner, because Sathan himselfe, foras-
much as he is the instrument of his wrath, according to his biddinge
& commaundement, turneth himselfe hither & thither to execute his
iust iudgements. I speake not here of Gods vniuersall mouing, where-
by as all creatures are sustained, so from thence they take their effe-
ctuell power of doing any thing. I speake only of that speciall doinge,
which

which appeareth in euery speciall act. We see therfore that it is no absurdity, that one selfe act be ascribed to God, to Sathan, and to man: but the diuersity in the end and maner of doing, cauſeth that therein appeareth the iustice of God to be without fault, and also the wickednes of Sathan and man, bewrayeth it selfe to their reproch.

3 The old wryters in this point also, are somtime precisely afraid, simply to confesse the trueth, because they feare least they should so open a window to wickednes, to speke irreuerently of the workes of God. Which sobriety as I embrace, so I thinke it nothing daungerous, if we simply holde what the Scripture teacheth. Augustine himselfe sometime was not free frō y^e superstition, as where he sayth, that hardning and blindinge, pertaine not to the worke of God, but to his foreknowledge. But the phrases of Scripture allow not these fittelties, which phrases do plainly shewe that there is therein somewhat else of God, besides his foreknowledge. And Augustine himselfe in his fift booke against Iulianus, goeth earnestly about with a long processe, to proue that sinnes are not only of the permission or sufferance of God, but also of his power, that so former sinnes might be punished. Likewise, that which they bring forth, concerning permission, is to weake to stande. It is oftentimes sayd, that God blindeth and hardeneth the reprobate, that he turneth, boweth, & moueth their hearts as I haue else where taught more at large. But of what manner that is, it is neuer expressed, if we flee to free foreknowledge or sufferance. Therfore we answere that it is done after two manners, For first, where as when his light is taken away, there remayneth nothing but darkenesse and blindnes: wheras when his spirite is take away, our heartes waxe hard & become stones: where as when his direction cesseth, they are wrasted into crookednes, it is wel sayd that he doth blinde, harden & bow them frō whom he taketh away the power to see, obey & do rightly. The second maner, which cometh nere to the property of the words, is that for the executing of his iudgements by Sathan the minister of his wrath, he both appointeth their purposes to what end it pleaseth him, and stirreth vp their willes, & strengtheneth their endeouours. So when Moyses rehearseth that king Schon did not giue passage to the people, because God had hardned his spirit, & made his hart obstinate, he by and by adioyneth the end of his purpose: that he might (sayth he) giue him into our handes. Therfore because it was Gods will to haue him destroied, the making of his heart obstinate, was Gods preparation to his destruction.

4 After the first manner this seemeth to be spoken. He taketh away the lip from the speakers of trueth, and taketh away reason from

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the Elders. He taketh the heart away from them that are set ouer the people, he maketh them to wander where no way is. Again, Lord why hast thou made vs mad, and hardened our heart, that we should not feare thee? Because they iudge rather of what sorte God maketh men by forsakinge them, than how he performeth his worke in them. But there are other testimonies that go further: as are these of the hardening of Pharao. I will harden the heart of Pharao, that he do not heare you, & let the people go. Afterward he saith, that he hath made heauy and hardened his heart. Did he harden it, in not susteininge it? That is true in deede: but he did somewhat more, that he committed his heart to Sathan, to be confirmed with obstinacy. Whereupon he had before sayd: I will hold his heart. The people went out of Ægypt, the inhabitantes of that countrey came forth and met them like enemies. By whom were they stirred vp? Truly Moses affirmeth to the people, that it was the Lord that had hardened their heartes. And the Prophet reciting the same history, saith, that he turned their hearts, that they should hate his people. Now can you not say, that they stūbled being left without the counsell of God. For if they be hardened and turned, then they are of purpose bowed to that selfe thing. Moreover so oft as it pleased him to punish the transgressours of the people, how did he performe his worke in the reprobate? so as a mā may see, that the effectuallnes of working was in him, & they only did seruice as ministers. Wherefore sometime he threatened that he would cal the out with his whistle, sometime y they should be like a net for him to entangle them, & sometime like a mallet, to strike the Israelites. But specially he then declared how he is not idle in them, when he called Sennacherib an Axe, which was both directed and driuen by his hand to cut. Augustine in one place doth not amisse, appointe it after this sorte: that inasmuch as they sinne, it is their owne: inasmuch as in sinninge they do this or that, it is of the power of God, that diuided the darkenesse as pleaseth him.

5 Now that the ministry of Sathan is vsed to pricke forward the reprobate, so oft as the Lord by his prouidence appointeth them to this or to that, may sufficiently be proued, though it were but by one place only. For it is oftentimes sayd in Samuell, that the euill spirit of the Lord, and an euill spirite from the Lord, did either violently cary or leaue Saul. To say that this spirit was the holy Ghost, is blasphemous. Therefore the vncleane spirit is called the spirit of God, because it answereth at his cōmaundement and power, being rather his instrument in doing, than an author of it selfe. This is also to be added withall, which Paul teacheth, that the efficacy of error and deceiuinge is sent

sent by God, that they which haue not obeyed the trueth, may beleue lies. But there is alway great difference in one selfe same worke, betwene that which the Lorde doeth, and that which Sathan and the wicked go about. He maketh the euill instrumentes that he hath vnder his hand, and may turne whether he list, to serue his iustice. They, in as much as they are euill, do bring fourth in effect the wickednesse that they haue conceiued by corruptnesse of nature. The reste, of such thinges as serue for to deliuer the maiestie of God from slaunder, and to cut of all shifting from the wicked, are already set fourth in the chapter concerning Prouidence. For in this place my purpose was onely to shewe how Sathan reigneth in the reprobate man, and how God worketh in them both.

6 Although we haue before touched, yet it is not plainly declared what libertie man hath in those doinges, which are neither iust nor faulty of them selues, and belong rather to the bodely than the spirituall life. Some in such thinges haue graunted him free election, rather, as I thinke, because they woulde not strue about a matter of no great importance, than that they minded certainly to proue the same thing that they graunt. As for me, although I confesse that they which do holde that they haue no power to righteousness, do holde the thing that is principally necessarie to saluation: yet I do thinke that this point also is not to be neglected, that we may know that it is of the speciall grace of the Lorde, so oft as it cometh in our minde to chose that which is for our profit, so oft as our will enclineth therunto: againe so oft as our wit and minde eschuerth that whiche els woulde haue hurte vs. And the force of Gods prouidence extendeth thus farre, not only to make the successes of thinges to come to passe, as he shal forsee to be expedient, but also to make the willes of men to tende therunto. Truely if we consider in our wit the administration of outwarde thinges, we shall thinke that they are so farre vnder the will of man: but if we shall geue credit to so many testimonies, which crie out that the Lord doth in these thinges also rule the heartes of men, they shall compelle vs to yelde our will subiect to the speciall mouing of God. Who did procure the good willes of the Egyptians to the Israelites, to lende them all their most precious iewels? They woulde neuer haue founde in their heartes to haue so done of their owne accorde. Therefore their heartes were more subiect to the Lord, than ruled by them selues. And truely if Iacob had not bene perswaded that God put into men diuerse affections as pleaseth him, he woulde not haue said of his sonne Ioseph, whom he thought to be some Heathē Egyptian: God graunt you to finde mercie before this man. As also

Exo. 11.
3.

Gen. 43.
14.

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Psa. 106 the whole Church confesseth in the Psalmes, that when it pleased God
46. to haue mercie vpon it, he meekened the heartes of the cruell nations. Againe, when Saul so waxed on fire with anger, that he prepared him to warre, the cause is exprest, for that the spirite of God did enforce him. Who turned away Absolons minde from embracing the counsell of Achitophel, which was wont to be holden as an oracle? Who inclined Rehabeam to be perswaded with the yong mens aduise? Who made the nations that before were great, to be asfayde at the comyng of Israell? Truly the harlot Rahab confessed, that it was done by God. Againe, who threw downe the hartes of Israell with dread and fearfulnessse, but he that in the lawe threatened that he would geue them a fearefull heart?

7 Some man will take exception and say, that these are singular examples, to the rule wherof all thinges vniuersally ought not to be reduced. But I say, that by these is sufficiently proued that which I affirme, that God so oft as he meaneth to prepare the way for his prouidence, euen in outwarde thinges doth bow and tourne the willes of men, and that their choise is not so free, but that Gods will beareth rule ouer the freedome therof. That thy minde hangeth rather vpon the mouing of God, than vpon the freedome of thine owne choise, this dayly experience shall compell thee to thinke whether thou wilt or no: that is, for that in thinges of no perplexitie thy iudgement and wit oft faileth thee, in thinges not heard to be done thy courage fainteth: againe in thinges most obscure, by and by present aduise is offred thee: in thinges great & perillous, thou hast a courage ouercōming all difficultie. And so do I expounde that which Salomon saith: That the eare may heare, that the eye may see, the Lord worketh both. For I take it that he speaketh not of the creation, but of the speciall grace of vsing them. And when he writeth that the Lord holdeth in his hande and boweth whether he will the hearte of the king as the streames of waters: truly vnder the example of one speciall sorte, he comprehendeth the whole generaltie. For if the will of any man be free from subiection, that preeminence principally belongeth to the will of a King, which vseth as it were a kingdome vpon the willes of other: but if the will of the King be ruled with the hande of God, no more shall our will be exempted from the same estate. Vpon this point there is a notable saying of Augustine. The Scripture if it be diligently looked vpon doth shew, that not onely the good willes of men which he of euill maketh good, and so beyng made by him selfe doth direct to good doinges and to eternall life, but also these willes that preserue the creature of the worlde, are so in the power of God,

Prou. 20
12.
Prou. 21
1.

Lib. de
gratia
& libe.
ro arb.
ad Va-
lent. ca.
20.

God, that he maketh them to be inclined whether he will and when he will, either to do benefites, or to execute punishemētes, by a iudgement most secret in deede, but the same most righteous.

8 Here let the Readers remember, that the power of mans will is not to be weyed by the successe of thinges, which some vnskilful men are vnorderly wont to do. For they seme to them selues to proue trimly and wittely that mans will is in bondage, because euen the hyest Monarches haue not all thinges flowyng after their owne desire. But this power wherof we speake, is to be considered within man and not be measured by outwarde successe. For in the disputacion of freewil, this is not to the questiō, whether man may for outwarde impedimentes, perfourme and put in execution all those thinges that he hath purposed in minde: but whether he haue in euery thing both a free election of iudgement, and a free affection of will, which both if man haue, then Attilius Regulus, enclosed in the narrownesse of a tonne, set full of sharp prickes, shal no lesse haue free will than Augustus Cesar, gouerning a great part of the worlde with the becke of his countenance.

The v. Chapter.

*A confutation of the obiections that are vnto be brought
for defence of Free will.*

IT might seme that we haue saide enough already, concerning the bondage of mans will, if they that with false opinion of libertie, labour to throw it downe hedlong, did not on the contrary part pretende certaine reasons to assaile our meaning. First they heape vp together diuerse absurdities, whereby they may bring it in hatred as a thing abhorring from common reason: afterwarde they set vpon it with testimonies of Scripture. Both these engines we shall beate backe in order. If (say they) Sinne be of necessitie, then cesseth it to be sinne: if it be voluntarie, then may it be auoyded. These were also the weapons of Pelagius to assaile Augustine, with whose name we will not yet haue them oppressed, till we haue satisfied them, concerning the matter it selfe. I deny therefore that sinne ought the lesse to be imputed, because it is necessarie. I denie againe that this doth follow which they conclude, that it may be auoyded, because it is voluntarie. For if any man will dispute with God, and seeke to escape from his iudgement by this pretense, because he coulde none otherwise do: God hath that answere ready which we in an other place haue spoken of, that it is not of creation, but of the corruption of nature that men being made bondslaues to sinne, can will nothing but euil. For whēce

cometh this want of power which the wicked would gladly pretende, but vpon this, that Adam of his owne accorde made him selfe subiect to the tyrannie of the Deuill? Hereupon therefore grewe the corruptiō, with the bondes wherof we are holden fast tyed, for that the first man fell from his creator. If all men be iustly holdē guilty of his falling away, let them not thinke them selues excused by necessitie, in which it selfe they haue a most euident cause of their dampnation. And this I haue aboue plainly set fourth, and I haue geuen an example in the Deuill him selfe, wherby it might appeare, that he which necessarily sinneth, doth neuerthelesse willingly sinne: as againe in the elect Angels, where as their will can not decline from good, yet it cesseth

Ser. 81. not to be a will. Which same thing Bernard also aptly teacheth: that
in Can. we are therefore the more miserable, because our necessitie is voluntarie: which yet holdeth vs so subiect vnto it, that we be the bondeslaues of sinne, as we haue before rehearsed. The second parte of their argument is faulty, because from voluntarie it streightway leapeth to free: but we haue before proued, that it is voluntarily done which yet is not subiect to free election.

2 They further say: that if both vertues and vices procede not of free choise of will, it is not reasonable that either punishment should be laide vpon man or rewarde geuen to him. This argument, although it be Aristotles, yet I graunt is in some places vsed by Chrysostome and Hierome. But that it was a common argument with the Pelagians, Hierome him selfe hideth nor, & also rehearseth it in their own
In Epi- words. If the grace of God worke in vs: then it, not we that labour,
stol. ad shalbe crowned. Of punishments I aunswere, that they are iustly laid
Cresi- vpon vs from whom the guiltinesse of sinne procedeth. For what mat-
phon. & ter maketh it, whether sinne be done by free or bonde iudgement,
diacon. so it be done by voluntarie lust: specially sith man is hereby proued a
v. sinner, for that he is vnder the bondage of sinne? As to the rewardes of righteousness: a great absurditie forsoth it is, if we confesse that they hang rather vpon Gods bountifullnesse, than vpon our owne deseruings. How oft finde we this thing repeted in Augustine: that God crouneth not our deseruings, but his owne giftes: and that they are called rewardes, not as due to our deseruings, but such as are rendred to the graces already bestowed vpon vs? Wisely in deede they note this, that now there remaineth no place for deseruings, if they come not out of the fountaine of free will: but where they reckon that which we say so farre differing from trueth they are much deceiued.

In Psal. For Augustine doubteth not, commonly to teach for necessarie, that
31. which they thinke so vnlawefull to confesse, as where he saith: What
be

be the merites of any men what soeuer they be? when he commeth, not with due rewarde, but with free grace, then he alone being free, and that maketh free from sinne? He findeth all men sinners. Againe, *In Psal.* If that shall be rendred to thee that is due to thee, thou arte to be pun- *70.* nyshed: what is done then? God hath not geuen thee punyishment which is due, but geueth thee grace which is not due. If thou wilt be estranged from grace, boaste of thy deseruings. Againe: Thou art nothing by thy selfe. Sinnes are thine, but deseruings are Gods, *Epistol.* punyishment is due to thee: and when rewarde commeth, he shall crowne *52. De* his owne giftes, and not thy deseruings. And in the same meaning in *verbis* an other place, he teacheth that grace is not of deseruing, but deser- *Aposto.* uing of grace. And a little after he concludeth, that God with his *Sermo.* giftes goeth before all deseruings, that out of the same he may ga- *4. 7.* ther his owne deseruings, and doth geue altogether freely, bycause he findeth nothing wherevpon to saue. But what neede is it to make a longer register, when such sentences are often founde in his writings? But the Apostle shall yet better deliuer them from this error, if they *1. Cor. 4* heare from what beginning he conueyeth the glorie of the Saintes: *7.* Whome he hath chosen, them he hath called: whome he hath called, them he hath iustified: whome he hath iustified, them he hath glorified. Why then, as witneseth the Apostle, are the faithfull crowned? bycause by the Lordes mercy and not by their owne endeuour they are both chosen and called and iustified. Away therefore with this vaine feare, that there shall no more be any deseruings, if free will shall not stande. For it is most foolish to be frayed away and to flee from that to which the Scripture calleth vs. If (saith he) thou hast *1. Cor. 4* receyued all thinges, why gloryest thou, as if thou haddest not recey- *7.* ued them? Thou seest that for the same cause he taketh all thinges from free will, to leaue no place for deseruings: but as the bountie- fullnesse and liberalitie of God is manyfolde, and impossible to be spent out, those graces which he bestoweth on vs, bycause he maketh them ours, he rewardeth as if they were our owne vertues.

3 Moreouer they bring fourth that which may seeme to be taken out of Chrysostome: If this be not the power of our will, to choose good or euil, then they that are partakers of the same nature, must either all be euill or all be good. And not farre from that is he, *Hom. 2.* what soeuer he was, that wrote the booke Of the calling of the Gen- *2. in* tyles, which is carried about vnder the name of Ambrose, when he *Gen.* maketh this argument, that no man shoulde euer departe from the *Lib. 2.* faith, vnlesse the grace of God did leaue vnto vs the state of mutabi- *cap. 4.* litie: wherin it is marueile, that so excellēt men fell beside them selues.

Cap. 5. Of the knowvledge of

For how chaũiceth it came not in Chrysostomes minde, that it is Gods election that so maketh difference betwene men? As for vs, we feare not to graunt that which Paule with great earnestnesse affirmeth, that all together are peruerse and geuen to wickednesse: but with him we adioyne this that by Gods mercy it commeth to passe that all abide not in peruersenesse. Therefore wheras naturally we are all sicke of one disease, they onely recouer health vpon whome it hath pleased God to lay his healing hande. The rest whome by iust iudgement he passeth ouer, pine away in their own rottennesse till they be cōsumed. Neither is it of any other cause, that some contynew to the ende, and some fall in their course begon. For continuance it selfe is the gift of God, which he geueth not to all indifferently, but dealeth it to whom it pleaseth him selfe. If a man aske for a cause of the difference, why some continew constantly, and some faile by vnstedfastnesse, we know none other cause but that God susteyneth the one sorte strengthened with his power that they perish not, and doth not geue the same strengthe to the other sorte, that they maie be examples of inconstancie.

4 Further they presse vs, saying, that exhortations are vainely taken in hande, that the vse of admonitions is superfluous, that it is a fonde thing to rebuke, if it be not in the power of the sinner to obey. When the like thinges in time past were objected against Augustine, he was compelled to write the booke of Correption and grace. Where although he largely wipe them away, yet he bringeth his aduersaries to this summe: O man, in the commaundement learne what thou oughtest to do: in correction learne that by thine owne faulte thou hast it not: in prayer learne whense thou maiest receiue that which thou wouldest haue. Of the same argument in a maner is the booke of the Spirite and Letter, where he teacheth that God measureth not the commaundementes of his lawe by the strength of man, but when he hath commaunded that which is right, he freely geueth to his elect power to fullfill it. And this is no matter of long disputation. First we are not onely in this cause, but also Christ and all the Apostles. Now let the other looke how they will get the maysterie in strutting, that matche them selues with such aduersaries. Doth Christ, which testifieth that we can do nothing without him, any thing the lesse rebuke and chastice them, that without him did euill? Doth he lesse exhorte euery man to applie him selfe to good workes? How seuerely doth Paule inuey against the Corinthians for neglecting of charitie? and yet he prayeth for charitie to be geuen to the same men from God. He testifieth in the Epistle to the Romaines, that it is neither

Rom. 3.
10.

Ioh. 15.
5.

1. Cor.
3.3.
Rom. 9.
16.

ther of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy, and yet he cesseth not afterwarde to admonish, to exhort and to rebuke. Why do they not therefore speake to the Lorde, that he do not so lose his labour in requiring of menne those things which he him selfe alone can geue, and in punishing those things which are done for wante of his grace? Why do they not admonish Paule to spare them, in whose power it is not to will or to runne, but in the mercie of God, going before them which nowe hath forsaken them? As if the Lorde had not a very good reason of his doctrine, which offreth it selfe redily to be founde of them that reuerently seeke it, but howe much doctrine, exhortation and rebuking do worke of themselues, to the chaunging of the minde, Paule declareth, when he writeth, that neither he that planteth is any thing, nor he that watereth, but the Lord that geueth the encrease onely effectually worketh. So we see that Moses feuerally stablisheth the commaundementes of the lawe, and the Prophetes do sharply call vpon them, and threaten the transgressors, whereas they yet confesse, that men do then onely waxe wise, when a hearte is giuen them to vnderstand, that it is the propre worke of God to circumsise the heartes, and in steede of stony heartes to geue hearts of flesh, to write his law in the bowells of menne: finally in renewyng of soules to make that his doctrine may be effectuell.

5 Wherefore then serue exhortations? For this purpose: if they be despised of the wicked with an obstinate heart, they shal be for a witness vnto them when they shall come to the iudgement seate of the Lorde, yea and euen nowe alreadie they beate and strike their conscience: for howsoever the most frowarde man laugheth them to scorn, yet can he not disproue them: but thou wilt say, what may silly miserable man do, if the softenesse of heart, which was necessarily required to obedience, be denied him? Nay rather, why doth he excuse him selfe, when he can impute the hardenesse of heart to none but to him selfe? Therefore the wicked that are willingly ready to mocke them out if they might, are throwen downe with the force of them whether they wil or no. But the chiefe profite toward the faithfull is to be considered: in whome as the Lord worketh all thinges by his spirite, so he leaueth not the iustrumentes of his worde, and vseth the same not without effect. Let this therfore stande which is true, that all the stréngth of the godly resteth in the grace of God, according to that saying of the Prophet: I will geue them a newe heart that they may walke in them. But thou wilt saie: Why are they nowe admonished of their duetie, and not rather left to the direction of the

1. Cor.
3. 7.

Ezec. 11
19.

holy Ghost? why are they moued with exhortation, sith they can make no more hast than the stirring forward of the holy Ghost worketh? why are they chaftised if at any time they be gone out of the way, sith they fell by the necessary weakenesse of the flesh? O man, what art thou to appoint a law for God? If it be his pleasure, that we be prepared by exhortation to receiue the selfe same grace, wherby is wrought that the exhortation is obeyed, what hast thou in this ordre to bite or carpe at? If exhortations and rebukinges did nothing els profit with the godly, but to reprove them of sinne, they were euen for that thing only to be compted not altogether vnprofitable. Now, for asmuch as by the holy Ghost working inwardly, they much auaille to enflame the desire of goodnesse, to shake of sluggishnesse, to take away the pleasure and venimous swetenesse of wickednesse, and on the other side to engendre a hatred and irkesomnesse therof: who dare cauill that they are superfluous? If any man require a plainer aunswere, let him take this: God worketh after two sortes in his electe, inwardely by his spirite, outwardely by his worde: By his spirite, by enlightning their mindes, by framing their heartes to the loue and keeping of iustice, he maketh them a newe creature: By his worde, he stirreth them to desire, to seke and attaine the same renuing: by them both he sheweth fourth the effectual working of his hande, according to the proportion of his distribution. When he sendeth the same word to the reprobate, though not for their amendement, yet he maketh it to serue for an other vse: that both for the present time they may be pressed with witnesse of conscience, and may against the day of iudgement be made more inexcusable. So though Christ pronounce that

John 6.
44.

1. Cor.
2. 16.

no man commeth to him, but whom the Father draweth, and that the elect do come when they haue hearde and learned of the father? yet doth not he neglect the office of a teacher, but with his voice diligently calleth them, whome it necessarily behoueth to be inwardly taught by the holy Ghost, that they maie any thing profite. And Paule teacheth, that teaching is not in vaine with the reprobate, bycause it is to them the sauour of death to death, but a swere sauour to God.

6 They be verie laborious in heaping together of testimonies of Scripture: and that they do of purpose, that when they can not oppresse vs with weight, they maie yet with numbre. But as in battelles, when it commeth to hand strokes, the weaker multitude how much pompe and shew soeuer it hath, is with a fewe stripes discomfited and put to flight: so shall it be very easy for vs to ouerthrowe them with all their route. For, bycause the places that they abuse against vs, when they are ones diuided into their ordres, do meete vpon a fewe speciall pointes,

pointes, we shall with one aunswere satysfie many of them: therefore it shall not be needefull to tarry vpon dissoluing euery one of them particularly. Their chiefe force they set in the commaundementes, which they thinke to be so tempered to our strengthes, that what soeuer is proued to be required by the one, it necessarily followeth that it may be perfourmed by the other. And therefore they runne through euery of the commaundementes, & by them do measure the proportion of our strength. For (say they) either God mocketh vs when he chargeth vs with holynesse, godlynesse, obedience, chastitie, loue, and mekenesse: and when he forbiddeth vs vncleanesse, idolatrie, vnchastenesse, wrath, robberie, pride, and such like: or he requireth onely those thinges that are in our power. Nowe, we may diuide into three sortes in manner all the commaundementes that they heape together. Some require our first conuersion to God, some speake simply of the keeping of the lawe: some commaunde vs to continue in the grace of God that we haue receyued. First let vs speake of them all in generalitie, and then descende to the speciall sortes. To extend the power of man to the commaundementes of the law, hath in deede long agoe begonne to be commune, and hath some shewe: but it proceded from most rude ignorance of the lawe. For they that thinke it a heynous offence, if it be saide that the keeping of the lawe is impossible, do rest forsooth vpon this most strong argument, that els the lawe was geuen in vaine. For they speake in such sorte as if Paule had no where spoken of the lawe. For, I beseeche them, what meane these sayinges, that the lawe was set bycause of transgressions: That by the lawe is the knowledge of sinne: That the lawe maketh sinne: that the lawe entred, that sinne might abounde: was it meant that the lawe was to be limited to our strengthes, least it shoulde be geuen in vaine? or rather that it was set farre aboue vs to conuince our weakenesse? Truly by the same mans definition, the ende and fullfilling of the lawe is Charitie. But when he wisheth the mindes of the Theſſalonians to be filled with charitie, he doth sufficiently confesse, that the lawe soundeth in our eares without profite, vnlesse God inspire the whole summe thereof in our heartes.

7 Truly, if the Scripture did teach nothing els, but that the law is a rule of life where vnto we ought to frame our endeuour, I woulde also without delay agree to their opinion: but whereas it doth diligently and plainly declare vnto vs the manyfolde vse of the lawe: it is conuenient rather to consider by that interpretation, what the lawe may do in man. For so much as concerneth this presente cause: it teacheth that so sone as it hath appointed what we ought to do, the

Gala. 3.

10.

Rom. 3.

20.

Rom. 7.

7

1. Tim.

1.5.

1. Theſſ.

3.2.2.

power to obey commeth of the goodnesse of God, and therefore moueth vs to prayer, whereby we may require to haue it giuen vs. If there were onely the commaundement and no promise, then were our strength to be tried whether they were sufficient to aunswere the commaundement, but sith there are promises ioyned withall, whiche crie out, that not onely our aide, but also all our whole power consisteth in the helpe of Gods grace, they do testifie enough and more, that we are altogether vnfitte, much more insufficient to kepe the law. Wherefore let this proportion of our strengthes with the commaundementes of Gods lawe be no more enforced, as if the Lord had measured the rule of iustice, which he purposed to geue in his lawe, according to the rate of our weakenesse. Rather by his promises we ought to consider, how vnready we are of our selues which in euery behalfe do so much neede his grace. But who (say they) shall be perswaded that it is like to be true, that the Lorde appointed his lawe to stockes and stones? Neither doth any man go about to perswade it. For the wicked are neither stockes nor stones, when being taught by the lawe that their lustes do striue against God, they are proued guilty by their owne witnesse. Nor yet the godly, when being put in minde of their weakenesse, they flee vnto grace. For which purpose serue these sayings of Augustine. The Lorde commaundeth those things that we can not do, that we may know what we ought to aske of him. Great is the profite of the commaundementes, if so much be geuen to free will, that the grace of God be the more honoured. Faith obtaineth that which the lawe commaundeth, yea the lawe therfore commaundeth, that faith may obtaine that which was commaunded by the law: yea God requireth faith it selfe of vs, and findeth not what to require, vnlesse he geue what to finde. Againe, Let God geue what he commaundeth, and commaunde what he will.

In En.
chir. ad
Lau. de
grat. &
lib. arb.
cap. 16.
Homel.
29. in
Ioan.
Epis. 24

8. That shall more plainely be seen in reherfing the three sortes of commaundementes which we touched before. The Lorde oftentimes commaundeth both in the lawe and in the Prophetes, that we be conuerted vnto him. But on the other side, the Prophet answereth, Conuerte me, Lorde, and I shall be conuerted: for after that thou didst conuerte me, I repented, &c. He commaundeth vs to circumsise the vncircumcised skinne of our hearte: and by Moses he declareth that this circumcision is done by his owne hande. He ech where requireth newnesse of hearte, but in an other place he testifieth that it is geuen by himselfe. That which God promiseth (saith Augustine) we do not by free will or nature, but he himselfe doth it by grace. And this is the same note that he himselfe reherfeth in the fifth place among
the

Ioel. 1.
12.
Iere. 31.
18.
Deut.
10. 16.
and 30.
26.
Eze. 36.
26.
Libr. de
Do.
Chris. 3.

the rules of Ticonius, that we well make difference betwene the lawe and the promises, or betwene the commaundementes and grace. Now let them go, that gather by the commaundementes whether man be able to do any thing towarde obediences in such sorte that they destroy the grace of God, by which the commaundementes them selues are fulfilled. The commaundementes of the seconde sorte are simple, by which we are bidden to honour God, to serue and cleaue vnto his will, to kepe his commaundementes, to follow his doctrine. But there are innumerable places that do testifie that it is his giste what soeuer righteousness, holynesse, godlinesse or puritie may be had. Of the thirde sorte was that exhortacion of Paule and Barnabas to the faithfull, which is rehearsed by Luke, that they shoulde abide in the grace of God. But from whence that strength of constancie is to be had, the same Paule teacheth in an other place. That remaineth, saith he, Ephē. 6. 16. brethren, be ye strong through the Lorde. In an other place he forbiddeth vs, that we do not greue the spirite of God, wherewith we are sealed vp vnto the day of our redemption. But because the thing that he there requireth, could not be perfourmed by men, therefore he wisheth it, to the Thessalonians, from God, namely, that he woulde Ephē. 4. 30. reckon them worthy of his holy calling, and fulfill all the purpose of his goodnesse, and the worke of faith in them. Likewise in the seconde Thes. 12 Epistle to the Corinthians, entreating of almes, he oftentimes commendeth their good and godly will: yet a litle after, he thanketh God that put it in the hearte of Titus, to take vpon him to geue exhortacion. If Titus coulde not so much as vse the office of his mouth to exhort other, but onely so farre as God did put it vnto him, how shoulde other haue bene willing to do, vnlesse God him selfe had directed their heartes?

9 The craftier sorte of them do cauill at all these testimonies: because there is no impediment, but that we may ioyne our owne strengthes, and God to helpe our weake endeouours. They bring also places out of the Prophetes, where the effect of our conuersion seemeth to be parted in halfe betwene God and vs. Tourne ye to me, Zach. 1. and I will tourne to you. What maner of helpe the Lord bringeth vs, 3. we haue aboue shewed, and it is not needefull here to repete it. This one thing I woulde haue graunted me, that it is vainely gathered that there is required in vs a power to fulfill the lawe, because God doth commaunde the obedience of it: For as much as it is euident, that for the fulfilling of all the commaundementes of God, the grace of the lawegeuer is both necessarie for vs & promised vnto vs. Thereby then it appeareth, that at least there is more required of vs than we

Cap. 5.

Of the knowledge of

Jer. 13. are able to paye. And that saying of Hieremie can not be wiped away
 3. with any cauellations: that the couenaunt of God made with the aun-
 cient people, was voide, because it was onely literall, and that it could
 no otherwise be stablished, than when the spirite cometh vnto it,
 which frameth the heartes to obedience. Neither doth that saying,
 Tourne ye to me, and I will tourne vnto you, fauour their errour. For
 there is meant, not that turning of God, wherewith he renueth our
 heartes to repentaunce, but wherewith he by prosperitie of thinges
 doth declare him selfe fauorable and mercifull: as by aduersitie he
 sometime sheweth his displeasure. Where as therefore the people
 being vexed with many sortes of miseries and calamities, did com-
 plaine that God was turned away from them: he aunswereth, that
 they shall not be destitute of his fauour, if they retourne to vpright-
 nesse of life, and to him selfe that is the paterne of righteousnesse:
 Therefore the place is wrongfully wrested, when it is drawn to this
 purpose, that the worke of our conuersion shoulde seeme to be par-
 ted betwixte God and men. These thinges we haue comprehended so
 much the shortelier, bycause the prope place for this matter shall be
 where we entreate of the Lawe.

10 The seconde sorte of their argumentes is much like vnto the
 first. They allege the promises whereby God doth couenaunt with
 Amos 5. our wil, of which sorte are, Seeke good and not euill, and ye shall liue.
 14. If ye will and do heare, ye shal eate the good thinges of the earth: but
 if ye will not, the swerde shall deuoure you, bycause the Lordes mouth
 hath spoken it. Againe, If thou put away thine abominations out
 Esa. 5. of my sight, then shalt thou not be driuen out: If thou shalt obey di-
 16. ligently the voice of the Lorde thy God, and obserue and do all his
 Jer. 4. 1. commaundementes which I commaunde thee this day, then the Lord
 Deu. 28 thy God will set the on hye aboue all the nations of the earth. And
 1. other like. They do inconueniently and as it were in mockerie thinke,
 Leu. 26. that these benefites which the Lorde doth offer in his promises, are
 3. assigned to our owne wil: vnlesse it were in vs to stablish them or make
 them voide. And right easy it is to amplifie this matter with eloquent
 complaintes, that the Lorde doth cruelly mocke vs, when he pro-
 nounceth that his fauour hangeth vpon our will, if the same will be
 not in our power: And that this liberality of God should be a goodly
 thing forsooth, if he so set his benefites before vs that we haue no power
 to vse them: and a merueilous assurednes of his promises, which hâg
 vpon a thing impossible, so as they might neuer be fulfilled. But of
 such promises as haue a condition adioined, we wil speake in an other
 place: so that it shall be plaine, that there is no absurditie in the im-
 possible

possible fullfilling of them. And for so much as concerneth this place: I deny that God doth vngently mocke vs, when he moueth vs to deserue his benefites, whome he knoweth to be vtterly vnable to do it. For whereas the promises are offered both to the faithfull and to the wicked, they haue their vse with both sortes. As God with his commaundementes pricketh the consciences of the wicked, that they should not to swetely take pleasure in their sinnes, without any remembrance of his iudgements: so in his promises he doth in a manner take them to witnesse, howe vnworthy they are of his goodnesse. For who can denie that it is most rightfull and conueniente, that the Lord do good to them of whome he is honored, and punish the despisers of his Maiesty, according to his seueritie? Therefore God doth well and ordrely, when in his promises he adioyneth this condition to the wicked that are bounde with the fetters of sinne, that they shall then only enioy his benefites, if they departe from their wickednesse: or for this purpose only, that they may vnderstand that they are worthily excluded from these thinges, that are due to the true worshippers of God. Againe, bycause he seeketh by all meanes to stirre vp the faithfull to call vpon his grace, it shall not be inconuenient, if he attempt the same thing also by promises, which we haue shewed that he hath done to great profit with commaundementes towardes them. Being enfourmed of the will of God, by his commaundementes, we are put in minde of our miserie, which do withall our hearte to farre dissent from the same, and we be therewithall pricked forward so call vpon his spirite, whereby we may be directed into the right waie. But because our sluggishnesse is not sufficiently sharpened with commaundementes, there are added promises which with a certaine swerenesse may allure vs to the loue of them. And that the more desire that we haue of righteousnesse, we may be the more feruent to seeke the fauour of God. Loe howe in these requestes, (If you will: If you shall heare,) the Lorde neither geueth vs power to will nor to heare, and yet mocketh vs not for our want of power.

11 The third sorte of their argumentes, hath also great affinitie with the two fourmer. For they bring fourth the places wherein God reprocheth the vnthankfull people, and sayeth that they them selues onely were the cause that they receyued not of his tender loue all kindes of good thinges. Of which sorte are these places. Amaleck Num. 14 and the Chananee are before you, with whose swerde you shal fall, because ye woulde not obey the Lorde, because I called and ye aunswered not, I will do to this house as I did to Silo. Againe, this nation Ier. 32. hath not hearde the voyce of the Lorde their God, nor hath recey- 13.

Iere. 32. ued discipline, therefore it is cast away from the Lorde. Again, because ye haue hardened your hearte and would not obey the Lorde, all these euilles are happened vnto you. Howe(say they) coulde such reproches be laide against them which might redely aunswere? As for vs, we loued prosperitie, and feared aduersitie. But where as for to obtaine the one and auoyde the other we obeyed not the Lorde, nor hearkened to his voice: this was the cause thereof, for that it was not at our libertie so to do, because we were subiect to the dominion of sinne. Vainely therefore are these euilles layde to our charge, which it was not in our power to auoyde. But leuing the pretense of necessitie, wherein they haue but a weake and sickly defence, I aske of them whether they can purge them selues of all fault. For if they be found guilty of any faulte, then the Lorde doth not without cause reproche them, that it came to passe by their peruerfnesse, that they felt not the fruite of his clemencie. Let them aunswere therefore, whether they can denie, that their frowarde will was the cause of their stubbournnesse. If they finde the spring head of the euill within them selues, why gape they to finde out foreine causes, that they might seme not to haue bene authours of their owne destruction? But if it be true that by their owne faulte and none others, sinners are both deprived of the benefites of God, and chastised with punishmentes, then is there great reason why they should heare these reproches at the mouth of God: that if they go obstinately forwarde in their faultes, they may learne in their miseries rather to accuse and abhorre their owne wickednesse, than to blame God of vniust crueltie: that if they haue not cast of all willingnesse to learne, they may be wery of their sinnes, by the deseruinges whereof they see them selues miserable and vndone, and may retourne into the way, and acknowledge the same with earnest confession which the Lorde rehearseth in chiding them. For which purpose it appeareth by the solempne prayer of Daniel, which is in the ninth Chapter, that those chidinges of the Prophetes which are alleged, did auayle with the Godly. Of the first vse we see an example in the Iewes, to whome Hieremie is commaunded to declare the cause of their miseries, wheras yet it shoulde not haue fallen otherwise than the Lorde had foresaide. Thou shalt speake vnto them all these wordes, and they shall not heare thee: thou shalt call them, and they shall not aunswere thee. To what ende then did they singe to deafe men? that being euen loth and vnwilling, yet they shoulde vnderstande that it was true that they hearde, that it were wicked sacrilege if they shoulde lay vpon God the blame of their euils which rested in them selues. By these fewe solutions thou mayst easily deliuer thy

thy selfe from the infinite heape of testimonies, which, for to erect an image of free will, the enemies of the grace of God are wont to gather together, as well out of the commaundementes as out of the protestations against the professors of the law. It is reprochefully spoken in the Psalme concerning the Iewes: A frowarde generation that haue not made their hearte streight. Also in an other Psalme, the Prophet exhorteth the men of his age, not to harden their heartes, and that bycause all the faulte of obstinacie remaineth in the perversnesse of men. But it is fondely gathered therof, that the hearte is pliable to either side, the preparing wherof is onely of God. The Prophet saith: I haue enclined my hearte to keepe thy commaundementes: bycause he had willingly and with a cheerefull earnest affection of minde adicted himselfe to God, and yet he doth not boast him selfe to be the author of his owne inclinatio, which he confesseth in the same Psalme to be the gift of God. Therefore we must holde in minde the admonition of Paule, where he biddeth the faithfull to worke their owne salvation with feare and trembling, bycause it is the Lorde that worketh both the willing and the perfourming. In deede he assigneth them offices, to be doing, that they shoulde not geue them selues to sluggishnesse of the flesh: but in that he commaundeth the to haue feare and carefulnesse, he so humbleth them, that they may remembre that the same thing which they are comaunded to do, is the propre worke of God, wherein plainly he expresseth, that the faithful worke, passively, as I may so call it, in so much as power is ministred them from Heauen, that they should claime nothing at all to them selues. Wherefore when Peter exhorteth vs that we should adde power in faith, he graunteth not vnto vs a seconde office, as if we shoulde do any thing seuerally by our selues, but only he awaketh the slothefullnesse of the flesh, wherewith commonly faith it selfe is choked. To the same purpose seemeth that saying of Paule: Extinguish not y^e spirite, for slouthfullnesse doth oftentimes crepe vpon the faithfull, if it be not corrected. But if any man conclude thereupon, that it is in their owne choise to cherish the light being offered them, his ignorance shall be easily confuted: bycause the selfe same diligence that Paule requireth, cometh onely from God. For we are also oftentimes commaunded to purge our selues from all filthynesse: whereas the holy Ghost dothe claime to him selfe alone the office of making holy. Finally that by way of granting the same thing, is conueyed to vs that properly belongeth to God, is plaine by the wordes of Iohn: Whosoever is of God, saueh him selfe. The aduancers of freewill take holde of this saying, as if we were saued partely by the power of God,

Psa. 78.

8.

Psa. 55.

8.

Psa. 119.

112.

Phil. 2.

12.

2. Pet. 1.

5.

1. Thec.

19.

2. Cor.

7.

1. Ioh. 5.

18.

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partely by our owne: as though we had not from heauen the very

Ioh. 17. same safe keeping, wherof the Apostle maketh mention. For which
15. cause, Christ also praieth his Father to saue vs from euil, and we know
 that the godly, while they warre against Satan, do get the victorie by
 no other armure and weapōs, but by the armure and weapōs of God.

1. Pet. 1. Wherfore when Peter commaunded vs, to purifie our soules in the
22. obedience of truth, he byandby addeth as by way of correction, (by
 the holy Ghost.) Finally, how all mens strength are of no force in the

1. Ioh. 3 spirituall battell, Iohn briefly sheweth, when he sayeth, that they
9. which are begotten of God, can not sinne, because the sede of God

1. Ioh. 5. abideth in them. And in an other place, he rendreth a reason why: for
4 that our faith is the victorie that ouercometh the worlde.

12 Yet there is alledged a testimonie out of the law of Moses, which
 semeth to be much against our saluation. For after the publishing of

Deu. 30 the law, he protesteth vnto the people in this maner. The commaun-
11. dement that I commaunde thee this day, is not hid from thee, nei-
 ther farre of: It is not in heauen, but harde by thee, it is in thy mouth
 and in thy heart, thou shouldest do it. Truly if this be taken to be spo-

ken of the bare cōmaundementes, I graunt they be of no smal weight
 to this present matter. For though it were easy to mocke it out with
 saying, that here is spoken not of the easinesse and redinesse of obser-

Rom. 10 uation, but of knowledge: yet euen so, peradventure it woulde also
8. leaue some doubt. But the Apostle which is no doubtfull expositour,

taketh away all doubt from vs, which affirmeth that Moses here spake
 of the doctrine of the Gospell. But if any obstinate man will say, that
 Paule violently wrested those wordes, that they might be drawene to

the Gospell: although his boldenesse so to say shal not be without im-
 pietie, yet is there sufficiēt matter beside the authoritie of the Apostle
 to conuince him withall. For if Moses spake of the cōmaundementes

only, then he puffed vp the people with a most vaine confidence. For
 what should they els haue done, but throwen them selues down head-
 long, if they had taken vpō them the keping of the lawe by their own

strength, as a thing not hard for them? Where is then that so ready

Deu. 30 easinesse to keepe the lawe, where there is no accesse vnto it, but by a
8. hedlong fall to destruction? Wherfore there is nothing more certaine,

than that Moses in these wordes did meane the couenant of mercie,
 which he had published together with the streight requiring of y^e law.

For in a few verses before he had taught, that our heartes must be cir-

cumcised by y^e hād of God, that we may loue him. Therfore he placed
 y^e easinesse, wherof he streightway after speaketh, not in the strēgth of
 mā, but in y^e helpe & succour of y^e holy Ghost, w^h performeth his worke
 mightely

mightely in our weakenesse. Albeit the place is not simply to be vnderstanded of the commaundementes, but rather of the promises of the Gospell, which are so farre from stablishing a power in vs to obtayne righteousnesse, that they vtterly ouerthrow it. Paul considering that same, proueth by this testimony, that saluation is offred vs in the Gospell, not vnder that hard and impossible condition, wherewith the law dealeth with vs, that is, that they onely shall attayne it which haue fulfilled all the commaundements, but vnder a condition that is easie, ready, and playne to come vnto. Therefore this testimony maketh nothing to challenge freedom to the will of man.

13 There are also certaine other places wot to be obiected, wherby is shewed that God sometime, withdrawing y succour of his grace, trieth men, and wayteth to see to what end they will applie their endeouours, as is that place in Osee: I will go to my place till they put it in their heart and seeke my face. It were a fond thing (say they) if the Lord should consider whether Israel would seke his face, vnlesse their mindes were pliable that they might after their owne wil incline themselves to the one side or the other. As though this were not a thinge commonly vsed with God in the Prophetes, to make a shewe as if he did despise and cast away his people, till they haue amended their life. But what will the aduersaries gather out of such threatnings? If they meane to gather, that the people beinge forsaken of God, may purpose their owne saluation: all the Scripture shall cry out against them in so doing. If they confesse that the grace of God is necessary to conuersion, why strue they with vs? But they so graunt it necessary, that still they will haue mans power preserued vnto him. Howe proue they that? truly not by this place, nor any like to it. For it is one thing, to depart aside from man, and to looke what he will do being giuen ouer and left to himselfe, and an other thinge to helpe his litle strength after the measure of his weakenesse. What then (will some man say) do these manners of speaking meane? I aunswere that they are asinuch in effect, as if God had sayd: Forasmuch as I preuaile nothing with this stubborne people by admonishinge, exhorting and rebukinge, I will withdraw my selfe a while: and sitte still and suffer them to be afflicted: I will see if at length, after long miseries, they will beginne to remember me, to seeke my face. The Lordes goinge farre away, signifieth the taking away of Prophecy: his lookinge what men will do, signifieth that he keepinge silence, and as it were hidinge himselfe, doth for a time exercise them with diuerse afflictions. Both these thinges he doth to humble vs the more. For we shoulde sooner be dulled than amended with the scourges of aduer-

Osee. 5.
14.

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sity, vnlesse he did frame vs to that tractablenesse by his Spirit. Now whereas the Lorde beinge offended, and in a manner weryed with our obstinate stubbornnesse, doth not for a time leaue vs (that is by rakinge away his word in which he is wont to geue vs a certayne presence of himselfe) and doth make a proufe what we would do in his absence, it is falsely gathered hereof that there is any strength of free will that he should behold and trie, forasmuch as he doth it to no other ende, but to driue vs to acknowledge our owne being nothing.

14 They bringe also for their defence the continuall manner of speakinge, that is vsed both in the Scriptures and in the talke of men. For good workes are called ours, and it is no lesse sayd that we do the thing that is holy and pleasinge to God, than that we committe sinnes. But if sinnes be iustly imputed to vs, as proceedinge from vs, truly in righteous doinges also somewhat by the same reason ought to be assigned vnto vs. For it were against reason that it shoulde be sayd that we do those thinges, to the doing whereof being vnable of our owne motiō, we are moued by God like stones. Therefore though we giue the chiefe parte to the grace of God, yet these manners of speakinge do shew that our endeouour hath also yet a second parte. If that thing onely were stil enforced, that good workes are called ours,

Mat. 6. I would obiekt againe, that the bread is called ours, which we pray to haue giuen vs of God. What will they get by the title of possession, but that by the bountifulnes & free gift of God, the same thing becommeth ours, which otherwise is not due vnto vs? Therefore either lette them laugh at the same absurdity in the Lordes prayer, or let them not reckon this to be laughed at, that good workes are called ours, in which we haue no property, but by the liberality of God. But this is somewhat stronger, that the Scripture oftentimes affirmeth that we our selues do worship God, obey the law & apply good workes. Sith these are the duties properly belonging to the minde and will: howe could it agree that these thinges are both referred to the holy Ghost, & also attributed to vs, vnlesse there were a certaine communicatinge of our endeouour with the power of God? Out of these snares we shall easily vnwinde our selues, if we well consider the manner how the spirit of the Lorde worketh in the holy ones. The similitude wherwith they enuiously presse vs is from the purpose, for who is so fonde to thinke that the mouing of man differeth nothing from the casting of a stone? Neither doth any such thinge follow of our doctrine. We reckon among the naturall powers of man, to allow and refuse, to will and not will, to endeouour and to resist, that is, to allow

allowe vanity and to refuse perfect goodnesse, to will euill and to be vnwilling to good, to endeouour our selues to wickednesse and to resist righteousnesse. What doth the Lord herein? If it be his will to vse that peruerfenesse as an instrument of his wrath, he directeth and appointeth it to what end he will, that he by an euill hand may execute his good worke. Shall we then compare a wicked man that so serueth the power of God, when he laboureth onely to obey his owne lust, to a stone that beinge throwen by the violence of an other, is caried neither with mouing nor sense nor will of his owne? We se how much difference there is. But what doth he in good thinges, of which is our principall question? when he erecteth his kingdom in them, he by his spirit restrayneth mans will, that it be not caried vp and downe with wandering lustes, according to the inclination of nature: & that it may be bent to holinesse and righteousnesse, he boweth, frameth, fashio- neth & directeth it to the rule of his righteousnes: and that it should not stumble or fall, he doth stablish and confirme it with the strength of his spirit. For which reason Augustine sayth: Thou wilt say vn- to me: then we are wrought, and worke not. Yea thou both workest and art wrought, and thou workest well when thou art wrought of that which is good. The spirit of God that worketh thee, helpeth them that worke, and giueth himselfe the name of a helper, for that thou also workest somewhat. In the first parte he teacheth, that mans working is not taken away by the mouing of the holy Ghost, because will is of nature, which is ruled to aspire to goodnesse. But where he by and by addeth, that by the name of help, may be gathered that we also do worke somewhat, we ought not so to take it, as if he did giue any thing seuerally to vs: but because he woulde not cherish slouth- fulnesse in vs, he so matcheth the working of God with ours, that to will may be of nature, and to will well of grace. Therefore he sayd a litle before, Vnlesse God helpe vs, we shall not be able to ouercome, no nor yet to fight at all.

15 Hereby appeareth, that the grace of God (as the word is taken when we speake of regeneration) is the rule of the spirit, to direct & gouerne the will of man. And it can not gouerne it, vnlesse it correct it, reforme it, and renew it (from whence we say that the beginninge of regeneration is, that that which is ours might be destroyed) & vn- lesse it moue it, stirre it, drue it forward, cary it and hold it. Where- upon we do truely say, that all the doinges that proceede from it, are wholly the only worke of the same grace. In the meane time we de- nie not that it is very true that Augustine teacheth, that will is not destroyed by grace, but rather repayred. For both these thinges do

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stand very well together : that mens will be sayd to be restored , when the faultinesse and peruersenesse thereof being reformed, it is directed to the true rule of iustice:and also that a new will be sayd to be created in man, forasmuch as it is so defiled and corrupted, that it needeth vtterly to put on a new nature . Nowe is there no cause to the contrary, but that we may well be sayd to do the same thing that the spirit of God doth in vs , although our owne will do of it selfe giue vs toward it nothing at all, that may be seuered from his grace. And therefore we must kepe that in mind, which we haue elsewhere alleged out of Augustine , that some do in vayne trauaile to finde in the will of man some good thinge that is properly her owne . For whatsoeuer mixture men study to bring from the strength of free wil to the grace of God, it is nothings but a corruptinge of it, as if a man would delay wine with dirty and bitter water. But although whatsoeuer good is in the wil of man, it proceedeth from y mere instinct of the holy Ghost, yet because it is naturally planted in vs to will , it is not without cause sayd, that we do those thinges whereof God chalengeth the praise to himselfe. First, because it is ours whatsoeuer by his goodnesse he worketh in vs , so that we vnderstand it to be not of our selues : and then because the minde is ours, the will is ours, the endeouour is ours, which are by him directed to good.

16 Those other testimonies beside these , that they scrape together here and there , shall not much trouble euen meane wittes that haue well conceiued onely the solutions aboue sayd. They allege that saying out of Genesis , Thine appetite shalbe vnder thee , and thou shalt beare rule ouer it. Which they expound of sinne, as if y Lord did promise to Cain, that the force of sinne should not get the vpper had in his minde, if he would labour in subduinge of it. But we say that it better agreeth with the order of the text, that this be taken to be spoken of Abell. For there Gods purpose was to reprove the wickednes of the enuy that Cain had conceiued against his brother. And that he doth two wayes . One, that in vayne he imagined mischief to excell his brother in Gods sight , before whom no honor is giuen but vnto righteousness: the other , that he was to much vnthankfull for the benefit of God which he had already receiued, which could not abide his brother, although he had him subiect vnder his authority . But least we should seme therefore to embrace this exposition, because the other is against vs : let vs admitte that God spake of sinne. If it be so, then God either promiseth or commaundeth that which he there declareth. If he commaundeth, then haue we already shewed that thereby followeth no proufe of the power of man. If he promiseth, where

is the fulfilling of the promise? for Cain became subiect to sinne, ouer which he should haue had dominion. They will say, that in the promise was included a secrete condition, as if it had bin sayd, that he should haue the victory if he would strue for it. But who will receiue these crooked compasses? For if this dominion be meant of sinne, then no man can doubt that it is spoken by way of commaundement, wherein is not determined what we are able to do, but what we ought to do, yea though it be aboue our power. Albeit both the matter it selte and the order of Grammer do require, that there be a comparison made of Cain and Abel, because the elder brother should not haue bin set behinde the yonger, vnlesse he had become worse by his owne wicked doing.

17 They vse also the testimony of the Apostle, which saith, that it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy. Wherby they gather that there is somewhat in mans will and endeuour, which of it selfe, though it be weake, beinge holpen by the mercy of God, is not without prosperous successe. But if they did soberly wey what matter Paule there intreateth of, they woulde not so vnaduisedly abuse this sentence. I know that they may bringe forth Origen and Hierome for maintainers of their exposition: and I coulde on the other side set Augustine against them. But what they haue thought, it maketh no matter to vs, if we know what Paul meant. There he teacheth that saluation is prepared only for them, to whom the lord vouchsaueth to graunt his mercy: and that ruine and destruction is prepared for all those that he hath not chosen. He had vnder the example of Pharao declared the state of the reprobate, & had also confirmed the assurednes of free election by the testimony of Moses, I will haue mercy vpon whom I will haue mercy. Nowe he concludeth, that it is not of him that willeth, or him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy. If it be thus vnderstanded, that wil or endeuour are not sufficiēt, because they are to weake for so great a weight, that which Paule sayth, had not bin aptly spoken: Therefore away with these futtelties, to say: It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, therefore there is some will, there is some running. For Pauls meaning is more simply, thus: It is not will, it is not running that get vs the way to saluation, herin is only the mercy of God. For he speaketh no otherwise in this place than he doth to Titus, where he writeth, that the goodnesse and kindenesse of God appeareth not by the workes of righteousness, which we haue done, but for his infinite mercy. They themselues that make this argument, that Paule meant that there is some will & some running, because he said, y it is not of him

Rom. 9.
16.

Li. 7. in
epist. ad
Rom.
Hier.
dial. in
Pcla.

Tit. 3. 4

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that willeth nor of him that runneth, would not giue me leaue to reason after the same fashon, that we haue done some good workes, because Paul sayth, that we haue not attayned the goodnesse of God by the good works that we haue done. If they see a fault in this argumēt, let them open their eyes, & they shall perceiue that their owne is not without the like deceite. For that is a sure reason that Augustine resteth vpon, If it were therfore sayd that it is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, because neither the will nor the running is sufficient. Then it may be turned on the contrary parte that it is not of the mercy of God, because it alone worketh not. Sith this second is an absurdity, Augustine doth rightfully conclude, that this is spoken to this meaning, that there is no good will of man, vnlesse it be prepared of the Lord, nor but that we ought both to will and to runne, but because God worketh both in vs. No lesse vnaptly do some wrest that sayinge of Paule: We are the workers with God, which out of doubt ought to be restrayned only to the ministers: and that they are called workers with him, not that they bring any thing of theselues, but because God vseth their seruice, after that he hath made the mere and furnished with necessary giftes.

18 They bring forth Ecclesiasticus, who, as it is not vnknownen, is a wryter of whose authority is doubted. But although we refuse it not (which yet we may lawfully do) what doth he testifie for free wil? He sayth, that man so loone as he was created, was left in the hand of his owne counsell: that commaundementes were giuen him, which if he obserued, he shoulde agayne be preserued by them: that before man was set life and death, good and euill: that whatsoeuer he would, should be giuen him. Be it, that man receiued from his creation power to obtaine either life or death. What if on the other side we answer that he lost it? Truly my minde is not, to speake against Salomon, which affirmeth that man at the beginning was create vpright, and he forged vnto himselfe many inuentions. But because man in swaruing, lost as it were by shipwrecke both himselfe and all his good things, it followeth not by and by, that all that is giuen to his first creation belongeth to his nature being corrupted and degenerate. Therefore I answer, not to them onely, but also to Ecclesiasticus himselfe whatsoeuer he be. If thou meane to instruct man, to seeke within himselfe power to attayne saluation, thy authority is not of so great force with vs, that it may be any preiudice, be it neuer so small, against the vndoubted word of God. But if thou only study to restrayne the malice of the flesh, which in laying the blame of her owne euills vpon God, vseth to seeke a vayne defense for it selfe, & therefore thou answerest that

Epi. 107
ad Vi-
talem.

1. Cor. 3
9.

Eccle. 15
14.

Eccle. 7
30.

that vprightnesse was giuen vnto men, whereby it may appeare that himselfe was cause of his owne destruction, I willingly agree vnto it: so that againe thou agree in this with me, that now by his owne fault he is spoyled of those ornamentes, wherwith God had clothed him at the beginning: & that so we confesse together, that now he more needeth a Phisician than a defender.

19 Yet they haue nothing oftener in their mouth thā y parable of Christ of the wayfaring man, whom the eues layd abroad halfe dead in the way. I know that it is common almost with all wryters, that the calamity of mākinde is represented vnder the figure of that wayfaring man. Therupon do our aduersaries gather an argument, y man is not so maymed with the robbery of sinne and the Deuill, but y he keepeth still remayning the leauinges of his former good things, forasmuch as it is sayd, that he was left halfe aliue. For where is that halfe life, vnles some portion both of right reason & will remayned? First if I would not giue place to their allegory, I beseech you, what would they do? For there is no dout that it was deuised by the fathers beside the naturall sense of the Lordes wordes. Allegories ought to go no further than they haue the rule of Scripture going before them: so farre is it of, that they be by themselues sufficient to ground any doctrines. And there want not reasons, whereby I can, if I list, ouerthrow this deuise, for the word of God leaueth not to man halfe a life, but teacheth that he is vtterly dead, for somuch as cōcerneth blessed life. And Paul whē he speaketh of our redemption, doth not say that we were healed, whē we were halfe dead and halfe aliue, but that we were raised vp againe when he were dead. He calleth not vpon them that are halfe aliue to receiue the light of Christ, but them that slepe and are buried. And in like maner speaketh the Lord himselfe, when he sayth, that the houre is come when the dead shall rise againe at his voice. With what face would they set this light allusiō against so many plaine sentences? But let this allegory haue the force of a certaine testimony, yet what shall they wring out of vs therby? Mā is halfe aliue, therfore he hath somewhat left safe. I graunt: he hath a wit capable of vnderstāding, althogh it pearce not to y heauenly and spirituall wisdom: he hath true iudgement of honesty: he hath some feeling of the godhead howbeit y he attaine not the true knowledge of God. But to what purpose come all these thinges? Truly they bring not to passe that the same saying of Augustine be taken frō vs, which is also approued by cōmon consent of the Schooles: that after mans fall the freely giuen good thinges, whereupon saluation hangeth, are taken away from him, and that his naturall giftes are corrupted and defiled. Lette therefore this truth

Luc. 10.
30.

Eph. 2.
5.

Ioh. 5.
25.

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remayne with vs vndouted, which can be shaken by no engines, that the minde of man is so estranged frō the righteousnes of God, that it cōceiueth, coueteth, & enterpriseth al wickednes, filthines, vncleannes, and mischiefe: that his heart is so thoroughly soaked in poyson of sinne, that it can breath out nothinge but corrupt stinke: But if at any time they do vtter any goodnes in shew, yet still the minde remayneth alway wrapped in hypocrisie and deceitfull crookednesse, and the heart entangled with inward peruerfnes.

The vj. Chapter.

That man being lost, must seeke for redemption in Christ.

Sith all mankind hath perished in the person of Adam, that excellence and nobility of beginninge which we haue spoken of would so litle profit vs, that it would rather turne to our greater shame, till God appeare the redeemer in the person of his onely begotten Sonne, which acknowledgeth not men defiled and corrupted with sinne to be his worke. Therefore sith we are fallen from life into death, all that knowledge of God the creator whereof we haue entreated, were vnprofitable, vnlesse there followed also faith setting foorth God a father vnto vs in Christ. Truly this was the naturall order that the frame of the world should be a Schoole vnto vs to learne godlinesse, from whence might be made a passage for vs to eternall life and perfect felicity: but since our fallinge away, whether soeuer we turne our eyes, vpward and downeward, the curse of God still presenteth it selfe vnto our sight, which while it possesseth and enwrappeth innocent creatures by our fault, must needs ouerwhelme our owne soules with desperation. For although Gods will is that his fatherly fauour toward vs do still many wayes appeare: yet by beholding of the worlde we cannot gather that he is our Father when our conscience inwardly pricketh vs, and sheweth that there is in sinne iust cause of forsaking, why God should not accompt or reckon vs for his children. Beside that there is in vs both slouthfullnesse and vnthankfulnesse: because both our mindes, as they be blinded, do not see the truerh, and also as all our senses be peruerse, we maliciously defraude God of his glory. Therefore we must come to that sayinge of Paule:

1. Cor. 1 because in the wisdom of God, the world knew not God by wisdom,
 22. it pleased God by the foolishnesse of preachinge to saue them that belcue. The wisdom of God he calleth this honorable stage of heauen and earth, furnished with innumerable miracles, by beholdinge whereof we ought wisely to haue knowen God. But because we so ill profited therein, he calleth vs backe to the sayth of Christ, which for
 that

that it seemeth foolish, y^e vnbeleuers do disdain. Wherfore although the preaching of the crosse do not agree with mā's wit, yet ought we humbly to embrace it, if we desire to returne to God our creator and maker, that he may beginne againe to be our father. Truly since the fall of the first man, no knowledge of God auailed to saluation, without the Mediatour. For Christ speaketh not of his owne age onely, Ioh. 17. but comprehendeth all ages, whē he sayth that this is the eternall life, 3. to know the father the one true God, & him whom he hath sent Iesus Christ. And so much the fowler is their sluggishnesse, which take vpon them to set open heauen to all prophane and vnbeleuing men; without his grace whom, the Scripture ech where teacheth to be the only gate wherby we entre into saluation. But if any wil restrayne that saying of Christ only to the publishing of the Gospel, we haue in readinesse wherwith to confute him. For this hath bin a cōmon sentence in all ages & among all nations, that without reconciliation they that are estranged from God & pronounced, accursed and the children of wrath, can not please God. And here may be also alleaged that which Christ answered to the womā of Samaria: Ye worship what ye know Iohn. 4. not, but we worship that which we know: because the saluation is frō 21. the Jewes. In which wordes he both condemneth of falsehood all the religions of the Gentiles, and also assigneth a reason why, for that the Redeemer was promised vnder the lawe to the onely chosen people. Whereupon it followeth, that no worship euer pleased God, but that which had respect vnto Christ. For which cause also Paule affirmeth that all the nations of the Gentiles were without God, and voide of Ephē. 2. the hope of life. Now wheras Iohn teacheth that life was from the 12. beginning in Christ, and that all the world fell from it, we must nedes returne to the same fountayne Christ. And therfore Christ, insomuch as he is the reconciler, affirmeth himselfe to be the life. And truly the inheritance of heauen belongeth to none, but to the childré of God. But it is not meete that they be accompted in the place and degree of childré, that are not grafted into the body of the only begotten sonne. And Iohn plainly testifieth, that they which beleue in his name, are made the children of God. But because it is not directly my purpose yet to discourse of sayth in Christ, therefore it shall for this time be sufficient to haue touched it by the way.

2 And therefore God neuer shewed himselfe mercifull to the olde people, nor euer did put them in any hope of grace without the Mediatour. I omitte to speake of the sacrifices of the lawe, wherein the faithfull were openly and plainly taught, that saluation is no where else to be sought, but in the cleansing which was performed by Christ

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alone. Only this I say, that the blessed and happy state of the church hath bin alway grounded vpon y person of Christ. For though God comprehended all the issue of Abraham in his couenant, yet doth Paule wisely reason, that Christ is properly that seede in whom all nations were to be blessed, forasmuch as we know that not all they were reckened his seede that were begotten of him according to the flesh. For (to speake nothing of Ismael and other) how came it to passe that of the two sonnes of Isaac, that is Esau and Iacob, brethren borne at one birth, while they were yet together in their mothers wombe, the one was chosen, the other refused? Yea how came it to passe that the elder was reiected and the yonger only tooke place? And how also came it to passe, that the greater parte should be forsaken? It appeareth therefore, that the seede of Abraham was principally reckened in one person, and that the promised saluation did neuer stande sure till it came to Christ, whose office is to gather together the thinges that were scattered abroad. Therefore the first adoption of the chosen people did hang vpon the grace of y Mediatour. Which though it be not in so plaine wordes expressed by Moses, yet it sufficiently appeareth that it was commonly knowen to all the godly. For before that there was any king create among the people, Hanna the mother of Samuell entreatinge of the felicity of the godly, euen then sayd thus in her song: God shall giue strength to his king, and shal exalt the horne of his anointed. In which wordes she meaneth that God shall blesse his church. Wherewith also agreeth the oracle that is within a litle after adioyned: The Priest whom I shall appoint shall walke before mine anointed. Neither is it to be douted, but that the will of the heavenly father was to haue the liuely image of Christ to be seene in Dauid and his posterity. Therefore meaning to exhorte the godly to the feare of God, he biddeth them to kisse the Sonne. Wherwith this saying of the Gospell also agreeth: He that honoreth not the sonne, honoreth not the father. Therefore although by fallinge away of ten tribes the kingdome decayed: yet it behoued the couenant to stande which God had made in Dauid and his successours: as also he sayd by the Prophets: I will not altogether cut of the kingdom, for Dauid my seruantes sake, and for Hierusalems sake, whom I haue chosen: but there shall remaine one tribe to thy sonne. Where the same thing is repeted the second and third time. It is also expressly added. I will afflict the seede of Dauid, but not for euer with in a litle space of time after, it is sayd. For Dauid his seruantes sake God hath geuen a light in Hierusalem, to rayse vp a sonne and to kepe Hierusalem in sauetic. Now when the state grew toward destruction, it was said agayne: God would

Gal. 3.
16.

1. Sam. 2
10.

Psal. 2.
12.
Ioh. 5.
23.

1. Re. 11.
& 12. 24

1. Kings
11. 39
1. Kings
15. 4.
1 Kings
11. 34

would not scatter Iuda for Dauid his seruantes sake, because he had spokē y he would giue a light to hī & his sonnes for euer. Finally this is the summe, that all other being passed ouer, only Dauid was chosen, vpon whom the good pleasure of God should rest. As in an other place it is sayd: He hath refused the tabernacle of Silo, and the tabernacle of Ioseph, and he hath not chosen the tribe of Ephraim, but he hath chosen the tribe of Iuda, the mount Sion which he hath loued. He hath chosen his seruant Dauid to feede Iacob his people, and Israell his inheritāce. To cōclude, it pleased God so to saue his church, that the safety and preseruatiō thereof should hange vpon that one head, & therfore Dauid crieth out, The Lord y strength of his people, the strength of the saluations of his Christ. And by and by he addeth a prayer: Saue thy people & blesse thine inheritance: meaning that the state of the church is with vnseparable knot ioyned to the gouernmēt of Christ. And in y same meaning in an other place: Lord saue vs: Let the king heare vs in the day y we shall call vpon him. In which words he plainly teacheth, that the faithfull did vpon none other confidence flee to the helpe of God, but because they were hidden vnder the succour of the king. Which is gathered by an other Psalm. Lord saue vs: Blessed is he that cōmeth in the name of the Lord. Where it is plaine enough, that the faithfull are called backe vnto Christ, that they may hope that they shalbe saued by y hand of God. The same respect hath the other prayer, where all the Church calleth vpon y mercy of God. Let thy hand be vpon the man of thy right hand, vpon the sonne of mā, whom thou hast preserued (or appointed) to thy selfe. For though the author of the Psalme bewayleth y scattriſg abroad of the whole people, yet he praieth for their restitution in the head alone. Where, when the people was led away into exile, the land wasted, & all things to mans seruing destroyed, Hieremy lamenteth the ouerthrow of the Church, he doth principally complaine that by destruction of the kingdom all hope was cut of from the faithfull. Christ (sayth he) the spirit of our mouth is taken in our sinnes, to whom we sayd, In thy shadowe we shall liue among the nations. Hereby now it sufficiently appeareth, that because God can not be merciful to mankinde without the Mediatour, therefore Christ was alway set before the holy fathers in time of the law, to whom they might direct their faith.

3 Now, where cōfort is promised in affliction, specially where the deliuerance of the Church is described, there the banner of affiance and hope is auanced in Christ alone. God went out to the sauing of his people with his Messiah, sayth Habacuc. And so oft as the Prophetes make mention of the restoring of the Church, they call backe

Psa. 77.
60. 67.

Psal. 20.
10.

Psa. 118
25. 26.

Psal. 80
18.

Lamēt.
4. 20.

Hab. 3.
13.

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the people to the promise made to Dauid, concerning the euerlasting continuance of the kingdome. And no maruell. For otherwise there had bin no assurace of the couenant. For which purpose serueth that notable answere of Esay. For when he saw that the vnbeleuing kinge Achaz refused that which he had declared to him of the raylinge of the siege of Hierusalem and of present safety, as it were sodainely, he

Esay. 7. passed ouer to Messias. Behold a virgine shall conceiue and bring forth
14. a Sonne, meaninge indirectly that though the king and his people by their frowardnesse refused the promise offered vnto them, as though they did of purpose bend themselues to discredite the trueth of God, yet the couenant should not be voide, but that the Redemer shoulde come at his appointed time. Finally it was the care of all the Prophets, to the ende they might shew that God would be mercifull, alway to set out that kingdom of Dauid, wherupon hanged the redemption

Esa. 55. and euerlasting saluation. So Esay sayth: I will make a couenant
3. with you the faithfull mercies of Dauid. Beholde I haue given him for a witnesse vnto nations, that is, because the saythfull when their state is at the worst, coule not otherwise haue any hope, but by the meanes of him beinge witnesse, that God would be appeaseable toward them.

Hier. 23 Likewise Hieremy, to raise them vp beinge in despeire,
6. sayth: Beholde the dayes come, wherein I will raise vp vnto Dauid a righteous branche, and then shall Iuda be saued, and Israell shall dwell

Eze. 34. in safety. And Ezechiell sayeth, I raise vp one sheepeherd ouer my
23. sheepe, euen Dauid my seruant. I the Lord will be a God to them, and my seruaunt Dauid for a sheepeherd. And I will make a couenant of peace with them. Also in an other place, after he had entreated of

Eze. 37. the incredible renuinge, he sayeth: my seruaunt Dauid shalbe their
25. King, and there shalbe one sheepeherd ouer all, and I will make an euerlastinge couenant of peace with them. I gather here and there a fewe places out of many, because I onely meane to haue the readers putte in minde, that the hope of all the godly hath alway bin reposed no where else but in Christ. And all the other Prophetes also speake

Ose. 1. 12 agreeably hereunto, as it is sayd in Osee. The children of Iuda and
the children of Israell shalbe gathered together, and shall appoynt to themselues one head. Which he afterward more plainely expoundeth,

Ose. 3. 5 The children of Israell shall returne, & shall seeke for the Lord
their God and Dauid their king. And Michee speaking of the returne of the people expressely sayth, The king shall go before them, & the Lord in their head. So Amos meaning to prayse the renuing of the people, sayth: I will in that day raise vp the tabernacle of Dauid that

Amos 9 is fallen downe, and I wil hedge vp the gappes, and raise vp the places
11. ouerthro-

ouerthrowen, euen because that was the only standard of saluation, to haue the royall glory to rise vp againe on hie in the stocke of Dauid, which is fulfilled in Christ. Therefore Zacharie, as his age was nerer to the appearing of Christ, so doth he more plainly crie out: be glad thou daughter of Sion, reioise thou daughter of Hierusalem. Beholde thy king commeth, righteous and saued. Which agreeth with the place of the Psalme before alleaged. The lorde the strength of the saluations of his anointed, Lord saue vs. Where saluation is deriued from the head to the whole body.

Zac. 9.9

4 It was Gods will to haue the Iewes so instructed with these prophecies, that to seke for their deliuerance, they should bend their eyes directly to Christ. And though they had shamfully swarued, yet could not the remembrance of the generall principle be abolished, that God by the hand of Christ, as he had promised to Dauid, would be the deliuerer of his church, and so the couenant should be of his owne free graunt, wherby God had adopted his chosen. Hereby it came to passe, that this songe sounded in the mouth of the children when Christ a litle before his death entred into Hierusalé, Hosanna to the sonne of Dauid. For it appeareth that it was commonly knowen and spoken of, & according to common vse that they song, that the only pledge of Gods mercy remayned vnto them, in the coming of the Redemer. For this cause Christ himselfe, to make his disciples plainly and perfectly beleue in God, biddeth the to beleue on himselfe, Beleue ye in God, (saith he) then beleue also in me. For though (to speake properly) faith climeth vp from Christ to the father, yet he meaneth that the same faith, albeit it rest vpon God, doth by litle and litle vanish away, vnlesse he become a meane to hold it in assured stedfastnesse. Otherwise the maiesty of God is to hie for mortall men, which creepe vpon the grounde like wormes, to attaine vnto it. Wherefore I allowe that common saying, that God is the obiect of faith, but in such sorte that it needeth correction. Because Christ is not in vaine called the inuisible Image of God, but by this title we are put in minde, that if we finde not God in Christ, saluation can not be knowen vnto vs. For although amonge the Iewes, the Scribes and Pharisees had darkened with false inuentions, that which the Prophetes had spoken concerning the Redeemer: yet Christ tooke it for a thing confessed as receiued by common consent, that there was none other remedy, despered case, and no other meane of deliueringe the church, but by giuing the Mediatour. In deede that was not commonly knowen amonge the people as it ought to haue bin, which Paule teacheth, that Christ is the ende of the lawe. But howe true and assured it is, doth playnely

Mat. 21. 5.

Ioh. 14. 1.

Colo. 1. 15.

Ro. 10. 4

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appeare by the law and the Prophetes. I speake not yet of sayth, because there shalbe elsewhere a more conuenient place for it. Only let the readers hold this as fast stablished, that the first degree of godlinesse be, to acknowledge God to be a Father vnto vs, to defend, gouerne and cherish vs, till he gather vs together into the euerlasting inheritance of his kingdom: and that hereby it plainly appeareth which we sayd euen now, that the knowledge of God which bringeth saluation, standeth not without Christ, and that therefore from the beginning he hath bin set forth vnto all the elect, that they should looke vpon him, and that in him should rest all their affiance. Accordinge to this meaning writeth Ireneus, that the Father which is vnmeasurable, is in his Sonne measured, because he hath applied himselfe to y^e measure of our capacity, least he should drowne our mindes with the vnmeasurablnes of his glory. Which thing the phrentike men not considering, do wrest a profitable sentence to a wicked fantasy, as though there were in Christ but a portion of the godhead deriued from the whole perfection: whereas it meaneth nothing else, but that God is comprehended in Christ alone. That sayinge of Iohn hath alway bin true: He y^e hath not the Sonne, neither hath he the father. For though in old time many did boast that they worshipped the soueraigne God, the maker of heauen and earth: yet because they had no Mediatour, it was impossible that they should truly tast of the mercy of God, & so be perswaded y^e he was their father. Therefore because they knew not y^e head that is Christ, the knowledge of God was but vaine amōg them: whereby also it came to passe, that at length falling into grosse & filthy superstitions, they bewrayed their owne ignorance. As at this day the Turkes, although they report with full mouth, that the creator of heauen and earth is their God, yet do they thrust an idole in place of the true God while they swarue from Christ.

1. Ioh. 2.
31.

The vij. Chapter.

*That the law was giuen, not to hold still the people in it,
but to nourish the hope of saluation in Christ
untill his comming.*

BY this continuall processe that we haue rehearsed, may be gathered, that the law was added about foure hundred yeres after the death of Abraham, not for this entēt to lead away the chosen people from Christ: but rather to keepe theyr mindes in expectation untill his comminge, to kindle a desire of him, & to confirme them in looking for him, that they should not waxe faint with long tariance. I meane by this word Law, not only the ten commaundementes

dementes, which prescribe a rule how to liue godlily and righteously, but also the forme of religion deliuered by the hand of Moses. For Moses was not made a lawgiuer to abolish the blessing promised to the kinred of Abraham: but rather we see how euery where he putteth the Iewes in remembrance of that free couenaut made with their fathers whose heires they were, as if he had bin sent to renewe the same. That was most plainely set foorth by the ceremonies. For what were more vaine and fonde, than for men to offer vp lothsome stinke of the fat of cattell, to reconcile themselues to God therby? to flee to the sprinkling of water or bloud to wash away their filthines? Finally, all the seruice of God appointed in the law (if it be considered by it selfe, and do not containe shadows and figures, which the trueth should answere vnto) shalbe but a very mockery. Wherefore not without a cause both in Stephens sermō, & in the Epistle to the Hebrues A.C. 5. is that place so diligently weyed, where God commaūdeth Moses to 44. make all things pertaining to the tabernacle, according to the paterne Heb. 8. 5 that had bin shewed him in the mount. For if there had not bin some Exo. 25. spirituall thing appointed that they should tend vnto, y Iewes should 40. no lesse haue fondly spent their labour in them, than the Gentiles did in their trifles. Prophane men that neuer earnestly applied the study of godlinesse, cannot without lothsome tediousnesse abide to here so many sundry fashions of vsages: and they not onely maruell why God wearied his people with such a heape of ceremonies, but also they despise and scorne them as childrens playes. And the cause is, for that they consider not the end, frō which if the figures of the law be seuered, they must needes be condemned of vanity. But that same figure sheweth, that God did not therefore commaund sacrifices, because he would occupie them that worshipped him with earthly exercises, but rather to raise vp their minds hier. Which may also plainly appeare by his nature: for as he is spirituall, so he is delited with no other worshippinge but spirituall. This do the sayinges of the Prophetes testifie, wherein they rebuke the Iewes of sluggishnes, for that they thought that any sacrifices were of any value with God. Is that because their purpose is to derogate any thing from the law? No, but according as they were true expositours of the law, so they would by this meane haue mens eyes directed to the marke frō which the cōmon people strayed. Now by the grace offered to the Iewes it is certainly gathered, that the law was not void of Christ. For Moses did Exo. 10. set forth vnto them this end of the adoption, that they shoulde be- 6. come a priestly kingdom to God. Which they could not obtaine vnles there were had for the meane therof a greater and more excellent

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reconciliation, than by the blood of beastes. For what is lesse likely than Adams children, which by inheritably descending infection are all borne the bondslaves of sinne, to be aduanced to royal dignity, & so to become partakers of the glory of God, vnlesse that so excellent a benefit shoulde come vnto them from else where than from themselves? Also how could y^e right of priesthoode remaine in force amog them, who by filthinesse of sinnes were abominable to God, vnles they had bin consecrate in a holy head? Wherefore Peter doth very aptly turne that saying of Moises, where he teacheth, that the fulnes of grace, the tast wherof the Iewes had taken vnder the law, was giuen in Christ: Yea are (sayth he) a chosen kinred, a kingly priesthoode. For to this end tendeth that turning of the wordes, to shewe that they, to whom Christ appeared by the Gospel, haue obtained more than their fathers, because they are all endued both wth priestly and kingly honor, that trusting vpon their mediatour, they may freely be bold to come forth into the sight of God.

2 And here by the way it is to be noted, that the kingdom which at length was erected in the house of Dauid, is part of the law, & contained vnder the ministry of Moises. Whereupon followeth, that as wel in all the kinred of the Leuites as in the posterity of Dauid Christ was set before the eyes of y^e olde people as in a double looking glasse. For, as I sayd euen now, they could not otherwise be before God either kings or priestes, which were both the bondslaves of sinne and of death, & defiled by their owne corruption. Herby appeareth that that saying of Paul is most true, that the Iewes were holden as vnder the keeping of a Schoolemaister, till the sede came for whose sake the promise was giuen. For, because Christ was not yet familiarly knowen, they were like vnto children, whose weakenesse could not yet beare a full knowledge of heauenly thinges, but howe they were by ceremonies as it were led by the hand to Christ, is before spoken, & may be better vnderstanded by many testimonies of the Prophetes. For although it was commaunded them to come daily with newe sacrifices to appease God: yet Esay promiseth that all their sinnes shalbe cleansed with one onely sacrifice. Wherewith Daniell agreeably sayeth: The priestes appointed of the tribe of Leui, did enter into the Sanctuary: but of the only priest it was once sayd, that by an oth he was chosen of God to be a priest for euer, according to the order of Melchisedec.

4 At that time the anointing with oile was visible: but Daniel by his vision pronounceth y^e there shalbe an other manner of anointing. And because I will not tary vpon many examples, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues euen from the 4. chapter to the 11. doth largely and plainly

1. Pet. 2.

9.

Gala. 3.

24.

Esa. 53.

Dani. 9.

Psa. 110

4.

plainely enough shewe, that the ceremonies are nothing worth and vaine till we come to Christ. As concerning the tenne commaundemētes: that lesson of Paule is likewise to be kept in minde, that Christ is the ende of the law vnto saluation, to euery one that beleueth: And an other lesson, that Christ is the Spirite that quickeneth the letter which of it selfe slayeth. For in the first of these two, he meaneth that righteousnesse is vainely taught by commaundementes, vntill Christ do geue it both by free imputation and by the spirite of regeneration. Wherefore he worthily calleth Christ the fulfilling or ende of the law. Bycause it shoulde nothing profit vs to knowe what God requireth of vs, vnlesse he did succour vs fainting and oppressed vnder the yoke & vtolerable burden. In an other place he teacheth that the lawe was made for transgressions, that is to bring men to humilitie being proued guilty of their owne damnation. And, bycause this is the true and onely preparation to seke Christ, what so euer he teacheth in diuerse wordes, do all very well agree together. But bycause he then was in contention with peruerse teachers, which sained that we do deserue righteousnesse by the workes of the lawe, to confute their errour, he was compelled sometime to speake precisely of the bare lawe, which yet otherwise is clothed with the couenant of free adoption.

3 But now it is good to know, how being taught by the morall lawe, we are made more inexcusable, that our owne giltyneesse may moue vs to craue pardon. If it be true that we be taught perfection of righteousnesse in the lawe: then this also followeth, that the absolute keping thereof is perfect righteousnesse before God, that is, whereby a man may be demed and accompted righteous before the heavenly throne of iudgement. Wherefore Moses, when he had published the lawe, doubted not to protest before heauen and earth, that he had set before Israell life and death, good and euill. And we may not denie, but that the rewarde of eternall saluation belongeth to the vpright obedience of the lawe, as the Lord hath promised it. Againe, yet it is good to examine, whether we performe that obedience, vpon desert whereof we may conceiue a trust of that rewarde. For to what small purpose is it, to see the rewarde of eternall life set in keping of the lawe, vnlesse we further knowe whether we may by that way attaine to eternall life? But herein the weakenesse of the lawe doth shewe it selfe. For bycause that keping of the lawe is founde in none of vs all, we are excluded from the promises of life, and do fall into curse only. I do not now tell what doth come to passe, but what needes must to come to passe. For where as the doctrine of the lawe is farre aboue the power of man, he may in deede a farre of, looke at the promises,

Rom. 10

4.

2. Cor. 3

6.

Gal. 3.

19.

Deu. 30

19.

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but yet not gather any fruite of them . Therefore this one thing remaineth, that by the goodnesse of them he may the better weye his owne miserie, while he considereth, that all hope of saluation being cut of, death doth certainly hang ouer him . On the other side do presse vs terrible penall lawes, which do holde entangled and fast bounde not onely a fewe of vs, but euery one without exception: they presse vs, I say, and do pursue vs, with vnappeasable rigour, so that we may se most present death in the lawe.

4 Therefore if we loke only vpon the lawe, we can do nothing but be discouraged, be confounded, and despeire, forasmuch as by it we are all damned and cursed, & kept farre of from the blessednesse that he offreth to them that worship him. Wilt thou say then, Doth the Lord so mocke vs? For how smally doth it differ from mocking, to shewe forth a hope of felicitie, to allure and exhorte men vnto it, to protest that it is layed open for vs, when in the meane season the entrie vnto it is forclosed and impossible to be come to? I aunswere: although the promises of the lawe, in so much as they are conditional, do hang vpon the perfect obedience of the lawe, which can no where be founde, yet are they not geuen in vaine. For when we haue learned that they shalbe voide and of no effect vnto vs, vnlesse God embrace vs with his free goodnesse without regarde of our workes, and vnlesse we do embrace by faith the same goodnesse geuen vs by the Gospell, then want they not their effectualnesse, yea with their condition annexed. For then he doth so freely geue all thinges vnto vs, that he addeth this also to the heape of his bountifullnesse, that not refusing our halfe full obedience, and remitting so much as it wanteth of full performance, he so maketh vs to enioy the fruite of the promises of the lawe, as if we our selues had fulfilled the condition. But we will at this present procede no further in this matter, bycause it shalbe more largely to be entreated of, when we shall speake of the Iustification of faith.

5 Wheras we said that it is impossible to kepe the lawe, that is in fewe wordes to be both expounded and proued. For it is wont among the people commonly to be accompted an opinion of great absurditie, so farre that Hierome doubted not to pronounce it accursed: what Hierome thought, I do nothing stay vpon: as for vs, let vs search what is truth. I will not here make long circumstances of diuerse sortes of possibilities. I call that impossible, which both neuer hath ben, and also is hindered by the ordinance and decree of God, that it neuer hereafter may be. If we recorde from the farthest time of memorie, I say that there hath none of the holy men, that being clothed with the bodie

bodie of death, hath euer attained to that full perfection of loue, to loue God with all his heart, with all his minde, with all his soule, with all his power: Againe, that there hath bene none that hath not bene troubled with concupiscence. Who can say Nay? I see in deede what maner holy men foolish superstition doth imagine vnto vs, euen such whose purenesse the heavenly Angels do scarcely counteruaile: but against both the Scripture and profe of experience. I say also, that there shall none hereafter be, that shall come to the marke of true perfection, vnlesse he be loosed from the burden of his bodie. For this point there are open testimonies of Scripture. Salomon said, there is not a righteous man vpon the earth that sinneth not. And Dauid said: every living man shal not be iustified in thy sight. Iob in many places affirmeth the same. But Paule most plainly of all: that the flesh lusteth against the spirite, and the spirite against the flesh. And by no other reason he proueth that all that are vnder the lawe, are subiect to the curse. But bycause it is written, that cursed are all they that do not abide in all the commaundementes therof: meaning, or rather taking it as a thing confessed, that no man can abide in them. And what foeuer is forespoke by the Scriptures, that must be holden for perpetuall, yea and necessarie. With such subtiltie did the Pelagians trouble Augustine, saying that there is wrong done to God, to say that he doth commaund more than the faithfull are able by his grace to performe. Augustine, to auoide their cauillation confessed, that the Lord might in deede, if he woulde, aduance a mortall man to the purenesse of Angels: but that he neither hath done so at any time, nor will do, bycause he hath otherwise affirmed in the Scriptures. And that do I also not denie. But I adde further, that it is inconuenient to dispute of his power against his truth, and that therefore this sentence is not subiect to cauillations if a man shoulde say, that that thing is impossible to be, wherof the Scriptures do pronounce that it shall not be. But if they dispute of the worde: when the Disciples asked the Lorde, who may be saued, he answered: with men in deede it is impossible, but with God all thinges are possible. Also Augustine with a most strong reason stiffely defendeth, that in this flesh we neuer yelde to God the due loue that we owe him. Loue (saith he) so followeth knowledge, that no man can perfectly loue God, but he that hath first fully knowe his goodnesse. We, while we wander in this worlde, see by a glasse and in a darke speech: it followeth therefore, that our loue is vnperfect. Let this therefore remaine out of controuersie, that in this flesh it is impossible to fulfill the lawe, if we behold the weakenesse of our owne nature, as it shall yet also in an other place be proued by Paule.

1. Reg.
8. 46.
Psa. 100
43.
Gala. 3.
10.

Deu. 27
16.

Lib. de
natu. &
gratia.

Mat. 19.
25.

Lib. de
spiritu
& lite-
ra.

Rom. 8.
3.

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6 But that the whole matter may be more plainly set forth : let vs in a compendious order gather vp together the office and vse of the lawe which they call Moral. Now, as farre as I vnderstand, it is conteined in these three partes. The first is, that while it sheweth to euery man the righteousnesse of God, that is, the righteousnesse which only is acceptable to God, it admonish, certifie, proue guilty, yea and condemne euery man of his owne vnrighteousnesse. For so is it nedefull that man blinded and dronke with loue of himselfe, be driuen both to the knowledge and the confession of his owne weakenesse and vncleannesse : for asmuch as if his vanitie be not euidently conuincd, he swelleth with madde affiance of his owne strength, and can neuer be brought to thinke of the sclédernesse therof, so long as he measureth it by the proportion of his owne will. But so sone as he beginneth to compare his strength to the hardnesse of the lawe, there he findeth matter to abate his courage. For how so euer he before conceiued a great opinion of it, yet by and by he feeleth it to pante vnder so great a burden, and then to shake and solter, at laste euen to fall downe and faint. So being taught by the scholing of the lawe, he putteth of that arrogancie wherwith before he was blinded. Likewise he is to be healed of an other disease of pride, wherof we haue said that he is sicke. So long as he is suffred to stand to his owne iudgement, he deuiserh Hypocrisie in stede of righteousnesse, wherwith being contented, he riseth vp in courage, by I wote not, what forged righteousnesse, against the grace of God. But so sone as he is compelled to trie his life by the balaunce of the lawe, the leauing the presumption of the counterfeit righteousnesse, he seeth himselfe to be an infinite space distant from holynesse : Againe, that he sheweth full of infinite vices, wherof before he seemed cleane. For the euils of luste are hidden in so deepe and crooked priuie corners, that they easily deceiue the sight of mā. And not without cause the Apostle saith, that he knewe not luste, except the lawe had said : Thou shalt not luste : bycause except it be by the law disclosed out of her lurking holes, it destroieth miserable man so secretly, that he feeleth not the deadely darte thereof.

Rom. 7.
7.

7 So the lawe is like a certaine looking glasse wherein we beholde, first our weakenesse, and by that our wickednesse, and laste of all by them both our accursednesse, euen as a glasse representeth vnto vs the spottes of our face. For when power faileth man to follow righteousnesse, then muste he needes sticke faste in the mire of sinnes. And after sinne by and by followeth curse. And of howe much the greater transgression the lawe holdeth vs guiltie and conuict, with so much the more greuous iudgement it condemneth vs. For this purpose maketh the

the

the saying of the Apostle, that by the lawe is the knowledge of sinne. *Rom. 3.*
 For there he speaketh onely of the first office of the lawe, the prooffe *23.*
 wherof is in sinners not yet regenerate. And like to this are these two
 sayinges, that the lawe entred that sinne might abound, and therfore *Rom. 5.*
 that it is the ministration of death that worketh wrath and slayeth. *20.*
 For without doubt so much more groweth iniquitie, with how much *2. Cor.*
 more vnderstanding of sinne the conscience is stricken, bycause vnto *3.*
 breach of lawe is added obstinacie against the maker of the lawe. It *Rom. 4.*
 followeth therfore that the lawe armeth the wrath of God to the de- *15.*
 struction of the sinner, bycause of it selfe it can do nothing but ac-
 cuse, condemne and destroie. And as Augustine writeth, if the spirite
 of grace be absent, the lawe is present with vs, onely to this ende, to
 accuse vs and kill vs. And yet when this is said, neither is the lawe dis-
 honored thereby, nor any thing taken from the excellencie thereof. *De cor-
re. & gra-
tia. Vi-
de Am-
brof. cap. 2.
de Iac. & vita
beata. cap. 6.*
 Truly if our will were wholly framed and disposed to the obedience
 of the lawe, then plainly the onely knowledge of it were sufficient to
 saluation. But for asmuch as our fleshly and corrupt nature fighteth,
 as anemie with the spirituall lawe of God, and is nothing amended
 with the discipline thereof, this followeth that the lawe which was ge-
 uen for saluatiō, (if it hadde founde fitte hearers) tourneth to the oc-
 casion of sinne and death. For sith we are all proued transgressors of
 it, the more plainly that it openeth the righteousnesse of God, so
 much the more on the other side it discloseth our iniquitie: the more
 surely that it confirmeth the rewarde of life and saluation laide vp for
 righteousnesse, so much the more assured it maketh the destruction
 of the wicked. So farre is it of therfore that these sayinges shoulde
 be to the dishonour of the lawe, that they much auaille to the more
 glorious commendations of Gods bountie. For truly it hereby ap-
 peareth that we are hindered by our owne wickednesse, and peruers-
 nesse, that we enioy not the blessednesse of life set openly abroad for
 vs by the lawe. Whereby the grace of God that helpeth vs without
 the succour of the lawe, is made so much the sweter, and the mercie
 more louely that geueth it vnto vs, wherby we learne that he is neuer
 wearied with often doing vs good and heaping new giftes vpon vs.

8 And wheras the iniquitie and condemnation of vs all is sealed
 by the testimonie of the lawe, it is not done for this purpose (if at
 leaste we well profit in it) to make vs fall downe with despeire, or with
 discouraged mindes to tumble downe hedlong. In deede the repro-
 bate are amased after that manner, but that is by reason of their ob-
 stinacie, but with the children of God there behoueth to be an other *Rom. 8.*
 ende of instructiō. I graunt, the Apostle testifieth that we are all con- *19.*

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Rom. 11
32. demned by iudgement of the lawe, that euery mouth may be stop-
ped, and that all the worlde may become bounde vnto God: but yet
the same Apostle in an other place teacheth, that God hath conclu-
ded all vnder vnbeliefe, not to destroy all, or to suffer all to perish, but
that he might haue mercy of all, that leauing the foolish opinion of
their owne strength, they might vnderstand, that they stand and are
vpholden by the onely hande of God: that they being naked and
emprie, may flee to his mercie, that they may reſte them ſelues wholly
vpon it, hide them ſelues wholly in it, take holde of it alone in ſteede
of righteouſneſſe and merites, which is laide open in Chriſt for all
men who ſoeuer they be that with true faith do deſire and looke for
it. For God in the commaundementes of the lawe appeareth but a
rewarder of perfect righteouſneſſe, wherof we all are deſtitute, and
on the other ſide a rigorous iudge of euill doinges. But in Chriſt his
face ſhineth full of grace and lenity, euen towarde the wretched and
vnworthy ſinners.

9 Of proſiting, to craue the grace of his helpe, **Auguſtine ſpea-**
Epistol. keth oft, as when he writeth to Hilarie, The lawe commaundeth that
200. endeuoring to do the thinges commaunded, and being wearied with
our weakenefſe vnder the lawe, we ſhoulde learne to aſke the helpe
Epistol. of grace. Againe to Aſelius. The proſit of the lawe is to conuince
200. man of his owne weakenefſe, and compell him to craue the Phyſicke
Epistol. of grace that is in Chriſt. Againe to Innocent of Rome, The lawe
96. commaundeth, and grace miniſtreth ſtrength to do. Againe to Va-
Lib. de lentine: God commaundeth thoſe thinges that we can not do, that
corre. & we may learne to knowe what to aſke of him. Againe: The lawe was
gratia. geuen to accuſe you, that being accuſed you ſhould feare, that fearing
In Pſal. you ſhoulde craue pardon, and not preſume of your owne ſtrengthes.
70. Againe: The lawe was geuen for this purpoſe, of great to make little,
In Pſal. to ſhewe that thou haſt no ſtrength of thine owne to righteouſneſſe,
118. that thou as poore, vnworthy and needy, ſhouldeſt flee vnto grace.
Ser. 27. After, he tourneth his ſpeech to God and ſaith: Do ſo Lorde, do ſo
merciful Lorde, commaunde that which can not be fulfilled: yea, com-
maunde that which can not but by thy grace be fulfilled, that when
men can not fulfill it by their owne ſtrength, euery mouth may be
ſtopped, and no man may thinke him ſelfe great. Let all be little ones,
and let all the worlde be guilty before thee. But I am not wiſe to heape
vp ſo many teſtimonies, ſiſh that holy man hath writtē a booke pro-
prely of that matter, which he hath intituled, Of the Spirit and Let-
ter. The ſeconde proſiting he doth not ſo liuely deſcribe, either by-
cauſe he knewe that it did hang vpon the former, or bycauſe he did

not so well vnderstand it, or bycause he wanted wordes where with distinctly & plainly to expresse his meaning of it, which yet he rightly conceyued: but this first office of the lawe is not idle euen in the reprobate also. For though they go not thus farre forward with the children of God, that after the throwing downe of their flesh they be renued and flourish againe in the inward man, but amased with the first terrour do lie still in desperation: yet it serueth to shewe forth the equitie of Gods iudgement, that their consciences be tossed with such wayes. For they euer willingly desire to make shifte against the iudgement of God. Nowe while the same is not yet opened, they yet so astonished with the testimonie of the lawe and their conscience do bewraie in them selues what they haue deserued.

10 The second office of the lawe, is that they which are touched with no care of that which is iust and right, vnlesse they be compelled, when they heare the terrible penall ordinaunces therein, may be restrayned at least with feare of punishment. But they are restrained, not because their inwarde minde is moued or affected withall, but bycause being as it were brided, they withhold their hande from outwarde worke, and do keepe in their peruerseness within them, which otherwise they woulde haue outragiously poured out. Thereby they become truely nether the better, nor the more righteous before God. For although being letted either by feare or by shame, they dare not put that in practise which they haue conceiued in their minde, nor openly blow abroad the rages of their lust: yet haue they not a heart framed to the feare & obediēce of God, yea the more that they holde backe them selues, so much the stronglier within they are kindeled, they burne, they boile, ready to do any thing, and to breake forth any whether, if this terrour of the lawe did not stay them. And not that onely, but also they most spitefully hate the lawe, and do detest God the lawemaker, so that if they coulde, they would very faine take him away, whome they can not abide, neither when he commaundeth rightfull thinges, nor when he reuengeth him vpon the despisers of his maiestie. In some in deede more darkly, and in some more plainly, but in all generally that are not regenerat, is this feeling, that they are drawn to the following of the lawe not by willing submission, but resisting and against their willes, only by violence of feare. But this constrained and enforced righteousness is necessarie for the publike common state of men, the quiet wherof is herin provided for, while ordre is taken that all thinges be not cōfounded with vpror, which woulde come to passe, if all thinges were lawefull for all men. Yea it is not vnprofitable for the childre of God to be exercised with this Scholing,

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so long as they before their calling being yet destitute of the spirite of sanctification, are still wanton with the folly of the flesh. For when they are drawn backe, though it be but from outwarde licentiousnesse, by the terrour of Gods vengeance, although for that they are not yet tamed in minde, they go for the present time but a little forward, yet they partly grow in vre to beare the yoke of Christ, so that when they are called, they be not altogether rude and raw to discipline, as to a thing vnknown. This office the Apostle seemeth properly to haue touched; when he saith that the lawe was not set for the righteous man, but for the vnrighteous and disobedient, wicked and sinners, euill doers and prophane men, slaiers of their parêtes, and murtherers, fornicators, Sodomites, robbers of children, lyers and periured men, and what soeuer ells is against sounde doctrine. For he saith, that it is a stay to the wilde outraging lustes of the flesh, that ells woulde stray abroad without measure.

11 But to both may that be applyed which he saith in an other place, that the lawe was to the Iewes a Schoolemaister to Christ, for there are two sortes of men, whom with her schooling she leadeth by the hande to Christ. The one sorte, of whome we first spake, bycause they are to full of affiance of their owne strength or righteousness, are not meete to receiue the grace of Christ, vnlesse they be first emptied, therefore the lawe bringeth them downe to humilitie by knowledge of the selues, that so they may be prepared to desire that which before they thought they wanted not. The other sorte neede a bridle to be holden backe, least they so geue loose the reines to the wantonnesse of their flesh, that they fall of altogether from all studie of righteousness. For where the spirite of God doth not yet gouerne, there sometime lustes do so boile, that it is in great perill least they throw downe the soule that is subiect to them into the forgetfulnessse and despisinge of God: and so woulde it come to passe if God did not with this remedy prouide for it. Therefore those whom he hath appointed to the inheritaunce of his kingdome, if he do not by and by regenerate them, he keepeth them by the workes of the lawe vnder feare, vntill the time of his visitation, not that chaste and pure feare such as ought to be in children, but yet a profitable feare for this that they may according to their capacitie be taught by introduction to true godlinesse. Of this we haue so many proues, that it needeth no example. For who soeuer haue any time continued in not knowing of God, will cōfesse that this happened vnto them, that they were holden by the bridle of the law in some feare & obediēce of God, vntil the time that being regenerate by his spirit, they beganne hartely to loue him.

12 The third vse, which is also the principall vse, and more nearely loketh vnto the propre ende of the lawe, concerneth the faithfull, in whose heartes already liueth and reigneth the spirite of God. For although they haue the lawe written and grauen in their heartes by the finger of God, that is to say, be so affectioned and minded by the direction of the spirite that they desire to obey God, yet do they still two waies profite in the lawe. For it is to them a very good meane, whereby they may dayly better and more assuredly learne what is the will of the Lord which they aspire vnto, and may be confirmed in the vnderstanding thereof. As if a seruauant be already bente with all the affection of his hearte, to please his Lorde: yet hath he neede diligently to searche out and marke the fashions of his Lorde, that he may frame and apply him selfe vnto them. And let none of vs exempt him selfe from this neede. For no manne hath hetherto attained to so great wisdom, but that he may by dayly instruction of the lawe get newe profit in proceeding to the purer knowledge of Gods will. Then bycause we neede not onely doctrine but also exhortation: this other profite shall the seruauant of God take by the lawe, to be by the often meditation thereof stirred vp to obedience, to be strengthened in it, to be holden backe from the slippery way of offending. For after this maner, must these holy ones driue forwarde them selues, which with how great cheerefulnesse so euer they trauaile to Godwarde according to the spirite, yet they are alway loden with the sluggishnesse of y flesh, that they procede not with such ful redinesse as they ought. To this flesh is the lawe geuen as a whippe, that like a slowe and dull Ass it may be pricked forwarde to worke. Yea to the spirituall man, bycause he is not yet dispatched of the burden of the flesh, it shall be a continuall pricke that suffereth him not to stand still. Euen to this vse Dauid hadde respect, when he did set forth the lawe with those notable praises: The lawe of the Lorde is vndefiled, conuerting soules: the iustices of the Lorde are vpriight, and chearing heartes: the commaundemente of the Lorde is bright, that geueth light to the eyes. &c. Againe: A launterne to my feete is thy worde, and a light vnto my pathes, and innumerable other that he rehearseth in all that Psalme. Neither are these things against the sayinges of Paule, wherein is shewed, not what vse the lawe ministreth to the regenerate, but what it is able to geue to manne of it selfe. But here the Prophet reporteth with howe great profite the Lorde doth instruct them by reading of his lawe, to whome he inwardely inspireth a readynesse to obey. And he taketh holde not of the commaundementes onely, but also the promise of grace annexed to the things,

Psal. 119.
8.

Ps. 119.
105.

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whiche onely maketh the bitterneſſe to waxe ſweete. For what were leſſe ameable than the lawe, if it ſhoulde onely with requiring and threatening trouble ſoules carefully with feare, and vexe them with terrour? But ſpecially Dauid ſheweth, that he in the lawe conceyued the Mediatour, without whome there is no delite or ſweeteneſſe.

Deu. 31
6.
Pſal. 1. 2

13 Which while ſome vnſkillfull men canne not diſcerne, they boldely ſhake a way all Moſes, and bidde the two tables of the lawe farewell, bycauſe they thinke it is not agreeable for Chriſtians to cleaue to that doctrine that conteineth the miniſtration of death. Let this prophane opinion departe farre out of our mindes. For Moſes taught excellently well, that the ſame Lawe which with ſinners can engendre nothing but death, ought in the holy to haue a better and more excellent uſe. For thus, when he was ready to die, he openly ſaide to the people: Lay your heartes vpon all the wordes that I do teſtifie to you this daie, that ye maie committe them to your children, that ye maie teache them to keepe, to do, and to fullfill all the thinges that are written in the volume of this lawe, bycauſe they are not vainely commaunded you, but that euery one ſhoulde liue in them: but if no manne canne denie that there appeareth in it an absolute paterne of righteouſneſſe, then either we muſte haue no rule at all to liue iuſtely and vprightly, or els it is not lawefull for vs to departe from it. For there are not many but one rule of life which is perpetuall and canne not be bowed. Therefore, whereas Dauid maketh the life of a righteous manne continually buſied in the meditation of the lawe, let vs not referre that to one age onely, bycauſe it is moſte meete for all ages, to the ende of the worlde: and let vs not therefore be frayed awaie, or flee from being inſtructed by it, bycauſe it appointeth a muche more exact holynesse than we ſhall performe, while we ſhall carry about the perſon of our bodie. For nowe it executeth not againſt vs the office of a rigorous exacter that will not be ſatiſfied, but with his full taſke performed: but in this perfection where vnto it exhorteth vs, it ſheweth vs a marke, towarde which in all our life to endeuour, is no leſſe profitable for vs, than agreeable with our durie. In which endeuour if we faile not, it is well. For all this life is a race, the ſpace whereof being runne out, the Lord wil graunt vs to attein to that marke, towarde which our endeuoures do trauaile a farre of.

14 Nowe therefore, whereas the lawe hath towarde the faithfull a power to exhorte, not ſuch a power as may binde their conſciences with curſe, but ſuche as with often calling on, may ſhake of ſluggiſhneſſe

nesse and pinche imperfection to awake it : many when they meane to expresse this deliuerance from the curse thereof, do say , that the lawe is abrogate to the faithfull. (I speake yet of the lawe morall) not that it doth no more commaunde them that which is right, but only that it be no more vnto them that which it was before, that is, that it do no more , by making afraide and confounding their consciences, damne and destroie them. And truely such an abrogation of the lawe, Paule dothe plainely teache, and also that the Lord himselfe spake of it , appeareth by this that he woulde not haue confuted that opinion Mat. 5. that he shoulde dissolue the lawe, vnlesse it hadde bene commonly receyued among the Iewes . But forasmuch as it could not rise causelesly and without any colour , it is likely that it grewe vpon false vnderstanding of his doctrine , as in a maner all erroures are wonte to take occasion of truthe, but least we shoulde also stumble at the same stone, let vs diligently make distinction, what is abrogate in the lawe, and what remaineth yet in force. Where the Lord protesteth that he came not to destroie the lawe , but to fullfill it : and that till heauen and earth passe away, no one iote of the lawe shoulde passe away , but that all shoulde be fullfilled : he sufficiently confirmeth that by his comming nothing should be taken away from the due keeping of the lawe. And for good cause : firs he came rather for this ende, to heale offences. Wherefore the doctrine of the lawe remaineth for all Christians, inuiolable, which by teaching, admonishing, rebuking and correcting may frame and prepare vs to euery good worke.

15 As for those thinges that Paule speaketh of the curse, it is euident that they belong not to the very instruction , but onely to the force of binding the conscience. For the lawe not onely teacheth, but also with authoritie requireth that which it commaundeth . If it be not perfourmed, yea if duety be slacke in any parte , it bendeth her thunderboulte of curse. For this cause the Apostle saith, that all they Gala. 3. that are of the workes of the lawe, are subiect to the curse , bycause it 10. is written : Cursed is euery one , that fulfilleth not all. And he saith, Deu. 27 that they be vnder the workes of the lawe, that do not set righteousnesse 26. in the forgeuenesse of sinnes, by which we are loosed from the rigor of the lawe. He teacheth therefore that we must be loosed from the bondes of the lawe, vnlesse we will miserably perish vnder them. But from what bondes ? the bondes of that rigorous and sharp exacting, that releaseth nothing of the extremitie of the lawe, and suffreth not any offence unpunished. From this curse (I say) that Christ might redeme vs , he was made a curse for vs . For it is written : Cursed is Gal. 3. euery one that hangeth vpon the tree . In the chapter following in 12. and 5.4.

deede he saith, that Christ was made subiect to the lawe, to redeme them that were vnder the lawe: but all in one meaning, for he by-andby addeth, that by adoption we might receiue the right of children. What is that? that we shoulde not be oppressed with perpetuall bondage, that shoulde holde our conscience fast strained with anguish of death. In the meane time this alway remaineth vnshaké, that there is nothing withdrawn of the authority of the lawe, but that it ought still to be receiued of vs with the same reuerence and obedience.

- 16 Of ceremonies it is otherwise, which were abrogate not in effect, but in vse onely. And this, that Christ by his comming hath made an ende of them, doth so nothing diminish their holinesse, that it rather setteth them forth, and maketh them glorious. For as they shoulde haue geuen but a vaine shew to the olde people, vnlesse the power of the death & resurrection of Christ had bene shewed therein, so if they had not ceased, we coulde not at this day discern to what purpose they were ordained. Therefore Paule, to proue that the keeping of them now is not onely superfluous, but also hurtfull, teacheth that they were shadowes wherof we haue the body in Christ. We see therefore how in the abolishing of them, the trueth shineth better than if they did still a farre of, and as it were with a veile spred before, shewe a figure of Christ that hath already plainly appeared. And therefore the veile of the temple at the death of Christ was torne in two peeces and fell downe: because now the true and expres image of the heauenly good thinges was come to light, which before had bene but vnperfectly begonne with darke rude daughters, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues saith. Herevnto serueth that saying of Christ, that the lawe & the Prophetes were vnto the time of Iohn, and that from that time forwarde, the kingdome of God beganne to be ioyfully preached: not meaning that the holy fathers were without the preaching that cōtaineth the hope of saluation, & of eternall life, but because a farre of, and vnder shadowes only they did beholde that which we at this day see in the full light. But why it behoued that the church of God shoulde climbe vp hyer from those first instructions,
- Col. 2. 17. Iohn the Baptist declareth: for that the lawe is geuen by Moses, but grace and trueth beganne by Iesus Christ. For although the purging of sinnes were truely promised in the olde sacrifices, and the Arke of the couenant was a sure pledge of the fatherly fauor of God: yet all this had bene but a shadowe, if it had not bene grounded vpon the grace of Christ, wherein is sounde, perfect, and eternall stedfastnesse. Let this then remaine sure, that although the cremonial vsages of the lawe haue ceased to be obserued, yet by the ende of them it is the better
- Mat. 27 51.
- Heb. 10 1.
- Luk 16 26.
- Iohn. 1. 15.

better knowne howe great was the profit of them before Christes cō-
ming, which in taking away the vse of them hath sealed the force and
effect of them with his death.

17 Somewhat more hard is the point that Paule noteth . And he Col. 2.
hath renued you together with him, when ye were dead by sinnes, and 12.
the vncircumcision of your flesh, forgiuing you all your offences, blot-
ting out the handwriting that remained in the decrees against vs,
which was contrary vnto vs, and he hath taken it away, fastening it to
the crosse. &c. For he seemeth to stretch the abolishing of the lawe
somewhat further that now we haue nothing to do with the decrees
thereof. For they erre that expounde it of the lawe morall, whose
vnappeasable rigor rather then doctrine thereof they thinke to be ta-
ken away. Some more depely waying the wordes of Paule, do espie
that it is properly spoken of the lawe ceremoniall, and do shew that
this worde Decree, doth more than once so signifie in Paule. For to Eph. 2.
the Ephesians he saith thus: He is our peace, that maketh both to be 14.
one, that maketh voide the lawe of commaundementes consisting in
the decrees, that he might make two in himselfe into one newe man.
It is no dout that he speaketh there of the ceremonies, for he calleth
it the partition wherewith the Iewes were seuered from the Gentiles:
wherefore I graunt that those first expositors are rightfully reprobued
by these: but yet me thinkes that these do not sufficiently well set forth
the minde of the Apostle. For I like not at all, to haue these two pla-
ces compared together in all pointes, when his purpose was to aduer-
tise the Ephesians of their adoption into the fellowship of Israel, he
teacheth that the stop is taken away, wherby they were before time
kept asunder, that was in ceremonies. For the vsages of washinges and
sacrifices, wherewith the Iewes were made holy vnto the Lorde, do
seuer them from the Gentiles. But in the Epistle to the Colossians,
who seeth not that he toucheth a hyer misterie? In deede the point
of the disputation there, is of Mosaicall obseruations wherevnto the
false Apostles did labor to driue the Christian people. But, as in the
Epistle to the Galathians he fetcheth that controuersie further of, and
as it were bringeth it backe to the first head therof, so doth he also in
this place. For if in the ceremonies you consider nothing els but a
necessitie of the vse of them, to what purpose was it, to call it a hand-
writing against vs? moreouer to set the whole summe in a maner of
our redemption in this, that it shoulde be cancelled? Wherefore the
matter is selfe trieth out, that here is some more secret thing to be cō-
sidered. And I trust that I haue attained the naturall vnderstanding of
it, if at least this be graunted me to be true, which in one place is most

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Heb. 7.
& 9. &
10.

truely written by Augustine, yea that he hath taken out of the plaine wordes of the Apostle, that in the Iewish ceremonies was rather a confessiō than a clensing of sinnes. For what did they els by sacrifices, but confesse them selues in their conscience guilty of death, that did put clensinges in their place? What did they with their clensinges, but testifie them selues to be vncleane? And so was the handwriting of their sinne, and vncleannesse oft renued by them, but there was no discharge in that testifying thereof. For which cause the Apostle writeth that at length by meane of the death of Christ, was perfourmed the redemption of the offences that remained vnder the olde Testament. Therefore the Apostle doth worthily cal the ceremonies handwritings against those that obserue them: forasmuch as by them they did openly seale to their owne damnation and vncleannesse. And it hindereth not, that they were also partakers of the same grace with vs. For this they obtained in Christ, not in the ceremonies, which there the Apostle doth seuer from Christ, because being at that time vsed, they did obscure the glorie of Christ. Thus learne we, that the ceremonies, if they be considered by themselves, are well and fitly called handwritings against the saluation of men, because they were as solemne instrumentes that testified their being bounde. When the false Apostles went about to binde the Christian Church to them againe. Paule did not without cause admonish the Colossians, by fetching the signification of them further of, to what pointe they shoulde fall backe againe, if they suffered them selues in such sorte to be yoked by them. For therewithal was the benefite of Christ wrested away from them, in as much as he hauing once performed the eternall clensing, hath vtterly abolished those dayly obseruations, which were only of force to seale sinnes, but coulede do nothing to the putting away of them.

Heb. 9.
15.

The viij. Chapter.

An exposition of the Morall lawe.

HERE I thinke it shall not be from the purpose, to enterlace the tenne commaundementes of the lawe with a shorte exposition of them, because thereby both that shall better appeare which I haue touched, that the same keeping of them which God hath once appointed, remaineth yet in force: and then also we shall haue besides that a prooffe of the seconde point, that the Iewes did not only learne by it what was the true force of godlynesse, but also by the terror of the iudgement, sith they saw themselves vnable to keepe it, they were compelled whether they woulde or no, to be drawen to the Mediator. Nowe in setting forth the summe of those

those things that are required in the true knowledge of God, we haue allready taught, that we cannot conceiue him according to his greatnesse, but that by and by his maiesty presenteth it selfe vnto vs, to binde vs to the worship of him. In the knowledge of our selues we haue set this for the chiefe point, that being voide of the opinion of our owne strength, and cleane stripped of the trust of our owne righteousness, and on the other side discouraged and beaten downe with conscience of our owne nedinesse, we shoulde learne perfect humilitie and abasement of our selues. The Lord setteth forth both these pointes in his lawe, where first chalenging to himselfe due power to gouerne, he calleth vs to the reuerence of his diuine maiestie, and apointeth our vnto vs wherein it standeth and consisteth: and then publishing a rule of his righteousness, (against the righteousness whereof our nature as it is peruerse and crooked, doth alway strue, and beneath the perfection whereof our power as of it selfe it is weake and feble to do good, lieth a greate way belowe) he reprobeth vs both of weakness and vnrighteousnesse. Moreouer that inwarde lawe which we haue before said to be grauen and as it were imprinted in the hartes of al men, doth after a certaine maner enforme vs of the same things that are to be learned of the two tables. For our conscience doth not suffer vs to sleepe a perpetuall sleepe without feeling, but that it inwardly is a witnesse and admonisher of those things that we owe to God, and layeth before vs the difference of good and euill, and so accuseth vs when we swarue from our duetie. But man being wrapped in such darkenesse of errours as he is, skarfe euē slenderly tasteth by that lawe of nature, what worship pleaseth God: but truely he is very farre distant from the right knowledge thereof. Beside that, he is so swollen with arrogancie and ambition, and so blinded with selfe loue, that he can not yet looke vpon, and as it were, descend into him selfe to learne to submit and humble him selfe, and confesse his owne miserie. Therefore (as it was necessary both for our dulnesse and stubbornnesse) the Lorde hath set vs a lawe written, which shoulde both more certainly testifie that which in the law naturall was too obscure, and also should shake away our drowlinesse, and more liuely touche our minde and remembrance.

2 Nowe it is easy to vnderstand what is to be learned of the lawe, that is, that as God is our creator, so of right he hath the place of our father and Lorde, and that by this reason we owe to him glorie, reuerence, loue and feare. Yea and also that we are not at our owne libertie, to followe whether so euer that lust of our minde doth moue vs, but that we ought to hang vpon his becke, and to rest onely vpon

that which pleaseth him. Then we learne, that he deliteth in righteousness and vprightnesse, that he abhorreth wickednesse, and therefore, that vnlesse we will with wicked vnthankfulnesse fall away from our creator, we must necessarily obserue righteousness all our life lōg. For if then only we yelde vnto him the reuerence that we owe, when we prefer his will before our owne, it followeth, that there is no other due worship of him, but the obseruation of righteousness, holynesse & cleanness. Neither may we pretend this excuse that we want power, and like wasted debtors be not able to pay. For it is not convenient that we shoulde measure the glory of God by our owne power: for whatsoever we be, he alway abideth like to himselfe, a louer of righteousness, a hater of wickednesse. What soeuer he requireth of vs (because he cā require nothing but that which is right) by bonde of nature we muste of necessitie obey: but that we are not able, is our owne fault. For if we be holden bounde of our owne lust wherein sin reigneth, so y we are not lose at libertie to obey our father, there is no cause why we should allege necessitie for our defence, the euill wherof is both within vs, and to be imputed vnto our selues.

3 When we haue thus farre profited by the teaching of the lawe, then must we by the teaching of the same lawe also descend vnto our selues: whereby at length we may cary awaie two thinges. The first is, by comparing the righteousness of the lawe with our life, to learne, that we are farre of from being able to satisfie the will of God, and that therefore we are not worthy to haue place among his creatures, much lesse to be reckened among his children. The second is, in considering our strength, to learne that it is not onely insufficient to fulfill the lawe, but also vtterly none at all. Hereupon followeth both a distrust of our owne strength, and a care and fearefullnesse of minde. For conscience can not beare the burden of iniquitie, but that by and by the iudgement of God is present before it: and the iudgement of God can not be felte, but that it striketh into vs a dreadfull horror of death. And likewise being constrained with proues of her owne weakenesse, it can not choose but by and by fall into despeire of her own strength. Both these affectiōs do engendre humility & abatement of courage. So at length it commeth to passe, that man made afraide with feling of eternal death, which he seeth to hang ouer him by the deseruing of his owne vnrighteousnesse, turneth him selfe to the only mercy of God, as to the onely haue of saluation: that feling that it is not in his power to pay that he oweth vnto the lawe, despairing in him selfe, he may take breath againe and beginne to craue and looke for helpe from els where.

4 But the Lord not contented to haue procured a reuerēce of his righteousnesse, hath also added promises and threatnings, to fill our heartes with loue of him, and with hatred of wickednesse. For, because our minde is to blinde, to be moued with the onely beauty of goodnesse, it pleased the most mercifull Father of his tender kindenesse, to allure vs with sweetenesse of rewardes, to loue and long for him. He pronounceth therefore, that with him are rewardes layd vp for vertue, and that he shall not spende his labour in vaine, whosoever he be, that shall obey his commaundementes. He proclaimeth on the other side, that he not only abhorreth vnrighteousnesse, but also that it shall not escape unpunished, for that he will be a reuenger of the contempt of his maiesty. And to exhort vs by all meanes, he promiseth as well the blessings of this present life, as also eternall blessednesse, to their obedience that keepe his commaundementes: and to the transgressours therof, he threatneth both present miseries and the punishment of eternall death. For the same promise, (he that doth these things, shall liue in them:) and also the threatening that answereth it, (the soule that sinneth, that same shall die) do without dout belong to the immortality or death that is to come, and shall neuer be ended. Albeit, wheresoever is mentioned the good will or wrath of God, vnder the one is contained the eternity of life, vnder the other eternall destruction. Of present blessings and curses there is a long register rehearsed in the law. And in the penall ordinaunces appeareth the so-
Leu. 18.
5.
Eze. 18.
4. & 20.
Leu. 26.
4.
De. 28. 1.
 ueraigne cleanness of God, that can suffer no iniquity: but in his promises, beside his great loue of righteousnesse, (which he cannot finde in his heart to defraude of her reward) there is also proued his maruelous bountifullnesse. For whereas we and all ours are indetted vnto his maiesty, by good right whatsoever he requireth of vs, he demaundeth it as due det, but the payment of det is not worthy of reward. Therefore he departeth with his owne right, whē he offereth reward to our obediences, which we do not yeld of our selues as things that were not due: but what those promises do bring vnto vs, is partly sayd already, and partly shall appeare more plainly in place fit for it. It sufficeth for this present, if we remember and consider, that there is in the promises of the law, no small commendation of righteousnesse, that it may the more certainly appeare howe much the keepinge thereof pleaseth God: that the penall ordinaunces are set for the more detestation of vnrighteousnesse, least the sinner, delited with the swete flatterings of vices, should forget that the iudgement of the lawmaker is prepared for him.

5 Now whereas the Lord giuing a rule of perfect righteousnesse,

hath applied all the partes thereof to his owne will, therein is declared that nothing is to him more acceptable than obedience, which is so much more diligētly to be marked, as the wantonneſſe of mans minde is more ready to deuise nowe and then diuerſe ſortes of worshipping to winne his fauour withall. For in all ages that irreligious affectation of religion, becauſe it is naturally planted in the witte of man, hath ſhewed and yet doth ſhew ſoorth it ſelfe, that men do alway delite to inuent a way to obtaine righteousneſſe beſide the word of God, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that the commaundementes of the law haue but ſmale place among the workes that are commonly called good works, while that innumerable route of mens workes occupieth almoſt all the roome. But what other thing meant Moſes than to reſtraine ſuch licentiousneſſe, when after the publiſhing of the law he ſpake thus to the people: Giue heede, and heare all y things that I commaund thee, that it may be well to thee and to thy children after thee for euer, when thou ſhalt do that which is good and pleaſaunt before thy God. What I commaunde thee, that onely do: adde not vnto it, nor diminith it. And before, when he had proteſted, that this was his wiſedom and vnderſtanding before other nations that he had receiued iudgementes, righteousneſſe and ceremonies of the Lord, he ſayd further, keepe therefore thy ſelfe & thy ſoule carefully, that thou forget not the wordes which thine eyes haue ſcene, and that at no time they fall out of thy heart. For, becauſe God did foreſee, that the Iſraelites woulde not reſt, but that after they had receiued the lawe, they would beſide it trauaile in bringinge ſoorth new righteousneſſe, if they were not ſeuerely holden backe: therefore he proneunceth that herein is contained the perfection of righteousneſſe, which ſhoulde haue bin the ſtrongeſt ſtay to hold them backe, and yet they did ceſſe from that boldneſſe ſo much forbidden them. But what of vs? we are ſurely comprehended within the ſame charge: for it is no dout that that continueth ſtill whereby the Lord hath chalenged to his law the abſolute doctrine of righteousneſſe, yet we not contented therewith, do monſtrouſly trauaile with forginge and coyninge of newe good workes one vpon an other. For the healing of this fault, the beſt remedy ſhalbe, if this thought ſhalbe ſtedfaſtly ſettled in vs, that the law is giuen vs from God to teach vs a perfect righteousneſſe: that therein is taught no righteousneſſe, but the ſame that is examined, by the appointed rule of Gods will: that therefore new formes of workes are vainely attempted to winne the fauour of God, whoſe true worſhip ſtandeth in onely obedience: but rather that ſuch ſtudy of good works as wandereth out of the lawe of God, is an intolerable deſilinge of

Gods

Deu. 12.
28.

Deu. 4
9.

Gods righteousness and of the true righteousness Augustine also sayth Lib.4.
most truly, which calleth the obedience that is done to God, some- de ciui.
time the mother and keeper, sometime the originall of all vertues. Dei. ca.

6 But when we haue expounded the lawe of the Lord, then more 12. de
fitly and with more profite shall that be confirmed which I haue be- bono
fore spoken of the office & vse of the law. But before that I beginne coniu-
to discusse euery seuerall commaundement by it selfe, it shall be good gali cō-
now to giue such lessons as serue to the vniuersall knowledge therof. tra ad-
First let vs hold for determined, that the life of mā is instructed in the uer. Le-
law not onely to outward honesty, but also to inward and spirituall gis &
righteousnesse. Which thing whereas no man can deny, yet there proph.
be fewe that rightly marke it. That commeth to passe, because they 6.
looke not vpon the lawmaker, by whose nature the nature of the law
also ought to be weyed. If any king do by proclamation forbid to cō-
mit fornication, to kill, or to steale: in this case I graunt that if a man
do only conceiue in his minde a lust to commit fornication, to sinne,
or to steale, and do not commit any of these things in dede, he is out
of the compasse of this prohibitiō. And the reason is, for that because
the foresight of a mortal lawmaker, could not extend but to outward
ciuility: his commaundementes are not broken, but when the out-
ward offences are committed. But God (whose eye nothing escapeth,
and which regardeth not so much the outward shew as the cleannes
of the heart) vnder the forbidding of fornication, manslaughter and
theft, forbiddeth lust, wrath, hatred, couering of an other mans, guile,
and whatsoeuer is like to these. For insomuch as he is a spiritual law-
maker, he speaketh no lesse to the soule than to the body. But the mā-
slaughter of the soule, are wrath and hatred: the theft of the soule, is
euell desire and couetousnesse: the fornication of the soule, is lust.
But mans lawes also (will some man say) haue regard to ententes &
willes, and not to successes of fortune. I graunt, but yet they are such
ententes and willes, as haue outwardly broken out. They weye with
what entent euery outwarde act hath bin done, but they searche
not the secrete thoughtes. Therefore they are satisfied when a man
onely withholdeth his handes from offending. On the other side,
because the heauenly lawe is made for our mindes, therefore the
restraint of myndes is principally needefull to the keepinge there-
of. But the common sorte of menne, euen when they mightily
dissemble there contempt of the lawe, do frame their eyes, their
feete, their handes, and all the partes of their body to some obserua-
tion of the law, in the meane time they hold their heart most farre of
from all obedience, and thinke themselues well discharged, if they

Cap.8.

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keepe close frō men y^e which they do in the sight of God. They heare it sayd: Thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not commit adultery: Thou shalt not steale: they draw not out their swerd to kill: they ioyne not their bodies with harlots: they lay not their handes vpon other mens goods. All this is well hitherto. But in their whole heartes they breath out murders, they boile in lust, they cast their eyes aside at all mens goods, and deuour them with couetinge. Now wanteth that which was the chiefe point of the lawe. Whense, I pray you, commeth so grosse dulnesse, but that leauing the lawemaker, they rather measure righteousnesse by their owne wit? Against these doth Paul mightily crie out, affirming that the law is spirituall: whereby he meaneth, that it not onely demaundeth an obedience of the soule, minde and will, but also requireth an Angelike purenesse, which hauing all the filthinesse of the flesh cleane wiped away, may sauour nothinge but of the spirite.

Rom. 7.
14.

Matt. 5.
21.

7 When we say that this is the meaninge of the lawe, we thrust not in a new exposition of our owne, but we follow Christ the best expositour of the law. For when the Pharisees had infected the people with a false opinion, that he performeth the law that hath with outward worke committed nothing against the law, he reproveth this most perilous error, and pronounced that vnchast looking at a woman is fornication: he protested that they are manslayers that hate their brother, for he maketh them guilty of iudgement that haue but conceiued wrath in their minde, and them guilty of the counsell that in murmuring or grudging haue vttered any token of a displeased mind: and them guilty of Hell fier, that with tauntes and railing breake forth into open anger. They that haue not espied these thinges, haue fayned Christ to be an other Moses, the giuer of the law of the Gospell, which supplied the imperfection of the law of Moses. Whereupon commeth that common principle of the perfection of the law of the Gospell, which far passeth the old law, which is a most pernicious opinion. For hereafter, where we shall gather a summe of the cōmaundementes, it shall appeare by Moses himselfe, how reprochfully they dishonor the law of God. Truly it sheweth that all the holinesse of the fathers did not much differ from hypocrisie, & it leadeth vs away from that only and perfect rule of righteousnesse. But it is very easie to confute that error: for that they thought that Christ did adde vnto the law, whereas he did but restore the law to her integrity, while he made it free, & clenfed it being obscured with lies, and defiled with leuen of the Pharises.

8 Let this be our second note, that there is alway more containd
in

in the commaundementes and prohibitions, than is by words expressed, which yet is so to be tempered, that it be not like a Lesbian rule, whereby licentiously wresting the Scriptures, we may make of euery thing what we list. For many bring to passe by this vnmeasured liberty of running at large, that with some the authority of Scripture groweth in contempt, and other some despire of vnderstanding it. Therefore, if it be possible, we must take some such way, that may by right and perfect path lead vs to the will of God, we must I say search how farre our exposition may exceede the boundes of the wordes, that it may appeare that it is not an additiō of mens gloses knit to the word of God, but rather that the pure and naturall meaning of the lawgiuer is faithfully rendred. Truely in a manner in all the commaundementes it is so manifest, that there are figuratiue speaches, meaninge more in expressing parte that he may worthily be laughed at that will restraine the meaning of the law to the narrowesse of the wordes. It is euident therfore, that sober expositiō doth passe beyond the words: but how farre, that remayneth hard to iudge, vnlesse there be some measure appointed: wherefore I thinke this to be the best measure, that if it be directed to the entēt of the commaundement, that is, that in euery commaundement be weyed, why it was giuen vs. As for example: Euery commaundement is either by way of bidding, or of forbidding: the trueth of both sortes shall soorth with be founde, if we consider the intent or the end thereof. As the end of the fift commaundement is, that honor is to be giuen to them to whom God appointeth it. This therefore is the summe of the commaundement, that it is right and pleaseth God, that we honor them to whom he hath giuen any excellency, and that he abhorreth contempt and stubbornnesse against them. The intent of the first commaundement is, that God alone be honored. The summe therefore of the commaundement shall be, that true godlinesse, that is to say, true worshippe of his maiesty pleaseth God, and that he abhorreth vngodlinesse. So in euery commaundement we must looke, vpon what matter it treateth: then must we search out the ende, till we finde what the lawemaker doth testifie therein properly to please or displease him: and last of all must we draw an argument from the same to the contrary, after this maner: If this pleaseth God, then the contrary displeaseth him: if this displease him, then the contrary pleaseth him: if he commaunde this, then he forbiddeth the contrary, if he forbid this then he commaundeth the contrary.

9 That which is now somewhat darkely touched, shall in expounding of the commaundements become very plaine by practise, wher-

fore it suffiseth to haue touched it,sauiuge that this last point,is to be shortly confirmed with some proufe thereof,because otherwise either it should not be vnderstanded,or being vnderstand, it might perhaps at the beginning seeme to sound like an absurdity, This needeth no prooue,that when a good thing is commaunded,the euill is forbidden that is contrary to it:for there is no man but he wil graunt it me. And common iudgement will not much sticke to admitte, that when euill thinges are forbidden,the contrary dueties are commaunded.It is an vniuersall opinion that vertues are commended, when the contrary vices are condēned.But we require somwhat more than those formes of speech do signifie commonly among the people. For they for the most parte take the vertue contrary to any vice,to be the abstaininge from the same vice: we say that it proceedeth farther,that is to contrary dueties & doings.Therfore in this commaudemēt, Thou shalt not kill the common sense of men will consider nothing else,but that we must abstaine frō all hurt doing, or lust to do hurt. I say that there is further contained, that we should by all the helps that we may, succour the life of our neighbour. And, least I speake without a reason,I proue it thus:God forbiddeth that our brother be hurt or misused,because he willeth that our neighbours life be deare & precious vnto vs:he doth therfore require withal those duties of loue that may be done by vs for y^e preservation of it. And so may we see how the end of the commaundement doth alway disclose vnto vs all that we are therein commaunded or forbidden to do.

10 But why God, in such as it were halfe cōmaundementes,hath by figures rather secretly signified, than expressed what his will was, whereas there are wont to be many reasons rendered therof,this one reason pleaseth me about the rest. Because y^e flesh alway endeuoreth to extenuate the filthinesse of sinne,& to colour it with faire pretenses,sauiug where it is euē palpable for grossenes, he hath set forth for an example in euery kinde of offense that which was most wicked & abhominable, at the hearing whereof our very senses might be moued with horroure, thereby to imprint in our mindes a more haynous detestinge of euery sorte of sinne. This many times deceiueth vs in weying of vices,that if they be any thing secret,we make them seeme small.These deceites the Lord doth disclose,when he accustometh vs to referre all the whole multitude of vices to these principall heades, which do best of all shew,how much euery kinde is abhominable.As for example, wrath and hatred are not thought so haynous euills, when they are called by their owne names,but whē they are forbidde vs vnder the name of manslaughter,we better vnderstand how abho-

minable they are before God, by whose word they are set in the degree of so horrible an offense: and we moued by his iudgement, do accustom our selues better to wey the haynousnesse of those faultes that before seemed but light vnto vs.

11 Thirdly is to be considered, what meaneth the diuiding of the lawe of God into two tables, whereof all wise men will iudge that there is sometime mention made not vnfairly from the purpose, nor without cause. And we haue a cause ready, that doth not suffer vs to remayne in dout of this matter. For God so diuided his law into two partes, in which is contayned the whole righteousness, that he hath assigned the first to the duties of religiō that do peculiarly pertain to the worshipping of his Godhead, the other to the duties of Charity which belong vnto men. The first foundation of righteousness is the worship of God: which being once ouerthrowen, all the other members of righteousness are torne in sunder and dissolued, like to the partes of a house vnioined and fallen downe. For what manner of righteousness wilt thou call it, that thou vexest not menne with robbery & extorcions, if in the meane time by wicked sacrilege thou spoylest Gods maiesty of his glory? that thou defilest not thy body with fornication, if with thy blasphemies thou prophanely abuse the sacred name of God? that thou murderest no man, if thou trauaill to destroy and extinguish the memorie of God. Wherefore righteousness is vainly boasted of without religion, & maketh no better shew, than if a mangled body with the head cutte of, shoulde be brought forth for a beautifull sight. And religion is not onely the principall parte of righteousness, but also the very soule wherwith it breatheth: and is quickned. For men keepe not equity and loue among themselves without the feare of God. Therefore we say, that the worship of God is the beginning and foundation of righteousness, because when it is taken away all the equity, continence and temperance that men vse among themselves, is vaine and trifling before God. We say also that it is the springe heade and liuely breath of righteousness, because hereby men do learne to liue among themselves temperately & without hurt doing one to an other, if they reuerence God as the iudge of right and wronge. Wherefore in the first table he instructeth vs to godlinesse and the proper duties of religion, wherewith his maiesty is to be worshipped: in the other he prescribeth howe for the feares sake of his name, we ought to behaue our selues in the fellowship of men. And for this reason our Lord (as the Euangelistes reherse it) did in a summe gather the whole lawe into two principall pointes, the one that we should loue God with all our heart, with all our soule,

Mat. 22

37.

Luc. 10,

27.

Cap. 8.

Of the knowledge of

with all our strength : the other, that we loue our neighbour as our selues. Thus thou seest how of the two partes wherein he concludeth the whole law, he directeth the one toward God, & appointeth the other toward men.

12 But although the whole lawe be contained in two principall pointes, yet, to the ende to take away all pretense of excuse, it pleased our God, to declare in the ten cōmaundements more largely & plainly all things that belong both to the honor, feare & loue of himselfe, and also to that charity which he commaundeth vs to beare to men for his sake. And thy study is not ill spent to know the diuision of the commaundementes, so that thou remember that it is such a matter wherein euery man ought to haue his iudgement free, for which we ought not contentiously to strue with him that thinketh otherwise. But we must needs touch this point, least the readers shoulde either scorne or maruell at the diuision that we shall vse, as newe and lately deuised. That the law is diuided in ten words, because it is oft approued by the authority of God himselfe, it is out of controuersie, wherefore there is no dout of the number, but of the manner of diuiding. They that so diuide them, that they giue three commaundements to the first table, and put other 7. into the second, do wipe out of the number the commaundement concerninge images, or at least they hide it vnder the first: whereas without dout it is seuerally set by the Lord for a commaundement, and the tenth commaundement of not coueting the things of his neighbour, they do fondly teare into two. Beside that it shall by and by be done to vnderstand, that such manner of diuiding was vnknownen in the purer age. Other do reckon, as we do, fower seuerall cōmaundementes in the first table, but in place of the first they set the promise without the commaundement. As for me, because vnlesse I be conuincd by euident reason, I take the ten wordes in Moses for ten commaundementes, me thinkes I see so many diuided in very fit order. Therefore, leauing to them their opinion, I will follow that which I best allowe, that is, that the same which these later sorte make the first commaundement, shalbe in steede of a preface to the whole law, and then shal follow the commaundements, foure of the first table, and sixe of the seconde, in such order as they shalbe rehearsed. Augustine also to Boniface agreeth with vs which in rehearsinge them kepeth this order: that God onely be serued with obedience of religion, that no idole be worshipped, that the name of the Lord be not taken in vaine, when he had before seuerally spoken of the shadowishe commaundement of the Sabbat. In an other place in deede that first diuision pleaseth him, but for to slender a cause, that is, because

Libr. 2.
qu. vet.
Test.

cause in the number of three, if the first table consist of three commandements, the mystery of the trinity more plainly appeareth. Albeit in the same place he sticketh not to confesse that otherwise he rather liketh our diuision. Beside these, the author of the Vnperfect worke vpon Matthew is of our side. Iosephus, vndoubtedly according to the common consent of his time, assigneth to either table five commaundements. Which is both against reason, because it confoundeth the distinction of religion & charity, and also is confuted by the authority of the Lord himselfe, which in Matthew reckoneth the commaundement of honoring our parentes, in the number of the second table. Mat. 19
19.

Now let vs heare God himselfe speaking in his owne wordes.

The first commaundement.

I am the Lord thy God, which haue brought thee out of the lande of Aegypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt haue no straunge Gods before my face.

13 Whether you make the first sentence a parte of the first commaundement, or read it seuerally, it is indifferent to me, so that you do not deny me that it standeth in stede of a preface to the whole lawe. First in making of lawes is heede to be taken, that they be not shortly after abrogate by contempt. Therefore God first of all prouideth, that the maiesty of the law that he shal make, may neuer at any time come in contempt. For stablishinge whereof he vseth three maners of argumentes. First he chalengerth to himselfe power and right of dominion, whereby he may constrain his chosen people, that they must of necessity obey him: the he setteth forth a promise of grace with sweetness therof to allure them to study of holines. Thirdly he reciteth the benefit that he did for them, to reprove the Iewes of vnthankfulness, if they do not with obedience answer his kindnes. Vnder the name of Iehouah, the Lord, is meant his authority & lawful dominion. And if all things be of him and do abide in him, it is right that all things be referred to him, as Paule sayth. Therefore we are with this word alone Rom. 11
36. sufficiently brought vnder the yoke of Gods maiesty, because it were monstrous for vs to seeke to withdrawe our selues from vnder his gouernment, out of whom we can not be.

14 After that he hath shewed that it is he that hath power to commaund, to whom obedience is due, least he should seeme to draw by onely necessity, he also allureth with sweetness in pronouncing, that he is the God of the Church. For there is hidden in this speech a mutuall relation, which is contained in the promise: I will be to the Ier. 31.
13.
Mat. 22 a God, & they shalbe to me a people. Wherupon Christ proueth that

Cap.8.

Of the knowledge of

Abraham, Isaac and Iacob haue immortall life, by this that God testified that he is their God. Wherefore it is as much in effect, as if he should say thus: I haue chosen you to be my people, not only to do you good in this present life, but also to giue you y blessednes of the life to come. But to what end this tendeth, it is noted in diuerse places in the law. For when the Lord doth vouchsaue to deale thus mercifully with vs, to call vs into the company of his people, he choseth vs (sayth Moses) that we shoulde be a peculiar people vnto himselfe, a holy people, & should kepe his commaundements. From whence also cometh this exhortation: Be ye holy, for I am holy. Now out of these two is deriued that protestatiō that is in the Prophet: The sonne honoreth the father, and the seruauant honoreth his Lord. If I be a Lord, where is my feare? If I be a father, where is my loue?

15 Now followeth the rehearfall of his benefit, which ought to be of so much more force to moue vs, as y fault of vnthankfullnes is more detestable euen among men. He then did put Israell in remembrance of a benefit lately done, but such a one as for the miraculous greatnesse therof being worthy to be had in remembrance for euer, should remaine in force with their posterity. Morouer it is most agreeable for this present matter. For y Lord seemeth to say that they were deliuered out of miserable bondage for this purpose, that they should with obedience and redines of seruice honor him, the author of their deliuerance. He vseth also, (to the end to hold vs fast in the true worshipping of him alone) to set out himselfe with certaine titles, wherby he maketh his sacred maiesty to be differently knowen from all idols & forged gods. For, as I sayd before, such is our redy inclinatio to vanity, ioyned with rash boldnes, y so soone as God is named, our minde can not take hede to it selfe, but that it by and by falleth away to some vaine inuention. Therefore, when the Lord meaneth to bring a remedy for this mischiefe, he setteth out his owne godhead with certaine titles and so doth compasse vs in, as it were within certaine grates, least we should wander hither and thither & rashly forge our selues some new God, if forsaking y liuing God, we should erect an idol. For this cause, so oft as the Prophetes meane properly to point out him, they cloth him, and as it were enclose him, within those markes, whereby he had opened himselfe to the people of Israell, And yet when he is called the God of Abrahā, or the God of Israell, when he is set in the temple of Hierusalem among the Cherebins, these & like formes of speache do not binde him to one place or to one people, but are set onely for this purpose, to stay the thoughts of the godly in that God, which by his couenant, that he hath made with Israell, hath so represented

Deut. 7.
6. & 14.
2. & 26.
18.
Leu. 19.
2.
Mal. 1.6

Exo. 3.
6.
Amos. 1
2.
Haba. 2.
28.
P. 80. 2
& 99. 1

sented himselfe, that it is no way lawfull to vary from such a paterne. Es. 37.
 But let this remaine stedfastly emprinted, that there is mention made 16.
 of the deliuerance to this end, that the Iewes might the more chere-
 fully giue themselues to the God that doth by right claime them vn-
 to him. And we (least we should thinke that the same nothing belon-
 geth to vs,) ought to consider, that the bondage of Ægypt is a figure
 of the spiritual captiuitie, wherein we are all holden bound, vntill our he-
 uenly deliuerer do make vs free by the power of his arme, & conuey
 vs into the kingdom of liberty. As therfore, when in the old time he
 minded to gather together the Israelites that were scattered abroad,
 to the worshipping of his name, he deliuered them out of the intole-
 rable dominion of Pharaon, wherewith they were oppressed: so al those
 to whō at this day he professeth himselfe a God, he doth now deliuer
 frō the deadly power of the deuil, which was in a shadow signified by
 y corporall bondage. Wherefore there is no man, but his minde ought
 to be inflamed to harken to the law which he heareth to haue proced-
 ed frō the soueraigne king. From whom as all things take their be-
 ginning, so is it meete that they haue also their ende appointed & di-
 rected to him. There is no man (I say) but he ought to be rauished to
 embrace the lawmaker, to the keeping of whose commaundementes,
 he is taught that he is peculiarly chosen: frō whose bounty he looketh
 both for flowing store of all good things, & also the glory of immor-
 tall life: by whose maruelous power and mercy, he knoweth himselfe
 to be deliuered out of the iawes of death.

16 After that he hath grounded and stablished the authority of his
 law, he setteth forth the first cōmaundement, *That we haue no strange
 Gods before him.* The ende of this commaundement is, that God will
 only haue preeminēcie, and wholly enioy his owne authority among
 his people. And that it may so be, he commaundeth that there be far
 from vs all vngodlines and superstition, whereby the glory of his god-
 heade is either diminished or obscured: and by the same reason he
 commaundeth, that we worshippe and honor him with true ende-
 uour of godlinesse. And the very simplicity of the wordes themselues
 do in a manner expresse the same, For we cannot haue God, but we
 must also comprehend therein all thinges that properly belonge to
 him. Whereas therfore he forbiddeth vs to haue other Gods, he mea-
 neth therby, that we should not giue away elsewhere y which is pro-
 pre to him. For although y things y we owe vnto God be innumera-
 ble, yet not vnfitly they may be brought vnto foure principal points:
 Adoration, whereunto as a thing hanging vpon it, is adioyned spiri-
 tual obedience of cōscience: Affiance, Inuocation, & Thankesgiuing.

Cap. 8. Of the knowledge of

Adoration I call the reuerēce & worship which euery one of vs yeeldeth vnto him, when he submitteth himselfe vnto his greatnes: wherefore I do not without cause make this a part therof, y^e we yeelde our consciences in subiection to his lawe. Affiance is an assurednes of resting in him by reknowledging of his powers, whē repoling al wisdom, righteousnes, power, trueth and goodnes in him, we thinke our selues blessed with onely partaking of him. Inuocation, is a resorting of our minde to his faith and help as to our only succour, so oft as any necessity presseth vs. Thankesgiuing, is a certaine thankfulness whereby the praise of all good things is giuen vnto him. Of these, as God suffreth nothing to be conueyed away else where, so he commaunded all to be wholly giuen to himselfe. Neither shal it be enough to abstaine from hauing any straunge God, vnlesse thou restraine thy selfe in this, that many wicked cōtemners are wont, which thinke the rediest way, to scorne all religions: but true religion must go before, whereby our mindes may be directed to the liuinge God, with knowledge whereof they being endued, may aspire to reuerence, feare & worship his maiesty, to embrace the communicatinge of all his good thinges, euery where to seeke for his help, to reknowledge and aduaunce with confession of praise the magnificence of his works, as to the only marke in all the doings of our life. Then, that we beware of peruerse superstition, whereby our mindes swaruing from the true God, are drawn hither and thither as it were vnto diuerse gods. Wherefore, if we be cōtented with one God, let vs call to remembrance that which is before said, that all forged gods are to be driuen farre away, and that the worship is not to be torne in sunder, which he alone claimeth to himselfe. For it is not lawfull to take away any thing from his glory, be it neuer so litle; but that all thinges that belong to him may wholly remaine with him. The percell of sentence that followeth (Before my face) encreaseth the hainousnes: for that God is prouoked to ialousy, so oft as we thrust our owne inuentions in his place, as if an vnchast woman by bringing in an adulterer openly before her husbands eyes should the more vexē his minde. Therefore when God testified that with his present power & grace he looked vpon y^e people that he had chosen, the more to fray them from the wicked act of falling from him, he giueth them warning that there can be no new gods brought in, but that he is witnes and beholder of their sacrilege. For this boldnesse is encreased with much wickednesse, that man thinketh that in his fleinges away he can begile the eyes of God. On the other side, God crieth out that whatsoeuer we purpose, whatsoeuer we go about whatsoeuer we practise, it commeth in his sight. Let therefore our cōscience

science be cleane euen from the most secret thoughtes of swaruinge from him, if we will haue our religion to please the Lord. For he requireth to haue the glory of his godhead whole & vncorrupted not only in outward confession, but also in his eyes, which do behold the most secret corners of heartes.

The second Commaundement.

Thou shalt not make to thee any grauen image, nor any similitude of those thinges that are in heauen aboue, or in earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth. Thou shalt not worship them, nor serue them.

As in the first commaundement he pronounced that he is the one God beside whom there are no other gods to be deuised or had, so now he more openly declareth what manner of God he is, and with what kinde of worship he is to be honored: that we may not presume to forge any carnall thing for him. The end therfore of this commaundement is, that he will not haue the lawful worship of him, to be prophaned with superstitious vsages. Wherefore in summe, he calleth and draweth vs away from the carnall obseruations, which our foolish minde is wont to inuent, when it conceiueth God according to her owne grosnesse. And therefore he frameth vs to the lawfull worship of him, that is the spirituall worship, and which is appointed by him. He speaketh of y^e grossest fault that is in this offense, namely outward idolatry. And there be two partes of this commaundement, The first restraineth our liberty, that we do not presume to make subiect to our senses or by any forme to represent God, which is incomprehensible. The second parte forbiddeth vs to honor any images for religions sake. Moreouer he shortly reciteth all the formes wherewith he was wont to be expressed in shape, by the prophane and superstitious nations. By those thinges that are in heauen, he meaneth the Sunne, the Moone, and other Starres, and peraduenture also birdes, as expressing his meaning in the fourth of Deuteronomy he meaneth as wel birdes as starres. Which note I would not haue spokē of but that I saw some vnskillfully to apply it to Angels. Therefore I omit the other partes, because they are sufficiently knowen of themselves. And we haue already in the first booke taught plainly enough, that whatsoeuer visible formes of God man doth inuent, they are directly contrary to his nature, and that therefore so soone as images come forth, true religion is corrupted and defiled.

18 The penall ordinance that followeth ought not a litle to auaille to shake of our sloughfulnesse. For he threatneth: That he is the Lord

our God, a ielous God, that visiteth the iniquity of the fathers vpon the children vnto the third and fourth generation, in them that hate his name, and sheweth mercy vnto thousandes to them that loue him and keepe his commaundementes. This is asmuch in effect, as if he shoulde haue sayd, that it is he onely vpon whom we ought to sticke. And to bring vs thereunto, he speaketh of his power, that doth not without punishment suffer it selfe to be contemned or diminished. Here is in deede set the name El, which signifieth God. But because it is deriued of strength, to expresse the sense the better, I did not sticke so to translate it, or to put it into the text. Thē he calleth himselfe ielous that can abide no fellow. Thirdly he affirmeth that he will be a reuenger of his maiesty and glory if any do transerre it to creatures or to grauen images, and that not with a shorte or slender reuenge, but such as shall extende to the children and childrens children, and childrens childrens children, that is such as shalbe followers of their fathers vngodlinesse: as also he sheweth a perpetuall mercy & bountifulnes vnto longe continuance of posterity, to those that loue him and keepe his lawe. It is a common manner with God to take vpon him the persone of a husband toward vs. For the coniunction wherewith he bindeth himselfe vnto vs, when he receiueth vs into the bosome of his church, is like vnto a certaine holy wedlocke, that must stand by mutuall faithfulness. As he doth all the dueties of a faithfull and true husband, so againe he requireth of vs such loue and chastity as ought to be in wedlocke, that we yeelde not our soules to Satan, to lust, and to filthy desires of the flesh, to be defiled by them. Whereupon he that rebuketh the Apostasie of the Lewes, complaineth that they did throw away chastity, & were defiled with adulteries. Therefore, as the husband, the more holy and chaste that he himselfe is, the more is he kindeled to anger if he see his wiues minde encline to a strange louer: so the Lord that hath wedded vs vnto himselfe in trueth, testifieth that he hath a most seruently burning ialousie, so oft as neglecting the purenes of his holy mariage, we are defiled with wicked lustes, but specially then when we transerre to any other, or do infect with any superstition the worshippe of his name, which ought to be most vncorrupted: Forasmuch as by this meane we do not only break the faith giuen in wedlocke, but also do defile the very weddinge bed with bringing into it adulterers.

19 In the threatening is to be seene what he meaneth by this, when he sayth, that he will visite the iniquity of the fathers vpon the children vnto the third and fourth generation. For, beside that it standeth not with the equity of Gods iustice, to punish the innocent for an others

thers offence. God himselfe also saith, that he will not make the sonne to beare the wickednes of the father. But this sentence is more than once repeated, of prolonging the punishmēt of the sinnes of the auncesters vpon the generations to come. For so doth Moses oftentimes speake vnto him: Lord, Lord, that rendrest the iniquity of the fathers to the children, vnto the third & fourth generation. Likewise Ieremy: Thou that shewest mercy in thousandes, that renderest the iniquity of the fathers into the bosome of the children after them. Many, while they trauaile much in losinge this knot, thinke that it is to be vnderstanded onely of temporall punishmentes, which if the children suffer for the parentes faultes, it is no absurdity, forasmuch as they are oftentimes layed vpon them for their saluation, which is in dede true. For Esay declared to Ezechias, that his sonnes should be spoiled of the king dom, & caried into exile for y sinne that he had committed. The houses of Pharaο & Abimelech were played for offending Abraham. But when that is alleaged for assoilinge of this question, it is rather a shift than a true exposition. For here & in like places he threatneth a more greuous reuenge thā that it may be limited within the bounds of this present life. It is therefore thus to be taken: that the iust curse of the Lord, lieth not only vpon the head of the wicked mā himselfe, but also vpon his whole family: whē the curse once lieth vpon them, what is else to be looked for, but that the father being destitute of the spirit of God, liue most wickedly, and the sonne likewise forsaken of the Lord for the fathers fault, do follow the same way of destruction: & finally, the childe child, & the childe of the childe child, the cursed seede of detestable men do fall headlong after them?

20 First let vs see, whether such reuēge be vnsemely for the iustice of God. If all the nature of man be dānable, we know that destruction is prepared for them, to whom the lord vouchsaueth not to communicate his grace, Neuertheles they do perish by their own vnrighteousnesse, & not by vnrighteous hatred of God. Neither is there left any cause to quarell, why they be not holpen by y grace of God to saluation as other are. Wheras therfore this punishmēt is laid vpon wicked mē & euil doers for their offenses, that their houses be deprived of the grace of God during many generations: who can accuse God for this most iust reuenge? But y Lord on y other side pronounceth, that y punishmēt of y fathers sinne shal not passe ouer vnto y sonne. Note what is there entreated of. When the Israelites had bin long & continually vexed w many calamities, they began to vse for a Prouerbe, that their fathers had eatē a sower grape, wherwith the childrens teeth were set on edge: whereby they meant that their fathers had cōmired sinnes,

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whereof they, being otherwise righteous, and not deserving it, did suffer the punishment, rather by the vnappealeable wrathfulnesse of God, than by a moderate seuerity. The Prophet pronounceth vnto théŷ it is not so: because they are punished for their owne offenses, & that it standeth not with the iustice of God, ŷ the righteous sonne shoulde suffer punishment for the naughtinesse of the wicked father. Which thing also is not contained in this present ordinance. For if ŷ Visiting, wherof mention is now made, be fulfilled when the lord taketh away from the house of the wicked his grace, the light of his trueth and other helps of saluation: in this that the children beinge blinded & forsaken of him, do go on in the steps of their fathers, they susteine curses for their fathers offenses. But inasmuch as they are put to temporall miseries, & at last to eternal destruction, herein they are punished by the iust iudgement of God, not for ŷ sinnes of other, but for their owne iniquity.

21 On the other side is offered a promise of enlarging the mercy of God into a thousand generatiōs, which promise is also often found in the Scriptures, & is set in ŷ solemne couenant of the church: I wil be thy God, and of thy seede after thee. Which thing Salomon hauing respect vnto, wryteth that ŷ childré of the righteous shalbe blessed after their death not only by reaso of holy bringing vp, which also not a litle aualeth therunto, but also for ŷ blessing promised in the couenāt, that the grace of God shall rest eternally in the houses of the godly. Hereupō groweth great cōfort to the faithfull, great terrour to the wicked. For if euen after death, the remembrance both of righteousness & wickednesse be of so great force with God, that the cursing of the one, and the blessing of the other redoundeth vnto posterity, much more shal it light & rest vpon the heads of the doers théŷelues. But it maketh nothinge against vs, that the issue of the wicked many times cometh to good proufe, & ŷ issue of the faithfull swarueth out of kinde: because the lawmaker meant not here to stablisch such a perpetuall rule as should derogate his free electiō. For it sufficeth for the comfote of the righteous and for the terrour of the sinner, that the penalty is not vaine or of no effect, although it do not alway take place. For as the temporall punishmentes that are layed vpon a few wicked men, are testimonies of the wrath of God against sinnes, and of the iudgement that shal one day be giuē vpon all sinners, although many escape vnpunished euen to the ende of their life: so when God giueth one example of this blessing to shew mercy & bountifulnesse to the sonne for the fathers sake, he giueth a proufe of his cōstant & perpetuall fauour to them that worship him: and when he once pur-
sueth

Gen. 17

7.

Pro. 20.

7.

saeth the wickednesse of the father in the sonne, he sheweth what iudgement is prepared for all the reprobate for their owne offences. Which assurednesse he had in this place principally respect vnto. And by the way he commendeth vnto vs the largenesse of his mercie, which he extendeth vnto a thousand generations, wheras he assigned but onely fower generations to vengeance.

The third Commaundement.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vaine.

The ende of this commaundement is, that his will is to haue the maiesty of his name to be holy amōg vs. Therefore the summe shalbe, that we do not defile it with cōtemptuously and irreuerently vsing it. With which prohibition the commaundement hangeth orderly together, that we take studie and care godlyly to reuerence it. Therefore we ought so to order our selues both in our mindes and our tonges, that we neither thinke nor speake any thing of God himselfe or his misteries, but reuerently and with much sobrietie: that in weying his workes, we conceiue nothing but honorable towarde him. These three things I say, it behoueth vs not negligently to marke, that what soeuer our minde conceiueth of him, what soeuer our tong vttereth, it may fauour of his excellencie, and may agree with the holy highnesse of his name: and finally may serue to aduaunce his magnificēce, That we do not rashly or disorderly abuse his holy word and reuerēd misteries either to ambition, or to coueteousnesse, or to our owne triflinges: but that as they beare the dignitie of his name emprinted in them, so they may keepe their honour and estimation among vs. Last of all, that we do not carp against or speake euill of his workes, as these wretched men are wont to babble reprochefully against the: but that what soeuer we rehearse done by him, we reporte it with wordes of praise of his wisdom, righteousnesse & goodnesse. That is to sanctifie the name of God. Where otherwise is done, it is defiled with vaine and peruerse abuse, bycause it is violently carried from the right vse wherunto onely it was apointed: and though there be no other hurt done, yet it is spoiled of his dignitie, and by little and little brought to contempt. Now, if there be so much euil in this rash readinesse to vse the name of God out of season, much more mischief is in this, if it be employed to euill vses, as they do that make it to serue the superstitions of Necromancie, cruell execrations, vnlawfull con-iurations, and other wicked enchauntementes. But swearing is chiefly mentioned in the commaundement, as the thing wherein the peruerse abuse of Gods name is most detestable, that thereby we may be the

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better altogether frayed away from all defiling thereof. But that here is commaundement geuen of the worship of God, and of the reuerence of his name, and not of the truthe and equitie that is to be kept among men, appeareth by that that he afterwarde in the second table condemneth periurie and false witnesse, whereby hurte is done to the fellowship of men: but it were in vaine to repete it againe, if this commaundement entreated of the dutie of charitie. And also the diuision of the lawe it selfe requireth it, bycause as it is said, God did not in vaine appointe two tables for his lawe, whereby is gathered that in this commaundement he chalengeth his owne right to himselfe, and defendeth the holynesse of his name, and teacheth not what men owe to men.

23 First is to be learned what is an othe. It is a taking of God to witnesse, to confirme the truthe of that which we speake. For those cursed speeches that containe manifest reproches against God, are vnworthy to be reckened among othes. That such taking to witnesse, whan it is rightly done, is a kinde of worshipping of God, is shewed in diuerse places of the Scripture. As when Esaie prophecieth of the calling of the Assyrians and Egyptians into fellowship of the couenaunt with Israel, They shall speake (saith he) in the tongue of Chanaan, and shall swere in the name of the Lorde. That is to say, in swearing by the name of the Lorde, they shall yelde a confession of his religion. Againe when he speaketh of the enlargemēt of his kingdome, he saith: Whosoever shall blesse himselfe, shall blesse in the God of the faithfull: and he that shall swere in the lande, shall swere in the true God. Hieremie saith, If they shall teache the people to swere in my name as they haue taught them to swere by Baal, they shalbe builded vp in the middes of my house. And for good cause it is saide, that when we call vpon the name of the Lorde to witnesse, we do witnesse our religion towarde him. For so we confesse that he is the eternall and vnchaungeable truthe, whome we call vpon, not onely as a most substantiall witnesse of truth aboue all other, but also as the onely defense thereof, which is able to bring forth hidden thinges into light, and then as the knower of heartes. For where testimonies of men do faile, there we flee to God for witnesse, specially where any thing is to be proued that lieth secrete in conscience. For which cause the Lorde is bitterly angry with them that sweare by strange gods, and he iudgeth that maner of swearing to be an argumēt of manifest falling from his allegiance: Thy sonnes haue forsaken me, and do sweare by them that are no gods. And he declareth the haynousnesse of this offense by threatening of punishment: I will destroy them that sweare by

Esa. 19.
18.

Esa. 65.
16.

Yere. 12.
16.

Yere. 5.7

Soph 1.
3.

by the name of the Lorde, and sweare by Melchan.

24 Nowe when we vnderstand that it is the Lordes will that there be in our othes a worship of his name: so much the more diligent hede is to be taken, that in stede of worshipping they do not containe dishonour, contempt or abacement of it. For it is no small dishonour, when periurie is committed in swearing by him, wherefore it is called in the lawe; Profanation. For what is left to the Lorde when he is spoiled of his truth? he shall then cease to be God. But truely he is spoiled therof, when he is made an affirmer and approuer of falshod. Wherefore, when Iosua minded to driue Achan to confesse the truth, he said: My Sonne, geue glorie to the Lorde of Israell, meaning thereby, that the Lorde is greuously dishonored if a man sweare falsely by him. And no maruell. For we do as much as in vs lieth, in a maner, to staine his holy name with a lie. And that this manner of speech was vsed among the Iewes so oft as any was called to take an othe, appeareth by the like protestation, that the Pharisees vse in the Gospell of Iohn. To this heedfulnessse the formes of othes that are vsed in the Scriptures do instruct vs: The Lord lyueth, The Lord do these thinges vnto me, and adde these thinges, The Lorde be witnesse vpon my soule. Which do proue, that we can not call God for witnesse of our sayings, but that we also wishe him to take vengeance of our periurie, if we speake deceitfully.

25 The name of the Lorde is made vile and common, when it is vsed in superfluous othes, although they be true. For in such case it is also taken in vaine. Wherefore it shal not be sufficient to abstaine from swearing falsely, vnlesse we do also remember, that swearing was suffered and ordeined not for luste or pleasure, but for necessities sake: and therefore they go beyond the lawfull vse thereof, that applie it to thinges not necessarie. And there can no other necessitie be pretended, but where it is to serue either religion or charitie, wherein at this day men do to much licentiously offende, and so much the more intolerable, for that by very custome it hath cessed to be reckned for any offense at all, which yet before the iudgement seate of God is not slenderly weyed. For euery where without regard, the name of God is defiled in trifling talkes, and it is not thought that they do euill, because by long suffered and unpunished boldenesse, they are come to rest as it were in possession of so great wickednesse. But the commaundement of the Lord remaineth in force, the penaltie abideth in strength, and shall one day haue his effect, whereby there is a certaine speciall reuenge proclaimed against them that vse his name in vaine. This commaundement is also transgressed in an other point, that in our

Leui. 19

12.

Iosue. 7.

19.

Iohn. 9.

24

1. Sam.

14.

2 Reg. 6

31.

2. Cor. 1

23.

Cap.8.

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othes we put the holy seruantes of God in the place of God, with manifest vngodlynesse, for so we transfer the glorie of his godhead to them. Neither is it without cause, that the Lorde hath geuen speciall commaundement to swere by his name, and by speciall prohibition forbidden, that we shoulde not be heard swere by any strange gods. And the Apostle evidently testifieth the same, when he writeth, that men in swearing do call vpon a hier than themselues, and that God which had none greater than his owne glorie to swere by, did swere by himselfe.

26 The Anabaptistes not contented with this moderatiō of swearing, do detest all othes without exception, bycause the prohibition of Christ is generall: I say vnto ye, swere not at all, but let your talke be yea yea, and nay nay, what so euer is more than this, is of euill. But by this meane, they do without consideration stumble against Christ: while they make him aduersarie to his father, and as if he had come downe from heauen to repeale his fathers decrees. For the eternall God doth in the lawe not onely permit swearing as a thing lawfull, which were enough: but also in necessitie doth commaunde it. But Christ affirmeth that he is all one with his father: that he bringeth no other thing, but that which his father commaunded him, that his doctrine is not of himselfe, &c. What then? will they make God contrarie to himselfe, which shall afterwarde forbidde and condemne the same thing in mens behauiours, whiche he hath before allowed by comaunding it? But bycause there is some difficultie in the wordes of Christ, let vs a little weye them. But herein we shall neuer attein the truth, vnlesse we bende our eyes vnto the entent of Christ, and take heede vnto the purpose that he there goeth about. His purpose is not either to release or restreigne the lawe, but to reduce it to the true and naturall vnderstanding, whiche had bene very muche depraued by the false gloses of the Scribes and Pharisees. This if we holde in minde, we shall not thinke than Christ did vtterly condemne othes, but only those othes which do transgresse the rule of the lawe. Thereby it appeareth, that the people at that time did forbear no maner of swearing but periuries, wheras the lawe doth not onely forbidde periuries, but also all idle and superfluous othes. The Lord therefore the most sure expositor of the lawe, doth admonish them, that it is not onely euill to forswear, but also to swear. But how to swear? in vaine. But as for these othes that are commended in the lawe, he leaueth them safe and at libertie. They seme to fight somewhat more strongly when they take earnest holde of this worde At all, which yet is not referred to the worde Swear, but to the formes of swearing that

that are after rehearsed. For this was also parte of their error, that when they did sweare by heauen and earth, they thought that they did not touch the name of God. Therefore after the principall kinde of offense against this commaundement, the Lorde doth also cut of from them all byeshiftes, that they shoulde not thinke that they haue escaped, if not speaking of the name of God they call heauen and earth to witnesse. For here by the way it is also to be noted, that although the name of God be not expressed, yet me by indirect formes do sweare by him, as if they sweare by the liuely light, by the bread that they eate, by their Baptisme, or other tokens of Gods liberalitie toward them. Neither doth Christ in that place where he forbiddeth them to sweare by heauen and earth and Hierusalem, speake it to correct superstition, as some men falsely thinke, but he rather confuteth their sophisticall sutteltie, which thought it no faulte babblingly to throwe out indirect othes, as though they spared the holy name of God, which is engrauen in all his benefites. But otherwise it is, where either a mortall man, or a dead man, or an Angell is put in the place of God: as among the prophane nations flatterie deuised that stinking forme of swearing by the life or soule of the King: for then the false making of Gods doth obscure and minish the glorie of the one onely God. But when we meane only, to procure credit to our sayinges by the holy name of God, although the same be indirectly done, yet in all such trifling othes his maiestie is offended. Christ taketh from this licentiousnesse, all pretense of excuse, in this that he forbiddeth to sweare at all. And Iames tenderh to the same purpose, reciting the same wordes of Christ which I haue before alleged, bycause that same rash boldenesse hath alway bene in the worlde, which is a prophane misuse of the name of God. For if ye referre this worde, At all, to the substance, as if without any exception it were altogether vnlawfull to sweare: wherefore serueth that exposition which is added afterward: Neither by heauen nor by earth, &c? Wherby it sufficiently appereth that those cauillations are met withall, by which the Iewes thought their faulte to be excused.

Iac. 5.
12.

27 Therefore it can not nowe be doubtfull to sounde iudgements, that the Lorde in that place did onely reprove those othes that were forbidden by the lawe. For he himselfe which shewed in his life an examplar of the perfection that he taught, did not sticke to sweare when occasion required. And his disciples, who (we doubt not) did obey their maister in all thinges, followed the same example: who dare say that Paule woulde haue sworne, if swearing had ben vterly forbidden? but when matter so required, he sware without

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any sticking at it, yea sometime adding an execration. But this question is not yet ended, bycause some do thinke that onely publike othes are excepted out of this prohibitio, as those othes that we take when the Magistrate doth offer them to vs and require them of vs. And such as Princes vse to take in stablishing of leagues, or the people when they sweare allegiance to their Prince, or the Soldiar when he is put to an othe for his true seruice in the warre, and such like. And to this sorte they adioyne, and that rightfully, such othes, as are in

Heb. 6
16.

Paule to confirme the dignitie of the Gospell, for asmuch as the Apostles in their office are not priuate men but publicke ministers of God. And truely I denie not that those are the safest othes, bycause they are defended with soundest testimonies of Scripture. The magistrate is commaunded in a doubtfull case to driue the witnesse to an othe, and he on the other side to aunswere by othe: and the Apostle saith, that mens controuersies are by this meane ended. In this comaundement bothe these haue a perfect allowance of their offices. Yea and we may note, that among the olde heathen men, the publike and solemne othe was had in great reuerence, but common othes that were vsually spoken without consideration, were either nothing or very little regarded, bycause they thought that in these they had not to do with the maiestie of God at all. But yet it were to much dangerous to condemne priuate othes, that are in necessarie cases soberly, holily, and reuerently taken, which are maintained both by reason and examples. For if it be lawfull for priuate men in a weighty and earnest matter to appele to God as iudge betwene them, much more is it lawfull to call him to witnesse. Put the case: thy brother will accuse thee of false breache of faith, thou endeourest to purge thy selfe according to the dutie of charitie, and he by no meanes will suffer himselfe to be satisfied. If thy good name come in perill by his obstinate maliciousnesse, thou shalt without offense appele to the iudgement of God, that it will please him in time to make thine innocency knownen. Now if the weight of the wordes be considered, it is a lesse matter to call him to witnesse. Therefore I see not why in this case we shoulde affirme, that the calling him to witnesse is vnlawfull. And we are not without many examples thereof. For though the othe of

Gen. 21
24. and
26. 31.
and 31.
53.
Ruth. 3.
13.

Abraham and Isaac with Abimelech be said not to serue for our purpose, bycause it was made in the name of a publike companie, yet Iacob and Laban were priuate men, which stablished a couenaunt with mutuall othe betwene themselves. Booz was a priuate man, which by the same meane confirmed his promise of mariage to Ruth. Abdias was a priuate man, a iust man and fearing God, which affirmed vnto

Elias

Elias by othe, the thing that he meant to perswade him. Therefore I haue no better rule, but that othes be so tempered, that they be not vnaduised, that they be not common without regard, that they be not vsed of raging luste, nor trifling, but that they serue iuste necessitie, as where the Lordes glorie is to be maintained, or the edification of our brother furthered, to whiche ende the commaundement of the lawe tendeth.

The fourth Commaundement.

Remember that thou kepe holy the Sabbath day. Six dayes shalt thou worke and do all thy workes. But on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no worke. &c.

28 The ende of this commaundement is, that we being dead to our owne affections and workes, shoulde be busied in meditation of the kingdome of God, and to the same meditation shoulde be exercised, by such meanes as he hath ordeined. But bycause this commaundement hath a peculiar and seuerall consideratiō from the rest, therefore it must haue also a seuerall manner of exposition. The olde writers vse to call it a shadowish commaundement, for that it conteineth the outward obseruatiō of the day, which by the comming of Christ was taken away with the other figures. Wherin I graūt they say truly, but they touch but halfe the matter. Wherefore we must fetch the exposition of it farther of. And (as I thinke) I haue marked that there are three causes to be considered, wherupon this commaundement consisteth. For first the heauenly lawemaker meant vnder the rest of the seventh day, to set out in figure to the people of Israell the spirituall rest, whereby the faithfull ought to cesse from their owne workes, that they might suffer God to worke in them. Secondly, his will was to haue one apointed day, wherein they shoulde meete together to heare the law, & execute the ceremonies, or at least bestow it peculiarly to the meditation of his workes: that by such calling to remembrance, they might be exercised to godlinesse. Thirdly, he thought good to haue a day of rest graunted to seruantes, and such as liued vnder the gouernement of other, wherein they might haue some cessing from their labour.

29 But we are many waies taught, that the same shadowing of the spirituall rest, was the principall point in the Sabbath. For the Lorde required the keeping of no commaundement in a maner more seuerely, than this: when his meaning is in the Prophetes to declare that all religiō is ouerthrowen, thē he complaineth that his Sabbates are polluted, defiled, not kept, not sanctified: as though that peece of seruice

1. Re. 18.

10.

Num. 13

22.

Eze. 20.

21. and

23. 8.

Iere.17. being omitted, there remained no more wherein he might be hono-
 12. and red. He did set forth the obseruing thereof with hie praises. For
 27. whiche cause the faithfull did among other oracles maruelously
 Exo.31. esteeme the reueling of the Sabbat. For in Nehemiah thus spake
 13. and the Leuites in a solemne conuocation, Thou hast shewed to our fa-
 35.2. thers thy holy Sabbat, and hast geuen them the commaundementes
 Nehc.9. and the ceremonies, and the lawe by the hande of Moses. You see
 14. how it is had in singular estimation among all the commaudemétes
 of the lawe. All which thinges do serue to set forth the dignitie of
 the misterie, whiche is very well expressed by Moses and Ezechiel.
 Thus you haue in Exodus. See that ye kepe my Sabbat day, bycause
 it is a token betwene me and you in your generations: that you may
 knowe that I am the Lord that sanctifie you: kepe my Sabbat, for it
 is holy vnto you. Let the children of Israell kepe the Sabbat and ce-
 lebrate it in their generations, it is an euerlasting couenant betwene
 me and the children of Israell, and a perpetuall token. Yet Ezechiel
 Eze.20. speaketh more at large. But the summe therof cometh to this effect,
 12. that it is for a token whereby Israell shoulde knowe that God is their
 sanctifier. If our sanctification be the mortifying of our owne will,
 then appeareth a most apte relation of the outwarde signe with the
 inward thing it selfe: we must altogether rest, that God may worke in
 vs: we must depart from our owne will, we must resigne vp our heart,
 we must banish all lustes of the flesh. Finally, we must cesse from all
 the doinges of our owne wit, that we may haue God working in vs,
 Hebr.3. that we may reste in him, as the Apostle also teacheth.
 13. and
 4.9.

30 This perpetuall cessing was represented to the Iewes, by the
 keeping of one day among seuen: which day, to make it be obserued
 with greater deuotion, the Lord commaunded with his owne exam-
 ple. For it auaieth not a litle to stirre vp mans endeouour, that he may
 knowe that he tendeth to the following of his Creator. If any man
 search for a secret signification in the number of seuen: For asmuch
 as that number is in the Scripture the number of perfection, it was
 not without cause chosen to signifie euerlasting continuance. Where-
 with this also agreeth that Moses in the day that he declared that
 the Lord did rest from his workes, maketh an ende of describing the
 succeding of dayes and nightes. There may be also brought an other
 probable note of the number, that the Lord thereby meant to shew
 that the Sabbat shoulde neuer be perfectly ended, till it came to the
 last day. For in it we beginne our blessed rest, in it we do dayly procede
 in profiting more and more. But bycause we haue still a continuall
 warre with the flesh, it shall not be ended vntill that saying of Esaie
 be

be fulfilled, concerning the continuing of newe Moone with newe Moone, of Sabbat with Sabbat, euen then when God shalbe all in all. 1. Cor. 15. 28.
 It may seeme therfore that the Lord hath by the seuenth day set forth to his people the perfection to come of his Sabbat at the laste day, that our whole life might by continuall meditation of the Sabbat, aspire to this perfection.

31 If any man mislike this obseruation of the number as a matter to curious, I am not against him, but that he may more simply take it: that the Lorde ordeined one certaine day, wherein his people might vnder the scholing of the lawe be exercised to the continuall meditation of the spirituall reste: And that he assigned the seuenth day, either bycause he thought it sufficiēt, or that by setting forth the likeness of his owne example, he might the better moue the people to keepe it: or at least to put them in minde, that the Sabbat tended to no other ende, but that they should become like vnto their Creatour. For it maketh small matter, so that the misterie remaine which is therein principally set forth, concerning the perpetual rest of our workes. To consideration whereof the Prophetes did now and then call backe the Iewes, that they should not thinke them selues discharged by carnall taking of their rest. Beside the places already alleaged, you haue thus in Esay: If thou turne away thy foote from the Sabbat, that thou doe not thine owne will in my holy day, and shalt call the Sabbat delicate and holy of the glorious Lorde, and shalt glorifie him while thou doest not thine owne wayes, and seekest not thine owne will to speake the word, the shalt thou be delited in y^e Lord, &c. But it is no doubt, that by the comming of our Lorde Christ, so much as was ceremoniall herein, was abrogate. For he is the truth, by whose presence all figures doe vanish away: he is the body at sight whereof the shadowes are left. He, I say, is the true fulfilling of the Sabbat, we being buried with him by Baptisme, are grafted into the fellowship of his death, that we being made partakers of the resurrection, we may walke in newnesse of life. Therefore in an other place the Apostle writeth, that the Sabbat was a shadow of a thing to come: and that the true body, that is to say, the perfect substance of truth is in Christ, which in the same place he hath well declared. That is not contained in one day, but in the whole course of our life, vntill that we being vtterly dead to our selues, be filled with the life of God. Therefore superstitious obseruing of dayes ought to be farre from Christians. Esa. 58. 13. Rom. 6. 4. Col. 2. 16. & 17

32 But for asmuch as the two later causes ought not to be reckened among the olde shadowes, but doe belong a like to all ages: since the Sabbat is abrogate, yet this hath still place with vs, that we should

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meete at appoynted dayes to the hearing of the word, to the breaking of the mysticall bread, and to publike prayer: and then, that to seruautes and laborers be graunted their rest from their labour. It is out of doubt that in commaunding the Sabbath the Lorde had care of both these thinges. The first of them hath sufficient testimonie by the only vse of the Iewes to proue it. The second, Moses spake of in Deuteronomie in these wordes: that thy man seruaunt and thy mayde seruaunt may rest as well as thou: remember that thou thy selfe didst serue in Egypt. Againe in Exodus: that thy Oxe and thy Assē may rest, and the sonne of thy bondwoman may take breath. Who can deny that both these thinges doe serue for vs as well as for the Iewes? Meetings at the Church, are commaunded vs by the word of God, and the necessitie of them is sufficiently knowen in the very experience of life. Vnlesse they be certainly appoynted and haue their ordinarie dayes, how can they be kept? All thinges by the sentence of the Apostle are to be done comly and in order among vs. But so farre is it of, that comliness and order can be kept without this policie and moderation, that there is at hand present trouble and ruine of the Church, if it be dissolued. Now if the same necessitie be among vs, for releefe whereof the Lord appointed the Sabbath to the Iewes: let no man say that it belongeth nothing vnto vs. For our most prouident and tender Father, willed no lesse to prouide for our necessitie than for the Iewes. But thou wilt say, why doe we not rather daily meete together, that the difference of dayes may be taken away? I would to God, that were graunted, and truely spirituall wisdom was a thing worthy to haue daily a peece of the time cut out for it. But if it can not be obtained of the weakenesse of many to haue daily meetings, and the rule of charitie doth not suffer vs to exact more of them, why should we not obey the order which we see layed vpon vs by the will of God.

33 I am compelled here to be somewhat long, because at this day many vnquiet spirites doe raise trouble, concerning the Sunday. They crie out that the Christian people are nourished in Iewishnesse, because they keepe some obseruation of dayes. But I answere, that we keepe those dayes without any Iewishnesse, because we doe in this behalfe farre differ from the Iewes. For we keepe it not with streight religion as a ceremonie, wherein we thinke a spirituall misterie to be figured, but we retaine it as a necessary remedie to the keeping of order in the Church. But Paule teacheth that in keeping thereof they are not to be iudged Christians, because it is a shadow of a thing to come. Therefore he feared that he had laboured in vaine among the Galatians,

Deu. 5.
14.

Exod.
25. 12.

1. Cor.
14. 40.

Col. 3.
16.
Gal. 4.
10.

thians, because they did still obserue dayes. And to the Romanes he Rom. 14
 affirmeth that it is superstition if any man doe make difference be- 5.
 twene day and day. But who, sauing these madde men onely doth not
 see, of what obseruing the Apostle meaneth? For they had no regarde
 to this politicall ende and the order of the Church, but whereas they
 kept them still as shadowes of spiritual thinges, they did euen so much
 darken the glory of Christ and the light of the Gospell. They did not
 therefore cease from handy vvorkes, because they were thinges that
 did call them away from holy studies and meditations, but for a cer-
 taine religion, that in ceasing from worke they did dreame that they
 still kept their misteries of olde time deliuered them. The Apostle, I
 say, inueyeth against this disordered difference of dayes, and not a-
 gainst the lawfull choise of dayes that serueth for the quietnesse of
 Christian fellowship, for in the Churches that he him selfe did or-
 daine, the Sabbath was kept to this vse. For he appointeth the Corin- 1. Cor.
 thians the same day, wherein they should gather the collection to re- 16. 2.
 leeuue the brethren at Ierusalē. If they feare superstition, there was more
 daunger thereof in the feast dayes of the Iewes, than in the Sundayes
 that the Christians now haue. For, so as was expedient for the ouer-
 throwing of superstition, the day that the Iewes religiously obserued
 is taken away: and, so as was necessary for keeping of comlineesse, or-
 der, and quiet in the Church, an other day was appoynted for the
 same vse.

34 Albeit the old fathers haue not without reason of their choise,
 put in place of the Sabbath day the day that we cal Sunday. For wher-
 as in the Resurrection of the Lorde is the ende and fulfilling of that
 rest, whereof the olde Sabbath was a shadow: the Christians are by the
 very same day that made an ende of shadowes, put in minde that they
 should no longer sticke vnto the shadowish ceremonie. But yet I doe
 not so rest vpon the number of seuen, that I would binde the church
 to the bondage thereof. Neither will I condemne those Churches,
 that haue other solemne dayes for their meetings, so that they be
 without superstition, which shall be, if they be onely applyed to the
 obseruation of Discipline and well appoynted order. Let the summe
 hereof be this: as the truth was geuen to the Iewes vnder a figure, so
 is it deliuered vs without any shadowes at all. First that in all our life
 long we should be in meditation of a continuall Sabbath or rest from
 our owne workes, that the Lord may worke in vs by his spirite: then
 that euery man priuately so oft as he hath leasure, should diligently Hist.
 exercise him selfe in godly calling to minde the workes of God, and trip. lib.
 also that we all should keepe the lawfull order of the Church appoyn- 2. ca. 38.

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ted, for the hearing of the worde, for the ministration of the Sacraments and for publike prayer: thirdly that we should not vngently oppresse them that be vnder vs. And so doe the trifelings of the false prophets vanish away that in the ages past haue infected the people with a Iewish opinion, that so much as was ceremoniall in this commaundement is taken away, which they in their tongue call the appointing of the seuenth day, but that so much as is morall remaineth, which is the keeping of one day in the weeke. But that is nothing else in effect, than for reproch of the Iewes to chaunge the day, & to kepe still the same holinesse in their minde. For there still remaineth with vs the like signification of mysterie in the dayes as was among the Iewes. And truely we see what good they haue done by such doctrine. For they that cleaue to their constitutions, doe by these as much as exceede the Iewes in grosse and carnall superstition of Sabbath: so that the rebukings that are read in Esay, doe no lesse fitly serue for them at these dayes, than for those that the Prophet reprov'd in his time. But this generall doctrine is principally to be kept, that lest religion should fall away or waxe faint among vs, holy meetings are to be diligently kept, and those outward helps are to be vsed that are profitable for to nourish the worshipping of God.

Es. 56. 3
& 58. 13

The fift Commaundement.

*Honour thy Father and thy Mother, that thou maist liue long
vpon the Land which the Lord thy God shall geue thee.*

35 The ende of this commaundement is, that because the Lorde deliteth in the preseruacion of his order, therefore he willeth that those degrees of preeminence which he hath ordained be not broken, the summe therefore shall be that we reuerence those whom the Lord hath set ouer vs, that we yeld to them honour, obedience and thankfulnessse. Whereupon followeth that it is forbidden vs, to withdraw any thing from their dignitie, either by contempt or obstinacie or vnthankfulness. For so doth the word Honour, in the Scripture signifie very largely: as when the Apostle sayeth, that the elders which rule well are worthy of double honour, he meaneth not onely that reuerence is due vnto them, but also such recompense as their ministerie deserueth. And because this commaundement of subiection, doth most of all disagree with the peruersenesse of mans nature, which as it swelleth with greedinesse of climbing hie, so it hardly abideth to be brought lowe: therefore he hath set that kinde of superiority for example, which by nature is most amiable and least enuious: because he might the easelyer meeken and reclaime our mindes to the

1. Tim.
15.

use of submission. Therefore the Lorde doth by litle and litle traine vs to all lawfull subiection by that which is most easy to beare, forasmuch as the rule of all is alike. For to whome he geueth any preeminence, he doth communicate his owne name with them, so farre as is necessarie to preserue the same preeminence: The name of Father, God, and Lord, do so belong vnto him alone, that so ofte as we heare one of them named, our minde must needes be touched with a feeling of his maiesty. Therefore whom he maketh partakers of these things, he maketh to glister with a certaine sparke of his brightnesse, that they may be honorable euery one according to his degree. Therefore in him that is our father we haue to cōsider somewhat of the nature of God, bycause he beareth not the name of God without cause. He that is our Prince or our Lord, hath some partaking of honour with God.

36 Wherefore it ought not to be doubted that God doth here set a generall rule, that as we know any man to be by his ordinaunce set ouer vs, so we yelde vnto him reuerence, obedience, thankfulnessse, and such other duties as it lieth in vs to do. And it maketh no difference, whether they be worthy or vnworthy. For of what sorte soeuer they be, they haue not without the prouidence of God attained that place, by reason wherof the lawemaker would haue them to be honored. Yet namely he hath geuen commaundement of reuerence to parentes, that haue brought vs into this life, to which reuerence very nature ought in a maner to instruct vs. For they are monsters and not men, that breake the authoritie of parentes with dishonor or stubbornnesse. Therefore the Lord commaunded all the disobedient to their parentes, to be slaine, as men vnworthy to enioy the benefite of light, that do not reknowledge by whose meanes they came into it. And by many additions of the lawe it appeareth to be true that we haue noted, that there are three partes of honour that he here speaketh of, Reuerence, Obedience, and Thankfullnesse. The first of these the Lord establissheth when he commaūdeth him to be killed that curseth his Father or his Mother, for there he punisheth the contempt and dishonour of them. The seconde he confirmeth when he appointeth the punishment of death for the disobedient and rebellious children. To the thirde belongeth that saying of Christ in the fiftene of Matthew, that it is the commaundement of God that we do good to our parentes. And so oft as Paule maketh mention of a cōmaundement, he expoundeth that therein obedience is required.

37 There is annexed a promise for a commendation, which doth the rather put vs in minde, how acceptable vnto God is the submission that is here commaunded. For Paule vseth the same pricke to

stirre vp our dulnesse when he saith : that this is the first commaundment with promise . For the promise that went before in the first Table, was not speciall and properly belonging to one commaundment, but extēded to the whole law. Now this is thus to be taken: The Lord spake to the Israelites peculiarly of the lande which he had promised them for their inheritance. If then the possession of lande was a pledge of Gods bountyfullnesse: let vs not meruell if it pleased God to declare his fauour by geuing length of life, by which a man might long enioye his benefit. The meaning therefore is thus. Honour thy Father and thy Mother, that by a long space of life thou mayst enioy the possession of that lande that shalbe vnto thee for a testimonie of my Father. But sith all the earth is blessed to the faithfull, we do not worthily reckon this present life among the blessings of God. Therefore this promise doth likewise belong vnto vs, forsomuch as the continuance of this life is a prooffe of Gods good will. For it neither is promised to vs, nor was promised to the Iewes, as though it contained blessednesse in it selfe, but bycause it is wont to be to the Godly a token of Gods tender loue. Therefore if it chaunce that an obedient child to his parētes be taken out of this life before his ripe age, which is oftentimes seene, yet doth God no lesse constantly continue in the perfourmance of his promise, than if he shoulde rewarde, him with a hundreth Acres of lande, to whome he promised but one Acre. All consisteth in this, that we should cōsider that long life is so farre promised vs, as it is the blessing of God, and that it is his blessing so farre as it is a prooffe of his fauour, which he by death doth much more plentifully and perfectly witnesse and shew in effect to his seruantes.

38 Moreouer, when the Lorde promiseth the blessing of this presente life to the children that honour their parentes with such reuerence as they ought, he doth withall secretly say, that most assured curse hangeth ouer the stubborne and disobedient children. And that the same shoulde not want execution: he pronounceth them by his law subiect to the iudgement of death, and commaundeth them to be put to execution: & if they escape that iudgement, he him selfe taketh vengeance on them by one meane or other. For we see how great a numbre of that sorte of men are flaine in battailes and in fraies, and some other tormented in strange vnaccustomed fashions, and they all in a manner are a prooffe that this threatning is not vaine. But if any escape to olde age, sith in this life being depriued of the blessing of God, they do nothing but miserably languish and are reserued for greater paines hereafter, they are farre from being partakers of the blessing promised to the godly children. But this is also by the way

to be noted, that we are not commaunded to obey them but in the Lorde. And that is euident by the foundation before layed: for they sit on hie in that place whereunto the Lorde hath aduanced them, by communicating with them a portion of his honour. Therfore the submission that is vsed towarde them, ought to be a steppe towarde the honouring of that soueraigne Father. Wherefore, if they moue vs to transgresse the lawe, then are they worthily not to be accompted parentes, but straungers that labour to withdraw vs from obedience to the true Father. And so is to be thought of Princes, Lordes and all sortes of superiours. For it is shamefull and against conuenience of reason, that their preeminence shoulde preuaile to presse downe his highnesse, sith theyres as it hangeth wholly vpon it, so ought onely to guide vs vnto it.

The sixt Commaundement.

Thou shalt not kill.

39 The ende of this commaundement is, that forasmuch as God hath bounde together all mankinde with a certaine vnitie, that euery man ought to regarde the safetie of all men, as a thing geuen him in charge. In summe therefore, all violence and wrong, yea and all harme doing, wherby our neighbours bodie maie be hurte, is forbidden vs. And therfore we are commaunded, if there be any power of succour in our trauaile to defende the life of our neighbours, that we faithfully imploy the same, that we procure those thinges that may make for their quiet, that we watch to keepe them from hurte, and if they be in any daunger, that we geue them our helping hand. If thou consider that it is God the lawemaker that so saith, then thinke withall that his meaning is by this rule also to gouerne thy soule. For it were a fonde thing to thinke, that he which espieth the thoughtes of the heart, and principally resteth vpon them, should instruct nothing but the body to true righteousness. Therefore the manslaughter of the heart is also forbidden in this lawe, and an inwarde affection to preserve our brothers life is here geuen in commaundement. The hande in deede bringeth fourth the manslaughter, but the minde conceiueth it, when it is infected with wrath and hatred. Looke whether thou canst be angry with thy brother without burning in desire to do him hurte. If thou canst not be angry with him, then canst thou not hate him, for asmuch as hatred is nothing but an olde rooted anger. Although thou dissemble and go about to winde our thy selfe by vaine circumstances: yet where anger or hatred is, there is an affection to hurte. If thou wilt still dally out with shiftes to defende it, it is already 1. Io. 5.

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pronounced by the mouth of the holy Ghost, that he is a manslayer that hateth his brother in his heart. It is pronounced by the mouth of the Lorde Christ, that he is guilty of iudgement that is angry with his brother : that he is guilty of the counsell that saith Racha : that he is guilty of Hell fier, that saith vnto him, Foole.

Matt. 5.
22.

40 The Scripture noteth two pointes of equitie, vpon which this commaundement is grounded : bycause manne is both the image of God and our owne flesh, wherefore vnlesse we will defile the image of God, we must haue care to touche man none otherwise, than as a sacred thing : and vnlesse we will put of all naturallnesse of man, we must cherish him as our owne flesh. That maner of exhortation that is fetched from the redemption and grace of Christ, shall be entreated of in an other place. God willed these two thinges naturally to be considered in man, that might perswade vs to the preseruatiō of him, that we should both reuerence the image of God emprinted in him, and embrace our owne fleshe. He hath not therefore escaped the crime of manslaughter, that he hath kept him selfe from shedding of bloude. If thou committe any thing in dede, if thou go about any thing with endeuour, if thou conceiue any thing in desire and purpose that is against the safetie of an other, thou art holden guilty of manslaughter. And againe : If thou do not trauaile to thy power and as accasion may serue to defende his life, thou doest with like hainousnesse offende the lawe. But if there be so much care taken for the safetie of his body, let vs hereby gather, how much studie and trauaile is due to the safetie of his soule, which in the Lordes sight doth infinitely excell the bodie.

The seuenth Commaundement.

Thou shalt not committe adulterie.

41 The ende of the cōmaundement is, that bycause God loueth charitie and cleanness, therefore all vncleanness ought to departe farre away from vs. The summe therefore shall be, that we be defiled with no vncleanness or lustfull intemperance of the flesh: Whervnto aunswereth the affirmatiue commaundement, that we chastely and continently ordre all the partes of our life. But fornication he forbiddeth by name, to which all vnchaste luste tendeth, that the filthinesse of that which is more grosse and sensible, for somuch as it also defileth the body, he might bring vs to abhorre all filthy luste. Sith manne was created in this estate, not to liue a solitarie life, but to vse a helper ioined vnto him: and sins that by the curse of sinne he is driuen the more to this necessitie, the Lord hath in this behalfe prouided

ded help for him so much as was sufficient, when he ordained marriage, when he sanctified with his blessing the fellowship begonne by his authority. Whereby followeth, that all other fellowship of man & woman out of marriage, is accursed before him, & that the fellowship of marriage it selfe, was ordained for remedy of necessity, y^e we should not runne out into vnbridled lust. Therefore let vs not flatter our selues, sith we heare that man can not be coupled with woman out of marriage, without the curse of God.

42 Nowe forasmuch as by the condition of nature, and by lust more enkindeled sins the fall of man, we are become doutely subiect to desire of company of women, except it be those whom God of his singular grace hath exempted from it: let euery man looke well what is giuen vnto him. Virginitie, I graunt, is a vertue not to be despised: but sith it is to some denied, and to some graunted but for a time, lette them that are troubled with incontinence and struiuing with it, can not get the vpper hande, resort to the helpe of marriage, that so they may keepe chastity in the degree of their vocation. For they that can not conceiue this word, if they do not succour their owne intemperance with the remedy that is offered and graunted them, they strue against God and resist his ordinaunce. And let no man carpe against me (as many do at this day) that beinge aided with the helpe of God, he can do all thinges. For the helpe of God is present only with those, that walke in his wayes, that in their vocation from which they do all withdrawe themselves, which forsakinge the helps of God, do trauell to ouercome and maister their necessity with vaine rash boldnesse. The Lord affirmeth that continence is a singular gift of God, & of that sorte that are not giuen generally, nor vniuersally to the whole body of the Church, but to a few members thereof. For first he sayth, that there is a certaine kinde of men, that haue gelded themselves for the kingdome of Heauen, that is, that they might the more loosely and freely applie themselves to the assayres of the heauenly kingdome. But, that no man should thinke that such gelding is in the power of man, he shewed a litle before, that all men are not able to receiue it, but they to whom it is peculiarly giuen from heauen, whereupon he concludeth: He that can take it, let him take it. But Paul yet affirmeth it more plainly, where he wryteth, that euery man hath his proper gift of God, one thus, and an other thus.

Pla. 19.
1. & 14.

Mat 19
12.

1. Cor. 7.

43 Whereas we are by open declaration admonished, that it is not in euery mans power to keepe chastity in single life, although with study and trauaile he indeuour neuer so much vnto it, and that it is a peculiar grace, which God giueth but to certaine men, that he may

haue the more ready to his worke : do we not striue against God and nature which he hath institute , if we do not apply the kinde of our life to the proportion of our power ? Here the Lord forbiddeth fornication, therefore he requireth cleanness and chastity of vs. To keepe the same there is but one way , that euery man measure him selfe by his owne measure . Neither lette a man despise mariage as a thinge vnprofitable or superfluous for him, nor otherwise desire single life, vnlesse he be able to liue without a wife. And therein also let him not prouide onely for the quiet and commodity of the flesh, but only that being loosed from this bond, he may be the more in readinesse & prepared to all duties of Godlinesse. And forasmuch as this benefit is giuen to many but for a time, let euery mā so long abstaine frō mariage as he shalbe meete to liue to kepe single estate, If strength faile him to tame his lust, let him learne that the Lord hath now laied

1. Cor. 7 vpon him a necessity to marry. This the Apostle sheweth when he
2. & 9. commaundeth that to auoide fornication euery man haue his owne wife, and euery woman haue her owne husband, that he that can not liue continently should mary in the Lord. First he declareth, that the most part of men are subiect to y^e vice of incōtinence: & then of those that be subiect vnto it, he excepteth none, but cōmaundeth all to that only remedy, wherewith vnchastity is resisted. Therefore if they that be incontinent do neglect to helpe their infirmity by this meane, they sinne euen in this that they obey not the commaudemēt of the Apostle. Neither let him flatter himselfe that toucheth not a woman as though he coule not be rebuked of vnchastity , while in the meane
1. Cor. 6 season his minde burneth inwardly with lust. For Paule defineth chastity to be a cleannes of the minde , ioyned with chastity of the body.
24. A woman vnmarried (sayth he) thinketh vpon those things that are of the Lord, forasmuch as shee is holy both in body and in spirit. Therefore when he bringeth a reason to confirme that former commaundement, he doth not only say, that it is better for a mā to take a wife, than to defile himselfe, with company of a harlot, but he sayth, that it is better to mary than to burne.

44 Now if married folkes do confesse that their fellowship together is blessed of the Lord, they are thereby admonished not to defile it with intemperate and dissolute lust: For though the honesty of mariage do couer y^e filthines of incontinence, yet it ought not forthwith to be a prouocation therof. Wherfore let not married folkes thinke, that all thinges are lawfull vnto them , but let euery husbände haue his owne wife soberly , and likewise the wife her husband , and so doinge, lette them committe nothing vnbesecting the honesty and
tempe-

temperance of mariage. For so ought mariage made in the Lord to be restrained to measure and modesty, and not to ouerflow into eue-ry kinde of extreme lasciuiousnesse. This wantonnesse Ambrose re-
 Am.lib.
 de phil
 proued with a saying very sore in deede, but not vnfitte for it, when he calleth the husbände, the adulterer of his owne wife, which in vse of wedlocke hath no care of shamefastnesse or honesty. Last of all, let vs consider what lawemaker doth here condemne fornication, euen he which sith of his owne righthe ought to possesse vs wholly, requireth purenesse of the soule, spirite and body. Therefore when he forbid-
 deth to commit fornication, he also forbiddeth with wanton attire of body, with vncleanly gestures, & with filthy talke to lay waite to trap an others chastity. For that saying is not without good reason, which Archelaus spake to a yong man aboute measure wantonly and deintely clothed, that it made no matter in what parte he were filthily vn-
 chaste: if we haue regard vnto God that abhorreth all filthines in what soeuer part either of our soule or body it appeareth. And to put thee out of dout, remember that the Lord here commendeth chastity. If the Lorde require chastity of vs, then he condemneth all that euer is against it. Therefore if thou couet to shew obedience, neither let thy minde burne inwardly with euill lust, nor lette thine eyes runne wan-
 tonly into corrupt affections, nor let thy body be trimmed vp for al-
 lurement, nor let thy tongue with filthy talke entise thy minde to like-
 thoughtes, nor let thy gluttonous belly enflame thee with intempe-
 rance. For all these vices are, as it were, certaine blottes, wherewith the purenesse of chastity is bespotted.

The eight Commaundement.

Thou shalt not steale.

45 The ende of this commaundement is, because God abhorreth vnrighteousnesse, y^e euery man may haue his owne rendred vnto him. The summe therefore shall be, that we are forbidden to gape for o-
 ther mens goodes, & that therefore we are commaunded euery man to employ his faythfull trauaile to preferue to eche man his owne goodes. For thus we ought to thinke, that what euery man possesseth is not happened vnto him by chaunce of fortune, but by the distribu-
 tion of the soueraigne Lord of all things, & therefore no mans goods can be gotten from him by euill meanes, but that wronge be done to the disposition of God. But of thestes there be many kindes: one standeth in Violence, whē y^e goods of an other are by any maner of force and robbinge licentiousnesse bereued. The other kinde consisteth in malicious deceite, where they are guilefully conuied away. An other

sorte there is that standeth in a more hidden iuttelty, when they are wrong from the owner by colour of lawe. An other sorte in flatterie, where they are sucked away by pretense of gift. But least we shoulde tary too longe vpon renting of all the seuerall kindes of theft, lette vs know, that all crafty meanes whereby the possessions and money of our neighbours are conueyed vnto vs, when they once go by crooked wayes from sincerenesse of heart, to a desire to beguile, or by any meane to do hurt, are to be accompted for thestes. Although by pleadinge the lawe, they may preuaile, yet God doth not otherwise wey them. For he seeth the longe captious suttelties, wherewith the guilefull man beginneth to entangle the simpler minde, till at length he drawe him into his nettes. He seeth the hard and vngentle lawes, wherwith the mightier oppresseth and throweth downe the weaker. He seeth the allurementes, wherwith as with baited hookes, the craftier taketh thee vnware. All which things are hidden from the iudgement of man, and come not in his knowledge. And this manner of wrong is not only in money, in wares, or in landes, but in euery mans right. For we defraude our neighbour of his goodes, if we deny him those dueties which we are bound to do for him. If any idle factor or bailie do deuour his maisters substance, & is not heedeful to the care of his thrift, if he either do wrongfully spoile, or do riotously wast the substance committed vnto him, if a seruauant do mocke his maister, if he disclose his secretes by any meanes, if he betray his life and his goodes: againe if the Lord do cruelly oppresse his householde, they are before God guilty of theft. For he both withholdeth & conueieth an other mans goodes, which performeth not that which by the office of his calling he oweth to other.

46 We shall therefore rightly obey this commaundement, if being contented with our owne estate, we seeke to get no gaine but honest and lawful, if we couet not to waxe rich with wrong, nor go about to spoile our neighbour of his goodes that our owne substance may encrease, if we labour not to heape vp cruell riches and wronge out of others mens blood, if we do not immeasurably scrape together euery way, by right and by wrong, that either our couetousnesse may be filled, or our prodigality satisfied. But on the other side, lette this be our perpetuall marke, to aide all men faithfully by counsell and helpe to keepe their owne so farre as we may: but if we haue to do with false and deceitfull men, lette vs rather be ready to yeelde vp some of our owne, then to strue with them. And not that only, but let vs communicate to their necessities, & with our store relieue their neede, whom we see to be oppressed with hard and poore estate. Finally, lette euery
man

man looke how much he is by duety bounde vnto other, and let him faithfully pay it. For this reason lette the people haue in honor all those that are set ouer them, let them patiently beare their gouernement, obey their lawes and commaundementes, refuse nothing that they may beare, still keepinge God fauourable vnto them. Againe, let them take care of their people, preferue common peace, defende the good, restraîne the euil, & so order all things, as ready to giue accompt of their office to the soueraigne iudge. Let the Ministers of churches faithfully apply their ministry, and not corrupt the doctrine of saluation, but deliuer it pure & sincere to the people of God, and let the instruct them not onely with learning, but also with example of life: finally, let the so be ouer the, as good sheperdes be ouer the shepe. Let the people likewise receiue them for the messengers & Apostles of God, giue them that honor whereof the hiest maister hath voutsaued them, and minister vnto them such thinges as are necessary for their life. Lette parentes take on them to feede, rule and teach theyr children, as committed to them of God, & greue not, nor turne away their mindes from them with cruelty, but rather cherish & embrace them with such lenity and tenderesse, as becommeth there person. After which manner, we haue already sayd, that children owe to their parentes their obedience. Let yong men reuerence olde age, euen as the Lord willed that age to be honorable. Let old men also gouerne the weakenes of youth with their wisdom and experience, wherein they excell yonge men, not ratinge them with rough and loude brawlings, but tempering seuerity with mildenesse and gentlenesse. Lette seruauntes shew themselves diligent and seruisable to obey: and that not to the eye, but from the heart, as seruing God himselfe. Also lette maisters shewe themselves not testy and hard to please, nor oppresse them with to much sharpenes, not reprochfully vse them, but rather acknowledge that they are their brethren and their fellow seruauntes vnder the heauely Lord, whom they ought mutually to loue & getly to entreat. After this manner, I say, let euery man consider what in his degree and place he oweth to his neighbours, and let him pay that he oweth. Morouer our minde ought alwayes to haue respect to the law maker, that we may know that this law is made as wel for our mindes, as for our handes, that men should study to defend & further the commodities and profite of other.

The ninth commaundement.

Thou shalt not be a lying wunnesse against thy neighbour.

47 The end of this commaundement is that becausc God which is

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trueth abhorreth lyinge, we ought to obserue trueth without deceitfull colour. The summe therefore shall be, that we neither hurt any mans name either with slaunders or false reportes, nor hinder him in his goodes by lyinge: finally that we offende no man, by lust to speake euill, or to be busie: with which prohibition is ioyned a commaundement, that so farre as we may, we employ our faithfull endeavour for euery man in affirminge the trueth, to defende the safety both of his name and goodes. It seemeth that the Lord purposed to expounde the meaning of his commaundement in the three & twenty

Exo. 23.

1.

Leui. 19

15.

Chapter of Exodus in these wordes. Thou shalt not vse the voyce of lying, nor shalt ioyne thy hande to speake false witnesse for the wicked. Againe, Thou shalt flee lying. Also in an other place he doth not onely call vs away from lyinge in this point that we be no accusers, or whisperers in the people, but also that no man deceiue his brother for he forbiddeth them both in seuerall commaundementes. Truly it is no dout, but that as in the commaundementes before, he hath forbidden cruelty, ynchastity & couetousnes, so in this he restraineth falshood. Whereof there are two partes as we haue noted before. For either we offende the good name of our neighbours by maliciousnesse and froward minde to backebite, or in lying and sometime in euill speakinge we hinder their commodities. There is no difference whether in this place be vnderstanded solemne & iudiciall testimony, or common testimony that is vsed in priuate talkes. For we must alway haue recourse to this principle, that of all the generall kindes of vices one speciall sorte is set for an example, whereunto the rest may be referred, and that that is chiefly chofen, wherein the filthinesse of the fault is most apparaunt. Albeit, it were conuenient to extend it more generally to slaunders and sinister backebitinges wherewith our neighbours are wrongfully greeued, for that falshood of witnessinge which is vsed in iudiciall courtes, is neuer without periury. But perjuries insomuch as they do prophane and defile the name of God, are already sufficiently met withall in the third commaundement. Wherefore the right vse of this commaundement is, that our tongue in affirminge the trueth do serue both the good name and profite of our neighbours. The equity thereof is more than manifest. For if a good name be more precious than any treasures, whatsoeuer they be: then is it no lesse hurt to a man to be spoyled of the goodnesse of his name than of his goodes. And in bereuing his substaunce, sometime false witnesse doth as much as violence of handes.

48 And yet it is maruelous w^h how negligent carelesse men do commonly offende in this point, so y^t there are found very few that are
not

not notably sicke of this disease: we are so much delited with a certaine poisoned sweetenes both in searching out & in disclosing the euills of other. And let vs not thinke y^e it is a sufficient excuse, if oftentimes we lye not. For he y^e forbiddeth thy brothers name to be defiled wth lying, willeth also that it be preserued vntouched so farre as the trueth will suffer. For howsoeuer he taketh heede to himselfe only, so that he tell no lye, yet in the same he secretly confesseth that he hath some charge of him. But this ought to suffice vs to keepe safe our neighbours good name, that God hath care of it. Wherefore without dout all euill speaking is viterly condemned. But we meane not by euill speakinge, that rebukinge which is vsed for chastisement: nor accusation, or iudiciall proceffe, wherby remedy is sought for an euill, nor publike reprehension which tendeth to put other sinners in feare, nor bewrayinge of faultes to them for whose safety it behoued that they should be forwarned least they should be in daunger by ignoraunce: but we meane only hatefull accusing, which ariseth of maliciousnesse and of a wanton will to backebite. Also this commaundement is extended to this point, that we couet not to vse a scoffing kinde of a pleasauntnes, but mingeled with bitter tauntes, thereby bitingly to touch other mens faultes vnder pretense of pastime, as many do that seeke praise of mery conceites with other mens shame yea & greefe, also when by such wanton railing many times our neighbours are not a litle reproched. Now if we bende our eyes to the lawmaker, which must accordinge to his rightfull authority beare rule no lesse ouer the eares and minde than ouer the tongue: truly we shall finde that greedinesse to heare backebittings, and a hasty readines to euill iudgementes are no lesse forbidden. For it were very fond if a man should thinke that God hateth the fault of euill speakinge in the tongue, and doth not disallowe the fault of euill maliciousnesse in the hearte. Wherefore if there be in vs a true feare and loue of God, let vs endeouour so farre as we may and as is expedient, and as charity beareth, that we giue neither our tongue, nor our eares to euill speakinges, and bitter iestinges, least we rashly without cause yeelde our mindes to indirect suspicions. But being indifferent expositours of all mens sayinges and doinges, let vs both in iudgement, eares, and tongue gently preserue their honor safe.

The tenth Commaundement.

Thou shalt not come thy neighbours house, &c.

49 The end of this cōmaundement is, y^e because y^e lords wil is that

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Of the knowledge of

our soule be wholly possessed with the affectiō of loue:all lust is to be shake out of our minde that is contrary to charity. The summe therefore shall be, that no thought creepe into vs, which may moue our mindes with a concupiscens hurtfull and turninge toward an others losse:wherewith on the other side agreeth the commaundement,that whatsoeuer we conceiue,purpose, will or study vpon,be ioyned with the benefit and commodity of our neighbours.But here,as it semeth, ariseth a hard and combersome difficulty. For if it be truely sayd of vs before that vnder the names of fornication and theft are containd the lust of fornication, and the purpose to hurt and deceiue, it may seeme superfluously spoken,that the couetinge of other mens goodes shoulde afterward be seuerally forbidden vs. But the distinction betwene purpose and couetinge, will easily lose vs this knot. For purpose (as we haue meant in speakinge of it in the other commaundementes before) is deliberate consent of will,when lust hath subdued the minde: but couetinge may be without any such either aduise-ment or assent, when the minde is only pricked & tickled with vaine and peruerse obiectes. As therefore the Lord hath heretofore commaunded, that the rule of charity shoulde gouerne our willes, studies and workes: so he now commaundeth the conceptions of our minde to be directed to the same rule, that there be none of them crooked and writhen,that may prouoke our minde an other way. As he hath forbidden our minde to be bowed and ledde into wrath, hatred, fornication, robbery, and lying: so he doth now forbid vs to be moued thereunto.

So And not without cause doth he require so great vprightnesse. For who can deny that it is righteous,that al the powers of the soule be possessed with charity?But if any of the do swarue from the marke of charity, who can deny that it is diseased? Now whense commeth it that so many desires hurtfull to thy neighbour do enter into thy heart, but of this, that neglecting him thou carest onely for thy selfe? For if thy minde were altogether throughly foked with charity, no percell thereof shoulde be open to such imaginations. Therefore it must needes be void of charity, so farre as it receiueth concupiscens. But some man will obiect,that yet it is not meete that phantasies that are wout order tossed in mans wit,& at length do vanish away, should be condemned for concupiscence,whose place is in the heart.I answer: that here our question is of that kinde of phantasies, which while they are present before our mindes, do together bite and strike our heart with desire, forasmuch as it neuer commeth in our minde, to wish for any thing,but that our heart is stirred vp and leapeth with-
all.

all. Therefore God commaundeth a maruelous seruēnes of loue which he willet not to be entangled with neuer so small snares of concupiscence. He requireth a maruelously framed minde, which he suffereth not so much as with slight prouocatiōs to be any thing stirred against the law of loue. To this exposition Augustine did first open me the way : because thou shouldest not thinke that it is without consent of some graue authority. And though the Lords purpose was to forbid vs all wrongfull coueting: yet in rehearsing that same, he hath brought forth for example those things that most cōmonly do deceiue vs with a false image of delight: because he would leaue nothing to concupiscence when he draweth it from these things, vpon the which it most of all rageth and triumpheth. Loe, here is the seconde Table of the law, wherein we are taught sufficiently what we owe to men for Gods sake, vpon consideration wherof hangeth the whole rule of charity. Wherefore you shall but vainely call vpon those dueties that are contained in this Table, vnlesse your doctrine do stay vpon the feare and reuerence of God, as vpon her foundation. As for them which seeke for two commaundementes in the prohibition of couetinge, the wise reader, though I say nothing, will iudge that by wrong diuision, they teare in sunder that which was but one. And it maketh nothinge against vs, that this worde, Thou shalt not couet, is the second time repeated, for after that he had first set the house, then he renteth the partes thereof, beginning at the wife: whereby it plainely appeareth, that (as the Hebrues do very well) it ought to be read in one whole sentence, and that God in effect commaundeth, that al that euery man possesseth, should remaine safe and vntouched, nor onely from wrong and lust to defraude them, but also from the very least desire that may moue our mindes.

§1 But now to what ende the whole lawe tendeth, it shall not be hard to iudge: that is, to the fulfilling of righteousness, that it might frame the life of man after the example of the purenesse of God. For God hath therein so painted out his owne nature, as if a man do performe in deedes that which is there commaunded, he shall in a manner expresse an image of God in his life. Therefore when Moses meant to bring the summe thereof into the mindes of the Israelites, he sayd : And nowe Israell, what doth the Lorde thy God aske of thee, but that thou feare the Lorde, and walke in his wayes? loue him and serue him in all thy heart, and in all thy soule, and keepe his commaundementes? And he ceased not still to sing the same song againe vnto them, so oft as he purposed to shewe the ende of the law. The doctrine of the lawe hath such respect hereunto, that it ioyneth

Deu. 10
12.

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Deut. 6. man, or as Moses in an other place termeth it, maketh man to sticke
 5. & 11. fast to his God in holinesse of life. Now the perfection of that holy-
 13. nesse consisteth in the two principall pointes already rehearsed, That
 we loue the Lorde God with all our hearte, all our soule, and all our
 Mat. 22 strength, and our neighbour as our selues. And the first in deede is,
 that our soule be in all partes filled with the loue of God. From
 that byandby of it selfe foorth floweth the loue of our neighbour.
 1. Tim. 1 Which thing the Apostle sheweth when he wryteth, that the end of
 15. the law is Loue out of a pure conscience, and a faith not fayned. You
 see how, as it were, in the heade is set conscience and faith vnfayned,
 that is to say in one worde true Godlinesse, and that from thense is
 charity deriued. Therefore he is deceiued, whosoever thinketh that
 in the lawe are taught onely certaine rudimentes and first Introdu-
 ctions of righteousness; wherewith men became to be taught their
 first schoolinge, but not yet directed to the true marke of good
 woorkes: whereas beyonde that sentence of Moses and this of Paule;
 you canne desire nothinge as wantinge of the highest perfection.
 For howe farre, I pray you, will he proceede that will not be con-
 tented with this institution, whereby manne is instructed to the feare
 of God, to spirituall worshippinge, to obeyinge of the commaun-
 dementes, to follow the vprightnes of the way of the Lord: finally to
 purenesse of conscience, sincere faith and loue? Whereby is confir-
 med that exposition of the law, which searcheth for and findeth out
 in the commaundementes thereof all the dueties of Godlinesse
 and loue. For they that follow onely the drie and bare principles, as if
 it taught but the one halfe of Gods will, know not the end thereof, as
 the Apostle witnesseth.

52 But whereas in rehearsing the summe of the law, Christ & the
 Apostle do sometime leaue out y first Table: many are deceiued therein
 while they woulde faine draw their words to both the Tables. Christ
 in Matthew calleth the chiefe pointes of the law, Mercy, Iudgemēt &
 Faith: vnder the word Faith, it is not dourful to me, but that he mea-
 neth trueth or faithfulnessse toward men. But some, that the sentence
 might be extended to the whole law, take it for religiousnesse toward
 Matt. 5. God. But they labour in vaine. For Christ speaketh of those workes
 13. wherwith man ought to proue himselfe righteous. This reason if we
 note, we will also cesse to maruell why, when a yong man asked him
 what be the commaundementes by keeping wherof we enter into life:
 he answered these things only: Thou shalt not kil. Thou shalt not cō-
 mit adultery: Thou shalt not steale. Thou shalt beare no false wit-
 ness. Honor thy Father and thy Mother. Loue thy neighbour as thy
 selfe.

Mat. 19.
 28.

selfe. For the obeying of the first Table consisted in manner all either in the affection of y heart, or in ceremonies: the affection of the heart appeared not, & as for the ceremonies the hypocrites did continually vse. But the workes of charity are such, as by them we may declare a perfect righteousness. But this commeth eche where so oft in the prophetes, that it must needs be familiar to a reader but meanelly exercised in them. For in a manner alway when they exhorte to repentance, they leaue out the first Table, and only call vpon Faith, Iudgemēt, Mercy & Equity. And thus they do not ouerskip the feare of God, but they require the earnest profe thereof by the tokens of it. This is well knowē, that when they speake of the keeping of the law, they do for y most part rest vpon the second Table, because therein the study of righteousness and vprightnesse is most openly seene. It is needlesse to rehearse the places, because euery man will of himself easily marke that which I say.

53 But thou wilt say, is it then more auailable to the perfectiō of righteousness, to liue innocently among men, than with true godlines to honor God? No, but because a man doth not easily kepe charity in all pointes, vnles he earnestly feare God, therefore it is thereby proued, that he hath godlinesse also. Beside that, forasmuch as the Lord well knoweth, that no benefit can come from vs vnto him, which thing he doth also testifie by y Prophet: therefore he requireth not our duties to himselfe, but doth exercise vs in good workes towards our neighbour. Therefore not without cause the Apostle setteth the whole perfectiō of the holy ones in charity. And not incōueniently in another place he calleth y same the fulfilling of the law: adding that he hath performed y law that loueth his neighbour. Againe, That all y law is comprehended in one word, Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. For he teacheth no other thinge but the same which Christ doth when he saith: Whatsoeuer ye will that men do to you, do ye the same to the. For this is the law & the Prophets, It is certaine, that in the law & the Prophetes, Faith and all that belongeth to the true worship of God, holdeth the principall place, & that Loue is beneth it in a lower degree: but the Lords meaning is, that in the law is only prescribed vnto vs an obseruation of right and equity, wherein we be exercised to testifie our godly feare of him, if there be any in vs.

54 Here therefore let vs sticke fast, that then our life shalbe best framed to Gods will and the rule of his law, when it shall be euery way most profitable to our brethren. But in the whole lawe there is not redde one sillable that appointeth to man any rule of such thinges as he shall do or leaue vndone to the commodity of his owne flesh. And

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surely sith men are so borne of such disposition naturally that they be too much caried all headlong to the loue of themselves, and how much soeuer they fall from the trueth yet still they keepe that selfe loue, there needed no law any more to enflame that loue, that was naturally of it selfe, too much beyonde measure. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that not the loue of our selues, but y^e loue of God & of our neighbour is the keeping of the commaundements, & that he liueth best & most holily, y^e (so nere as may be) liueth & trauaileth least for himselfe, & that no man liueth worse & more wickedly than he that liueth and trauaileth for himselfe & only thinketh vpon and seeketh for things of his owne. And the Lord, the more to expresse with how great earnestnesse we ought to be led to the loue of our neighbours, appointed it to be measured by the loue of our selues as by a rule, because he had no other vehement or stronger affection to measure it by. And the force of the maner of speakinge is diligently to be weyed. For he doth not, as certaine Sophisters haue foolishly dreamed, giue the first degree to the loue of our selues, and the second to charity, but rather that affection of loue which we do all naturally draw to our selues he giueth away vnto other, wherupon y^e Apostle sayth, that Charity seketh not her owne. And their reasoⁿ is not to be esteemed worth a heare that y^e thing ruled is euer inferiour to his Rule. For God doth not make the loue of our selues a rule whereunto charity towarde other should be subiect, but whereas by peruersnes of nature, y^e affectioⁿ of loue was wont to rest in our selues, he sheweth that now it ought to be elsewhere spred abroad, that we should with no lesse cherefullnesse, feruentnesse, & carefulnesse be ready to do good to our neighbour than to our selues.

55 Now sith Christ hath shewed in the parable of the Samaritane that vnder the name of Neighbour euery man is contained be he neuer so straunge vnto vs; there is no cause why we shoulde restraîne the commaundement of loue within the bouⁿdes of our owne frendships and acquaintances. I deny not that the nerer that any man is vnto vs, the more familiarly he is to be holden with our endeouours to do him good. For so the order of humanity requireth, that so many mo duties of friendship men shoulde communicate together, as they are bound together with streighter bonds of kinred, familiarity or neighbourhoode, & that without any offense of God, by whose prouidence we are in a manner driuen therunto. But I say that all mākinde without exception is to be embraced with one affection of charity: & that in this behalfe is no difference of Barbarous or Grecian, of worthy or vnworthy, of friend or foe, because they are to be considered in God and

& not in themſelues: from which conſideration when we turne away, it is no maruell if we be entangled with many errorſ. Wherefore if we will keepe the true trade of louing, we muſt not turne our eyes vnto man, the ſight of whom would offer enforce vs to hate thã to loue, but vnto God which cõmaundeth that the loue which we offer him, be poured abroad amonge all men: that this be a perpetuall foundation, that whatſoeuer the man be, yet he ought to be loued becauſe God is loued.

56 Wherefore it was a moſt peſtilent either ignorãce or malice, that the Schoolemen of theſe commaundementes, touchinge not deſiring of reuengement, and louing our enemies, which in the olde time both were giuen to the Iewes and at the ſame time were commonly giuen to all Chriſtians, haue made Councels which it is in our liberty to obey, or not obey. And the neceſſary obeying of them, they haue poſted ouer to Mõkes which were though but in this one point for ſoth more righteous thã ſimple Chriſtians, that they willingly bound them ſelues to keepe the Councels. And they render a reaſon why they receiue them not for lawes, for that they ſeme too burdenous & heauy, ſpecially for Chriſtians that are vnder the law of grace. So dare they preſume to repell the eternall law of God touching the louing of our neighbours? Is there any ſuch difference in any leaſe of the law? & are not therein rather eche where founde commaundementes that do moſt ſeuereſly require of vs to loue our enemies? For what manner of ſaying is that, where we are commaunded to feede our enemy whẽ he is hungry? to ſet into the right way his Oxen or Affes ſtraying out of the way, or to eaſe them when they faint vnder their burden? Shall we do good to his beaſtes for his ſake without any good wil to himſelfe? What is not the word of the Lord euerlaſtinge: Leauē vengeance to me, and I will requite it? Which alſo is ſpoken more plainly at large in an other place. Seke not vengeance, neither be mindeſul of the iniury of thy Citizens. Either let them blot theſe things out of the law, or let them acknowledge that the Lord was a lawmaker, and not lyingly ſaine that he was a counsell giuer.

57 And what I pray you meane theſe things that they haue preſumed to mocke withall in their vſauory gloſe? Loue your enemies, do good to them that hate you, pray for thẽ that perſecute you, bleſſe them that curſe you, that ye may be the childrẽ of your father which is in heauen. Who can not heare reaſon with Chryſoſtome, that by ſo neceſſary a cauſe it plainly appeareth that they are no exhortations but commaundementes? What remaineth more when we be blotted out of the numbꝛe of the children of God? But by their opinion, only

Mat. 5.
46.

Lib. de
doctri.
Christi.
cap. 30.

Ro. 13.
9.

Monkes shall be the children of the heauenly father, they onely shall be bolde to call vpon God their Father: what shall the Church do in the meane season? it shall by like right be sent away to the Gentils & Publicans. For Christ sayth: If ye be friendly to your friendes, what fauour looke you for therby? do not y^e Gentiles & publicans the same? But we shall be in good case forsoth, if the title of Christians be left vnto vs, and the inheritaunce of the kingdome of heauen taken away from vs. And no lesse strong is Augustines argument. When (saith he) the Lord forbiddeth to commit fornication, he no lesse forbiddeth to touch the wife of thine enemy thā of thy friend. When he forbiddeth theft, he giueth leaue to steale nothing at all, either frō thy friende or from thine enemy. But these two, not to steale, & not to commit fornication, Paule bringeth within the compasse of the rule of loue, yea & teacheth that they are contained vnder this cōmaundement, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. Therefore, either Paul must haue bin a false expositor of the lawe, or it necessarily followeth hereby, that our enemies ought also to be loued, euen by commaundement, like as our friendes. Therefore they do truely bewray themselues to be the children of Satan, that do so licentiously shake of the cōmon yoke of the children of God. It is to be doubted, whether they haue published this doctrine with more grosse dulnes or shamelesnes. For there are none of the olde wryters that do not pronounce as of a thing certaine, that these are mere cōmaundementes. And that euen in Gregories age it was not doubted of, appeareth by his owne affirmatiō, for he without controuersie taketh them for commaundementes. And how foolishly do they reason? They say y^e they are to weighty a burden for Christians. As though there could be deuised any thing more weighty, than to loue God with all our heart, with all our soule, with all our strēgth. In cōparison of this law any thing may be cōpted easy, whether it be to loue our enemy, or to lay away all desire of reuenge out of our minde. In dede all things are hie & hard to our weakenes euen the least title of the lawe. It is the Lord in whom we vse strength Let him giue what he commaundeth, & commaund what he wil. Christian men to be vnder the law of grace, is not vnbridledly to wander without law, but to be graffed in Christ, by whose grace they are free from the curse of the law, and by whose spirire they haue a law wrytten in their heartes. This grace Paule vnproperly called a law, alluding to the law of God against which he did set it in comparison. But these men do in the name of the law, dispute vpon a matter of nothing.

58 Of like sorte it is, that they called Veniall sinne, both secrete vngodlinesse that is against the first table, and also the direct transgress-

gressing of the last commaundement. For they define it thus, that it is a desire without aduised assent, which resteth not long in the heart. But I say, that it can not come at all into the heart, but by want of those things that are required in the law. We forbid to haue strange gods. When the minde shaken with the engines of distrust, looketh about elsewhere: whe it is touched with a soden desire to remoucher blessednesse some other way: whence come these motions, although they quickly vanish away, but of this, that there is some thing in the soule empty, to receiue such tentations? And to the ende not to draw out this argumēt to greater length, there is a commaundement giue to loue God with all our heart, with all our minde, with all our soule: if then all the powers of our soule be not bent to the loue of God, we haue already departed from the obedience of the law, Because the enemies that do therein arise against his kingdome, and interrupt his decrees, do proue that God hath not his throne wel stablished in our conscience. As for the last commaundement, we haue already shewed that it properly belongeth hereunto. Hath any desire of minde pricked vs? we are already guilty of couetinge, and therewithall are made transgressors of the law. Because the Lord doth forbid vs, not only to purpose & practise any thing that may be to an others losse, but also to be pricked & swell with coueting it. But the curse of God doth alway hang ouer the transgressiō of the law. We can not therfore proue euen the very least desires free from iudgement of death. In weyinge of sinnes (saith Auguſtine) let vs not bring false balances to wey what we list and how we list at our owne pleasure, saying: this is heauy, and this is light. But let vs bring Gods balāce out of the holy Scriptures, as out of the Lordes tresorie, and let vs therein wey what is heauy: rather let vs not wey, but reknowlege thinges already weyed by the Lorde. But what sayth the Scripture? Truely when Paule sayth that the rewarde of sinne is death, he sheweth that he knew not this stinking distinction. Sith we are to much enclined to hypocrisie, this cherishmēt therof ought not to haue bin added to flatter our slouthfull consciences.

59 I would to God, they would consider what y saying of Christ meaneth: He that transgresseth one of the least of these commaundementes, & teacheth men so, shalbe compted none in the kingdom of heauē. Are not they of that sort, when they dare so extenuate the transgression of the law, as if it were not worthy of death? but they ought to haue considered, not only what is cōmaunded, but what he is that cōmaunderth, because his authority is diminished in euery transgression, howe litle soeuer it be, of the lawe that he hath giuen in com-

Li. 2. de
bar. cō-
tra Do-
natist.
cap. 6.

Mat. 5.
19.

Cap.9.

Of the knowledge of

maundement. Is it a small matter with them, that Gods maiesty be offended in any thinge? Moreouer if God hath declared his will in the lawe, whatsoeuer is contrary to the lawe, displeaseth him. Will they imagine the wrath of God to be so disarmed, that punishment of death shall not forthwith follow vpon them? And he himselfe hath pronounced it plainly, if they would rather finde in their heartes to heare his voyce, than to trouble the cleare trueth with their vnsubstanti-
 uory subtelties of argumēt. The soule (sayth he) that sinneth, the same shall dye. Againe, which I euen now alleaged: The reward of sinne is death. But albeit they graunt it to be a sinne, because they can not denie it: yet they stand stiffe in this, that it is no deadly sinne. But sith they haue hitherto too much borne with their owne madnesse, lette them yet at length learne to waxe wiser. But if they continue in doctage, we will bid them farewell: and let the children of God learn this, that all sinne is deadly, because it is a rebellion against the will of God, which of necessity prouoketh his wrath, because it is a breach of the law, vpon which the iudgemēt of God is pronounced without exception: and that the sinnes of the holy ones are veniall or pardonable, not of their owne nature, but because they obtayne pardon by the mercy of God.

Eze. 18.
20.
Rom. 6.
23.

The ix. Chapter.

That Christ, although he was knowen to the Iewes under the lawe, yet was deliuered only by the Gospell.

BEcause it pleased God in the olde time not vainely by expiations and sacrifices to declare himselfe a Father, and not in vaine he did consecrate a chosen people to himselfe: euen then without dout he was knowen in the same image, wherein he nowe appeareth to vs with full brightnesse. Therefore Malachie, after that he had bidden the Iewes to take heede to the law of Moses, and to continue in study therof, (because after his death there should come a certaine interruptiō of the office of the Prophetes) did forthwith declare, that there shoulde arise a sonne of righteousnesse. In which wordes he teacheth, that the law auaieth to this purpose to hold y godly in expectation of Christ to come: but yet that there was much more light to be hoped for, when he should be come in deede. For this reason doth Peter say, that the Prophetes did make search, and diligently enquire, of the saluation that is now opened by the Gospell: & that it was reueled vnto them, that they should minister, not to themselues, nor to their owne age but vnto vs, those things that are declared by the Gospell. Not that their doctrine was vnprofitable

Mal 4.2

1. Pet. 1.
12.

to the people in olde time, or nothing auailed themfelues: but by-
cause they enioyed not the treasure which God sent vnto vs by their
hand. For at this day the grace whereof they testified, is familiarly set
before our eyes. And wheras they did but a litle sippe of it, there is
offred vnto vs a more plentitull enioying thereof. Therefore Christ
himselfe, which affirmeth that he had witnesse borne him by Moses,
yet extolleth the measure of grace whereby we excell the Iewes. For
speaking to the Disciples, he said: Blessed are the eyes that see that
which ye see, & blessed are the eares that heare that which ye heare.
For many kinges and Prophetes haue wished it, and haue not obtai-
ned it. This is no small commendation of the reueling of the Gospell,
that God preferred vs before the holy fathers that excelled in rare
godlinesse. With which sentence that other place disagreeeth not,
where it is said, that Abraham sawe the day of Christ, and reioysed.
For though the sight of a thing farre distant was somewhat darke, yet
he wanted nothing to the assurance of good hope. And thence came
that ioye which accompanied the holy Prophet, euen to his death.
And that saying of Iohn Baptist, No man hath seen God at any time,
the only begotten that is in the bosome of the father, hath declared
him vnto vs, doth not exclude the godly which had ben dead before
him, from the felowship of the vnderstanding and light that shineth
in the persone of Christ. But comparing their estate with oures, he
teacheth that those misteries, which they saw but darkely vnder shad-
dowes, are manifest to vs: as the author of the epistle to the Hebrewes
doth well set out, saying, that God diuersly and many wayes spake in
olde time by the Prophetes, but now by his beloued Sonne, Although
therfore that only begotten one, which is at this day to vs the bright-
nesse of the glory, and the point of the substance of God the father,
was in olde time knowen to the Iewes, as we haue in an other place
alleaged out of Paule, that he was the guide of the olde deliuerance:
yet is it true, which the same Paul els where teacheth, that God which
commaunded the light to shine out of darkenesse, hath nowe shined
vpon our heartes to set forth the knowledge of the glorie of God in
the face of Iesus Christ: bycause when he appered in this his image, he
did in a maner make himselfe visible, in comparison of the darke and
shadowish forme that had ben of him before. And so much the more
fowle and detestable is their vnthankefulnesse and perversnesse, that
are here so blinde at midde day. And therefore Paule saith, that their
mindes are darkened by Satan, that they shoulde not see the glorie of
Christ shining in the Gospell, though there be no veile set betwene
them and it.

Iohn. 5.

46.

Mat. 13.

16.

Luc. 10.

23.

Iohn. 8.

56.

Iohn. 1.

18.

Heb. 1.1

3. Cor. 4

6.

Cap. 9.

Of the knowledge of

2 Now I take the Gospell for the cleere disclosing of the myste-
 1. Tim. 4 rie of Christ. I graunt truly, that in that respect that Paule calleth the
 6. Gospell the doctrine of faith, all the promises that we here and there
 finde in the lawe, concerning the free forgeuenesse of sinnes, whereby
 God reconcileth men to himselfe, are accompted partes therof. For
 he compareth faith against these terrors, wherewith the conscience
 should be troubled and vexed, if saluation were to be sought by wor-
 kes. Wherevpon followeth, that in taking the name of the Gospell
 largely, there are contained vnder it all the testimonies that God in
 olde time gaue to his fathers, of the mercie and fatherly fauour. But
 in the more excellent signification of it, I say it is applied to the pu-
 blishing of the grace geuen in Christ. And that meaning is not onely
 receyued by common vse, but also hangeth vpon the authoritie of
 Christ and the Apostles. Wherevpon this is properly ascribed vnto
 Matt. 4. him, that he preached the Gospell of the kingdome. And Marke ma-
 9. keth his preface in this maner, The beginning of the Gospell of
 Mar. 1. 1 Iesus Christ. And there is no neede to gather places to proue a thing
 sufficiently knowen. Christ therefore by his comming hath made cleere
 3. Tim. 1 the life and immortalitie by the Gospell. By which wordes Paule
 10. meaneth, not that the fathers were drowned in darkenesse of death,
 vntill the sonne of God did put on flesh: but clayming this preroga-
 tiue of honour to the Gospell, he teacheth that it is a newe and vn-
 wonted kinde of message, wherby God performed those thinges that
 he had promised, that the truth of his promises shoulde be fulfilled in
 the persone of the Sonne. For although the faithful haue alway found
 by experience, that same saying of Paule to be true, that in Christ are
 all the promises, yea and Amen, bycause they were sealed in their
 heartes: yet bycause he hath accomplished all partes of our saluation
 in his flesh, therefore that selfe lively deliuering of the thinges right-
 fully obtained a newe and singular title of praise. Wherevpon cometh
 John. 1. that saying of Christ: Hereafter ye shall see the heauens open, and the
 31. Angels of God ascending and descending vpon the sonne of man. For
 though he seeme to haue relation vnto the ladder shewed in a vision
 to the Patriarch Iacob: yet he setteth out the excellencie of his com-
 ming by this marke, that he opened the gate of heauen to all men,
 that the entrie thereof maie stand familiarly open to all men.

3 But yet we must take hede of the deuclish imagination of Ser-
 uetus, which when he goeth about, or at least faineth that he goeth
 about, to extoll the greatnesse of the grace of Christ, vtterly abo-
 lisheth the promises, as if they were ended together with the lawe.
 He layeth for him, that by the faith of the Gospell there is brought

vnto

vnto vs the accomplisment of all the promises: as though there were no difference betwene vs and Christ. I did in deede euen now declare that Christ lefte nothing vnperformed of the whole summe of our saluation: but it is wrongfully gathered thereupon, that we do already enioy the benefites purchaced by him, as though that saying of Paule were false, that our saluation is hidde in hope, I graunt in deede, that we by beleuing in Christ, do also passe from death to life: But in the meane season we must holde this saying of Iohn, that although we knowe we be the children of God, yet it hath not as yet appeared, till we shalbe like vnto him: that is, till we shall see him suche as he is. Therefore although Christ offer vnto vs in his Gospell present fullnesse of spiritual good thinges, yet the enioying therot lieth stil hidde vnder the keeping of hope, till being vnclodhed of the corruptible flesh, we be transfigured into the glorie of him that goeth before vs. In the meane time the holy Ghost biddeth vs to reeste vpon the promises, whose authoritie ought with vs to put to silence all the bar-
 kinges of that filthy dogge. For as Paule witnesseth, godlinesse hath
 a promise as well of the life to come, as of the life present. For which
 reason he boasteth that he is an Apostle of Christ, according to the
 promise of life that is in him. And in an other place he putteth vs in
 minde, that we haue the same promises, which in the olde time were
 geuen to the holy men. Finally, he setteth this for the summe of fel-
 citie, that we are sealed vp with the holy spirite of promise, but yet
 we do no otherwise enioy Christ, but so farre as we embrace him
 clothed with his promises. Wherby it cometh to passe, that he in dede
 dwelleth in our heartes, and yet we wander in iourney abroad from
 him: bycause we walke by faith & not by sight. And these two thinges
 do not ill agree together: that we possesse in Christ all that pertaineth
 to the perfection of the heauenly life: and yet that faith is a behol-
 ding of good thinges that are not seene. Onely there is a difference
 to be noted in the nature or qualitie of the promises: bycause the
 Gospell sheweth with her finger that thing, whiche the lawe did
 shadow vnder figures.

1. Tim.

4. 3.

2. Tim. 1

2. Cor. 7

4 And hereby also is their errour conuincd, whiche do neuer otherwise compare the lawe with the Gospell, but as they compare the merites of workes with the free imputation of righteousness. Although in deede this comparison of contraries be not to be reiect-
 ed: bycause Paule doth oftentimes vnderstand by the name of the
 law, a rule to liue righteously, wherein God requireth of vs, that which
 is his, not geuing vs any hope of life, vnlesse we in all pointes obey it
 and on the other side adding a curse if we do neuer so litle swarue

Cap.9.

Of the knowledge of

from it: that is in such places as he disputeth, the we do freely please God, and are by pardon reckened righteous, bycause the obseruation of the lawe, wherunto the rewarde is promised, is no where founde. Therefore Paule doth fitly make the righteousnesse of the lawe and of the Gospell, contrarie the one to the other. But the Gospell did not so succede in place of the whole lawe, that it shoulde bring any diuers meane of saluation, but rather to confirme and proue to be of force, what so euer the lawe had promised, and to ioine the body to the shadowes. For when Christ saith, that the lawe and the Prophets were vntill Iohn: he maketh not the fathers subiect to the curse, which the bond seruantes of the lawe can not escape: but rather only that they were instructed with certaine rudimentes, so as they stayed a great way beeneath the heighth of the doctrine of the Gospell.

Rom. 1. Therefore Paule calling the Gospell the power of God, to saluation
16. to every beleuer, by and by addeth, that it hath witnesse of the lawe and the Prophetes. But in the ende of the same Epistle, although he shewe that the title of praise of Iesus Christ is the reuelation of the misterie kept secret in euerlasting times: yet he doth qualifie that saying, with adding an exposition, teaching that he is openly shewed by the writings of the Prophetes. Wherupon we gather, that when we are to entreate of the whole lawe, the Gospell differeth from the lawe onely in respect of the plaine disclosing thereof. But yet for the inestimable flowing store of grace, which hath ben layed open for vs in Christ, it is not without cause said, that at his coming the heavenly kingdome of God was erected in earth.

5 Now betwene the lawe and the Gospell came Iohn, which had an office that was meane and of affinitie to them both. For though when he called Christ the lambe of God, and the sacrifice for the cleansing of sinnes, he shewed forth the summe of the Gospell: yet bycause he did not expresse that same incôparable strength and glorie, which at length appered in his resurrection, therefore Christ sayeth,
Mat. 11. that he was not egal to the Apostles. For so do those wordes of his
11. meane: that though Iohn excell among the sonnes of women, yet he that is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater than he. Bycause he doeth not there commend the persones of men, but after he had preferred Iohn before all the Prophetes, he auunceth the preaching of the Gospell to the hiest degree: which preaching we see in an other place signified by the kingdome of heauen. But whereas Iohn
Iohn. 1. himselfe doth aunswere that he is but a voice, as though he were in-
23.feriour to the Prophetes, he doth not that for fained humilities sake, but meaneth to teach that the propre office of the Embassadour was

not

not committed to him, but that he onely executeth the office of an apparitor: as it was forespoken by Malachie: Beholde, I sende Elias Mal. 4. 5 the prophet, before that the great and terrible day of the Lorde do come. And truely he did nothing els in the whole course of his ministerie, but endeavour to get disciples to Christ: as also Esaie proueth, that this was enioyned him from God. And in this sense Christ is called a candell burning and shining, bycause the broade day had not yet appeared. And yet this is no let, but that he may be reckened among the publishers of the Gospel, like as he vsed the same Baptisme, which was afterwarde deliuered to the Apostles. But that which he beganne, was not fulfilled but by the Apostles, with free proceeding, after that Christ was taken vp from them into the heauenly glorie. Iohn. 5. 35.

The x. Chapter.

Of the likenesse of the olde and newe Testament.

BY the thinges aforesaid it may nowe appeare euidently, that all the men whome from the beginning of the worlde God adopted into the estate of his people, were with the same lawe, and with the bonde of the same doctrine, which nowe remaineth in force among vs, bound in conuenant to him. But bycause it is of no small importance that this point be well established, I will adioyne vnto it for an addition, sith the fathers were partakers of all one inheritance with vs, and hoped for all one saluation by the grace of al one Mediatour, how farre their estate differed from oures in this fellowship. But although the testimonies that we haue gathered out of the lawe and the Prophets for prooffe therof, do make it plaine that there was neuer any other rule of religion and godlinesse in the people of God: yet bycause in writers there are oftentimes many thinges spoken of the difference of the olde and new Testament, that may make the reader that is not of very sharp iudgement to be in doubt: therefore we shall rightfully apoint one peculiar place for the better and more exact discussing of this matter: Yea and that thing also, which otherwise shoulde haue bene very profitable for vs, is nowe made necessarie by that monstrous losel Seruettus, and by diuerse other mad men of the sect of Anabaptistes, which haue no other opinion of the people of Israell, than as of a hearde of swine: which they fondely saine to haue bene fattred vp by the Lorde here in this earth, without any hope of heauenly immortalitie. Therefore that we may keepe away this pestilent error from godly mindes, and also to plucke out of them all doubtles which are wont by and by to arise vpon hearing mention of the diuersitie betwene the olde and newe Testament: let

vs by the way looke, what they haue in them like, and what vnlike one to the other: what couenant the Lorde made with the Israelites in the olde time before the cōming of Christ, and what couenant he hath nowe made with vs sins Christ hath bene openly shewed.

2 And both these pointes may be made plaine with one worde. The couenāt of all the fathers so differeth nothing from ours in substance and in the matter it selfe, that it is altogether one and the selfe same: but the ministration is diuers. But bycause of so great shortnesse no man were able to attaine a certaine vnderstanding, we must needes proceede on with a longer declaration if we meane to profit any thing at all. But in shewing how they are like or rather all one, it shalbe superfluous to discourse againe of new vpō all the speciall particulars that haue already bene declared: and it shalbe out of season to mingle those thinges together that remaine yet to be spoken in other places. Here we must chiefly rest vpon three principall pointes: First, that we holde, that carnall wealth and felicitie was not the marke apointed to the Iewes to aspire vnto, but that they were by adoption chosen vnto the hope of immortalitie: and that the truth of this adoption was certainly assured vnto them both by oracles, and by the lawe, & by the prophecies. Secondly, that the couenant whereby they were ioyned to the Lord, was vpholden not by any merites of theirs, but by the onely mercie of God that called them. Thirdly, that they both had and knew Christ the mediatur, by whome they shoulde both be ioyned to God and enioie his promises. Of which pointes, bycause the second paraduētūre is not yet sufficiently knowen, it shall in place apointed for it be declared at large. For we shall confirme by many and cleere testimonies of the Prophetes, that it was of his owne meere goodnesse and tender fauour, what so euer good the Lord at any time did, and promised to the people of Isræll. The third also hath already had here and there some plaine declarations of it, and we haue not left the first altogether vntouched.

3 Therefore in setting out of this point, bycause it most specially belongeth to this present matter, and for that they make vs most controuerſie about it, we will emploie the more earnest trauaile: but yet so that if there wante yet any thing of the explication of the other, it may be by the way supplied, or in conuenient place be added. Truly the Apostle taketh away all doubt of them all, when he saith, that

Rom. 1.
2.

Rom. 3.
21.

God the Father long before by the Prophetes in the holy Scriptures promised the Gospell, which he afterwarde published according to the time apointed. Again, that the righteousness of faith which is taught by the Gospell it selfe, hath witnesse of the lawe and the Prophetes.

phetes. For the Gospell doth not holde the heartes of men in the ioy of this present life, but listeth them vp to the hope of immortalitie: doth not fasten them to earthly delites, but preaching to them a hope layed vp in heauen, doth in a manner transport them thether. For thus he defineth in an other place. Sins that ye beleueed the Gospell, ye are sealed vp with the holy Spirite of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritaunce, for the redemption of the possession purchased. Ephes. 1. 13.
 Againe, we haue heard of your faith in Christ Iesu, and of your charitie towards the holy ones, for the hopes sake that is layed vp for you in heauē, wherof ye haue heard by the true speech of the Gospell. Col. 1. 4.
 Againe: He hath called vs by the Gospell to the partaking of the glorie of our lorde Iesus Christ. Wherefore it is called, both the worde of saluation, and the power of God to saue the faithful, and the kingdome of heauen. 1. Thess. 1. 10.
 Now if the doctrine of the Gospell be spirituall, and openeth the entrie to the possessiō of an incorruptible life: let vs not thinke that they to whome it was promised and declared, did passe ouer and neglect the care of their soule, & lie dully like beastes in seeking pleasures of the body. Neither let any man here cauill that the promises which are sealed in the law and the Prophetes, cōcerning the Gospell, were ordeined for the new people. For within a little after that which he spake of the Gospell promised in the lawe, he addeth, that all the thinges that the law containeth, are without doubt properly directed to them that are vnder the lawe. I graunt in deede it is in an other argument. But he was not so forgetfull, that when he had ones said that all the thinges which the lawe containeth belong to the Iewes, he did not remember what in a fewe verses before he had affirmed of the Gospell promised in the lawe. Wherefore the Apostle sheweth most plainly, that the old Testamēt chiefly tended to the life to come, when he saith, that vnder it are contained the promises of the Gospell. Rom. 3. 19.

4 By the same reason followeth, both that it stood vpon the free mercie of God, and also was confirmed by the meane of Christ. For the very preaching of the Gospell pronounceth no other thing, but that sinners are iustified by the fatherly kindenesse of God, without their owne deseruing: and the whole summe therof is fulfilled in Christ. Who then dare make the Iewes without Christ, with whome we heare that the couenant of the Gospell was made, whereof Christ is the only foundation? Who dare make them strangers from the benefite of free saluation, to whome we heare that the doctrine of the righteousnesse of faith was ministred? But, that we dispute not longe of an euident matter, we haue a notable sentence of the Lord. Abraham reioysed that he might see my day, he sawe it and was glad. And the

same thing whiche Christ there testifieth of Abraham, the Apostle sheweth that it was vniuersall in the faithfull people, when he saith, **Heb. 13. 8.** that Christ abideth, yesternay, this day, and for euer. For he speaketh not there only of the eternal godhed of Christ, but also of his power, which was continually opened to the faithfull. Wherefore both the **Luke 1. 54. and 72.** blessed Virgin and Zacharie in their songes, do say, that the saluation reueled in Christ, is the performance of the promises, which God in olde time had made to Abraham and the Patriarches. If the Lorde in geuing his Christ, discharged his olde othe, it can not be said but that the ende therof was alway in Christ, and euerlasting life.

5 Yea and the Apostle doth make the Israelites egall with vs, not onely in the grace of the couenant, but also in signification of Sacramentes. For meaning by examples of punishmentes, wherewith the Scripture reciteth that they were corrected in the olde time, to make the Corinthians afraide, that they shoulde not runne into the like offenses, he beginneth with this preface, that there is no cause why we shoulde chalenge any prerogatiue vnto our selues, to deliuer vs from the vengeance of God which they susteined, for asmuch as the Lord did not onely graunt vnto them the same benefites, but he hath gloriously set forth his grace among them with the same tokens: As if he shoulde haue sayd: If ye trust that ye be out of peril, bycause both Baptisme wherewith ye be marked, and the Supper which ye daily receyue, haue excellent promises, and in the meane time despising the goodnesse of God, ye are licetiously wanton: Know ye, that the Iewes also were not without such sacramentes, against whome yet the Lord did most seuerely put his iudgementes in execution. They were Baptized in passing ouer the Sea, and in the cloude wherewith they were defended from the burning heate of the sonne. They say, that that same passage was a carnall Baptisme, which after a certaine proportion aunswereth to our spirituall Baptisme. But if that were allowed true, the Apostles argument coulde not procede, which meaneth here to haue this taken away from the Christiāns, that they thinke that they excell y Iewes by the prerogatiue of Baptisme. Neither is that which by and by after followeth, subiect to this cauillation: that they did eate the same spirituall meate that we eate, and dronke the same spirituall drinke, which he expoundeth to be Christ.

6 To ouerthrow this sentence of Paule, they obiecte that which Christ saith: Your fathers did eate Manna in the wildernesse, and are dead: he that eateth my flesh, shall not die for euer. Which two places are very easily made to agree together. The Lord, bycause he then talked to hearers that sought onely to be filled with foode of their belly,

1. Cor. 10. 1. & 11.

Iohn. 6.

belly, but cared not for the meate of the soule, tempered his talke somewhat to their capacitie, but specially he frameth the comparison of Manna and of his body according to their sense. They required that he, to gette himselfe some credite, woulde approue his power with doing some such miracle, as Moses did in the wildernesse, when he obtained Manna from Heauen. But in Manna they conceyued nothing but the remedie of carnall hunger, where with the people was then vexed: but they pearced not to that hier misterie which Paule hath respect vnto: Christ therefore, to shew how much greater a benefite they ought to looke for at his hande, than that which they reported that Moses did bestow vpon their fathers, frameth this comparison: If it were a great miracle in your opinion, and worthy to be remembred, that the Lord by Moses ministred foode from Heauen to his people, to susteine them for a small time, that they shoulde not perish for hunger in the wildernesse: gather hereby how much more excellent is the meate that geueth immortalitie. We see why the Lord passed ouer that thing which was principall in Manna, and spake only of the basest profit of it: euen bycause the Iewes as it were of purpose to reprove him, did caste Moses in his teeth, which succored the necessitie of the people with remedie of Manna: he answered that he is the minister of a much hier grace, in cōparison wherof, the carnall feding of the people, which alone they so much esteemed, ought of righte to be nothing regarded. But Paule, bycause he knew that the Lorde when he rained Manna from heauen, did not onely poure it downe for the feding of their belly, but also did distribute it for a spirituall mysterie, to be a figure of the spirituall quickning that is had in Christ, did not neglect that parte that was most worthy of cōsideration. Wherefore it certainly and clerely followeth, that the same promises of eternall and heuently life, which now the Lorde vouchesaueth to graunt vnto vs, were not only cōmunicated vnto the Iewes, but also sealed with very spirituall Sacramentes. Of which matter Augustine disputeth largely against Faustus the Manichee.

7 But if the readers had rather to haue testimonies alledged vnto them out of the lawe and the Prophetes, whereby they may perceiue that the spirituall couenant was common also to the fathers, as we heare by Christ and the Apostles: I will also follow that desire, and so much the more willingly, bycause by that meane the aduersaries shalbe more surely conuincd, so that they shall haue afterward no way to dally. And I will beginne at that prooffe, which although I knowe that the Anabaptistes pride will thinke very fonde and in a manner to be laughed at, yet shall much auaille with such readers as

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are willing to learne and haue their sounde wit. And I take it as a principle confessed, that there is such effectuell force of life in the worde of God, that whome so euer God vouchesaueth to be partakers therof, it quickeneth their soules. For this saying of Peter hath alway ben of force, that it is the incorruptible seede which abideth for euer, as he also gathereth out of the wordes of Esaie. Nowe sith God in the olde time bounde the Iewes vnto him with this holy bonde, it is no doubt that he did also seuer them into the hope of eternall life. For when I say they embraced the worde, which shoulde ioine them nier to God, I take it for the maner of communicating it: not that general maner, which is poured abroad throughout the heauen and earth and all the creatures of the worlde, which although it do quicken all thinges, euery one after the proportion of their nature, yet it doth not deliuer them from necessitie of corruption: but I speake of this speciall maner, whereby the soules of the godly are both lightened vnto the knowledge of God, and in a maner coupled to him. By this enlightening of the worde, sith Adam, Abel, Noc, Abraham, and the other fathers cleaued vnto God, I say that it is not doubtfull that they had an entrie into the immortall kingdome of God. For it was a sounde partaking of God, which can not be without the benefite of eternall life.

8 But if this seeme somewhat entangled: go to, let vs come to the very forme of the couenant, which shal not only satisfie sobre wittes, but also shall sufficiently conuince their ignorance that bende themselves to speake against it. For God did alway thus couenant with his seruantes: I will be to you a God, and ye shalbe to me a people. In which wordes the Prophetes themselves are wont to expounde, that both life and saluation, and the whole summe of blessednesse is comprehended. For Dauid doth not without cause often pronounce, that blessed is the people, whose God is the lorde: blessed is the nation, which he hath chosen to be his inheritance: and that not for earthly felicities sake, but bycause he deliuereth them from death, he preserveth them for euer, and continually sheweth them eternall mercie, whome he hath taken to his people: as it is in the other Prophetes, Thou art our God, we shall not die: The Lorde is our king, our lawemaker, he shall saue vs. Blessed art thou, O Israell, bycause thou art saued in the lorde God. But, not to labour ouermuch in a thing needlesse, this admonition is founde eche where in the Prophetes, that we shall wante nothing towarde all aboundance of good thinges, and assurance of saluation, so that the Lorde be our God. And rightfully: For if his face so sone as it beginneth to shine, is a most present pledge of

1. Pet. 1.

23.

Esa. 40.

6.

Leui. 26

12.

Pf. 144.

15.

Pfal. 33.

12.

Abac. 1.

12.

Esa. 33.

21.

Deu. 33.

29.

of saluation, to what man shall he openly shew himselfe for his God, but that he will also open to him his treasure of saluation? For he is our God with this condition, to dwell in the midst of vs: as he testified by Moses. But such presence can not be obtained, but that life must be also together had in possession with it. And although there were no more expressed, yet had they a promise of spirituall life plaine enough in these wordes: I am your God. For he did not declare that he would be a God vnto their bodies alone, but principally to their soules. But soules vnlesse they be ioyned to God by righteousnesse remaine estranged from him in death. But on the other side, let that ioyning be present, it shall bring euerlasting saluation with it. Leu. 26. 12. Exo. 6. 7.

9 Beside that, he did not onely testifie that he was to them their God, but he also promised that he would be so all way: to the ende that their hope not contented with present benefites, shoulde be extended to eternitie. And many sayinges do shewe, that the speaking in the future time meant so much, as where the faithfull not onely in present euels, but also for the time to come, doe comfort them selues with this, that God will neuer faile them. Now as concerning the seconde part of the promise, he yet more plainly assured them of the blessing of God to be prolonged vnto them beyond the boundes of this life, in sayeng: I will be the God of your seede after you. For if he minded to declare his good will towaide them being dead, in doing good to their posteritie, much more would his fauour not faile towarde themselues. For God is not like vnto menne, which do therefore carry their loue to their frendes children, bycause their power is interrupted by death, so that they can not emploie their frendely doinges vpon them to whome they did beare good will. But God, whose bountifulnesse is not hindered by death, taketh not away from the very dead the frute of this mercie, which for their sakes he poureth out into a thousand generations. Therefore the Lordes will was by a notable prooffe to sette forth vnto them the greatnesse and flowing plentie of his goodnesse which they shoulde feele after death, when he described it to be such as shoulde flow ouer into all their posteritie. And the truth of this promise the Lorde did then seale, and as it were brought forth the fulfilling of it, when he named himselfe the God of Abraham, Isaac and Iacob, long after their death. For, what? had it not been a fonde naming, if they had vnderly perished? For then had it ben all one, as if he had said, I am the God of them that are not. Wherefore the Euangelistes reherse, that with this one argument the Sadduces were so driuen to a streight, that they could not denie that Moses did testifie the resurrection of the dead, for that Gen. 17 7. Exo. 20. 6. Exo. 3. 6. Mat. 23. Luc. 20. 37.

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Deu. 33 they had learned by Moses, that all the Saintes were in his hande.
3. Wherev^o it was easy to gather, that they are not destroyed by death, whome he that is the iudge of life and death had receyued in to his sauegard, custodie, and protection.

10 Now (which is the principal point wherevpon this contro-
uersie hangeth) let vs looke, whether the faithfull themselues haue not
ben so instructed of the Lord, that they perceyued that they shoulde
haue a better life els where, & so neglecting this life, had an eie to the
other. First the state of life that was enioyned them by God, was a cō-
tinuall exercise, whereby they might be put in minde, that they were
the most miserable of all men, if their happinesse were only in this life.

Gen. 3. Adam, most vnhappy, euen with onely remembrance of the happi-
17. nesse that he had lost, did with painefull labours hardely susteine his
nedinesse, and that he shoulde not be pressed with the curse of God,
in the onely labours of his handes, euen there receyued he extreme
sorrowe of that which remained for him to be his comfort. Of his
two sonnes, the one was taken away by the wicked slaughter of his

Gen. 4. brother: the other he had lefte alieue, whose sight he worthily detested
8. and abhorred. Abel cruelly murdered in the very floure of his age,
became an example of the wretchednesse of men. Noe, while the

Gen. 6. whole worlde carelesly liued in pleasure, spent a good part of his age
22. with great werinesse in bilding the Arke. This that he escaped death,
came to passe by his greater troubles, than if he shoulde haue died a

Gen. 9. hundred deathes. For byside that the Arke was to him as a graue for
24. renne monethes, there is nothing more vnpleasant than to be holden
so longe in manner drowned in dong of beastes. When he had passed
ouer so great difficulties, he fell into newe matter of grieve, he sawe
him selfe scorned of his owne sonne, and was compelled with his
owne mouth to curse him, whome by the great benefit of God he had
receyued safe from the generall floode.

Gen. 22. 11 Abraham in deede may be one alone to be compared with a
4. hundred thousand, if we consider his faith, which is set forth vnto vs
for the best rule of beleuing, of whose kinred we must be accompted,
that we may be the children of God. But what more absurditie is
there, than Abraham to be the father of all the faithfull, and not to
possesse so much as the smalest corner amōg them? but he can not be
throwen downe out of the number, no not from the most honorable
degree, but that the whole church must be destroyed. Now as tou-
ching the experiēces of his life: When he was first called by the com-
maundement of God, he was plucked away from his countrey, his pa-
rentes and his frendes, in whome men thinke to be the chiefe sweete-
nesse

ness of life: euen as if God of determined purpose meant to spoyle him of all the pleasures of life. So soone as he came into the lande where he was commaunded to dwell, he was driuen out from thence with famine. Thither he fled for succour, where to saue himselfe, he was compelled to deliuer out his wife to be abused, which we knowe not whether it were not more bitter to him thā many deathes. Whē he was returned into the lande of his owne dwelling, he was driuen out againe from thence with famine. What a felicitie is this, to dwell in that lande, wherein a man must so oft be hungry, yea die for famine if he runne not away? And therewithall he was brought to that necessitie with Abimelech, that he must needs redeeme his life with the losse of his wife, while many yeares long he wandred vncertainely hither and thither, he was compelled by the continuall brawlinges of his seruantes to put away his nephew, whome he loued as his owne sonne. Which departing without doubt he dyd no otherwise take, than if he had suffred the cutting of one of his limmes. A litle after, he heard that he was carried away captiue by his enemies. Whether so euer he went, he founde neighbours outrageously barbarous, which woulde not suffer him so much as to drinke water out of the welles that himselfe had digged with great labour. For he would not haue redeemed the vse of them at the hand of king Gerar, if he had not first ben forbidden. Nowe when he came to olde age, he saw the thing which is the most vnpleasant & bitter that that age hath, himselfe punished with hauing no children, till beside all hope he begate Ismaell, whose birth yet he payed dere for, when he was wried with the brawling of Sara, as if he in mainteining the stubbornnesse of his bondewoman, were himselfe the cause of the trouble of his household. At length Isaac was borne, but with this condition that his first begotten Ismaell must, as forsaken, be cruelly caste out of doores. When only Isaac was left, in whome the weryed age of the silly good man might rest, within a litle after he was commaunded to kill him. What can mans wit deuise more miserable, than the father to be made the butcher of his owne sonne? If Isaac had dyed of any sickenesse, who woulde not haue thought the olde man most miserable, that had a sonne geuen him in mockeage, for whome his grieve of want of children should be doubled? If he had ben slaine by some straunger, the unhappinesse of the thing would haue much encreased his miserie. But this passeth all examples of miserie, to haue him slaine with his fathers owne hand. Finally, he was in all the whole course of his life so tossed and vexed, as if a man would in a table paint out an example of a miserable life, he coulde finde none more fit, than this of Abraham.

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And let noe man obieſt that he was not altogether vnhappy, for that he at length prosperouſly eſcaped from ſo many and ſo great tempeſtes. For we can not ſay that he liueth a bleſſed life, which for a long ſpace together painefully weareth out of infinite troubles, but him that without feeling of euils, quietly enioyerh preſent good things.

12 Iſaac that was leſſe troubled with euilles, yet ſcarce euer toke any taſt of ſweeteneſſe. He alſo felt the ſame vexations, that do not ſuffer a manne to be bleſſed in the earth. Famine chaced him out of

Gen. 26 the lande of Chanaan: he had his wife violently plucked away from
35. his boſome: his neighbours oft troubled him, and by all meanes op-

Gen. 28 preſſed him, ſo that he was faine to ſtrive for his water: at home in
1. his owne houſe, he ſuffered much troubleſomneſſe by his childrens
wiues, he was greued with diſagreements of his ſonnes, and coulde
not remedie that ſo great a miſchiefe, but by the baniſhment of him
whome he had bleſſed. But as for Iacob, he is nothing els but a no-

Gen. 28 table example of extreme infelicitie. He paſſed his childehood moſt
5. vnquietly at home among the threatenings and terrors of his elder
brother, to which at length he was compelled to geue place. When

Gen. 29 he was fled from his parentes and his natue countrey, beſide that it
20. was a greuous thing to liue in baniſhment, he was nothing more
kyndly or gently receiued of his vnclē Laban. Thē it ſufficed not that
he had ſerued ſeven yeare a hard and cruell ſeruiſe, but that alſo he
muſt be by guile defrauded of his wife. For an other wiues ſake he
was driuen into new ſeruiſe, where he was all the day fried with heate
of the ſunne, and all the night lay waking and pained with froſt and
cold, as himſelfe complained. While he by the ſpace of twentie yeares
ſuffered ſo hard a life, he was dayly vexed with newe iniuries of his

Gen. 31 father in lawe. Neither was he quiet in his owne houſe, ſeyng it di-
23. uided and in a maner ſcattered abroad with the hatred, brawling and
enuie of his wiues. When he was commaunded to returne into his
countrey, he was compelled to watche an auantage to take his iour-
ney, much like a ſhamefull running away: and yet coulde he not ſo
eſcape the vniuſt dealing of his father in lawe, but was faine to ſuffer
his reproches and rebukes in the middes of his iourney. Then ſell he

Gen. 32 into a much more cruell deſtreſſe. For when he came nere to his bro-
11. ther, he had ſo many deathes before his eyes, as might be prepared
by a cruell man and a bent enimie. So was he aboue measure tormen-
ted and as it were drawn in ſonder with terrible feares, ſo long as he
looked for his brothers cōmyng: when he came ones in his ſight, he
fell down as halfe dead at his ſecte, vntil he ſoud him more fauorable
than he durſt haue hoped. Beſide that, at his fiſt entrie into the lande,

Gen. 35
16.

he

he lost Rachel his derely beloued wife. Afterwarde he heard worde Gen. 37
 that the sonne which he had by her, and whome therefore he loued 35.
 aboute the reste, was torne with wilde beastes: by whose death howe
 great grieve he conceyued, he himselfe declared in this, that after long
 weping he obstinately stopped vp all wayes whereby comfort might
 come to him, leauing himselfe nothing, but to goe downe to his
 sonne wayling into the graue. In the meane time howe great causes Gen. 34
 of grieve, wayting and werinesse were the rauishment and deflouring 2.
 of his daughter, and the boldenesse of his sonnes in reuenging it,
 which not onely made him to be abhorred in sight of all the inhabi-
 tantes of that countrey, but also procured him moste present perill
 of vtter destruction? Then followed that horrible outragious offense Gen. 35
 of Ruben his first begotten sonne, which was such as their coulde 12.
 not chaunce a more greuous. For whereas the defiling of a mans
 wife is reckned among the hyest ill fortunes: what is to be saide
 of it, when that wickednesse is committed by a mans owne sonne?
 Within a litle while after, his house is spotted with an other vnna- Gen. 37
 turall adulterie: so that so many shames might well breake a heart, 18.
 that otherwise were most constant and vnable to be vanquished with
 calamities. Nere before the ende of his life, while he sought to pro-
 uide succour for the famine of himselfe and other, he has stricken with
 tidynges of a newe misfortune, vnderstanding that an other of his
 sonnes was kept in prison, for recouering of whome he was compell- Gen. 42
 ed to leaue to the rest Benjamin his onely dearling. Who can thinke, 32.
 that in such a heape of mischeues he had any one moment geuen him
 safely to take breath in? And therefore he himselfe the beste wit-
 nesse of himselfe, affirmed to Pharao, that his dayes were shorte and Gen. 47
 euill vpon the earth. Nowe truely he that declareth that he hath pas- 9.
 sed his life by continuall miseries, denieth that he felt that prosper-
 itie which the Lorde had promised him. Therefore either Iacob did
 vnkindely and vnthankefully weye the grace of God, or he truely
 professed that he had ben miserable vpon the earth. If his affirma-
 tion were true, then it followeth, that he had not his hope fastened
 vpon earthly thinges.

13 If these holy fathers looked for (as vndoubtedly they did) a
 blessed life at the hande of God, truely they both thought and saw it
 to be an other maner of blessednesse, than the blessednesse of earthly
 life. Which thing the Apostle also doth shewe excellently well: Abra- Heb. 11.
 ham (saith he) direct by faith in the lande of promise as in a strange 9.
 lande, dwelling in tentes with Isaac and Iacob parteners with him
 of the same inheritaunce. For they looked for a citie set vpon a good

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foundation, the maker and bilder wherof is God. All these are dead in faith, not receyuing the thinges promised, but loking at them a farre of, and beleuing and confessing that they were gesses and strangers vpon the land. Whereby they declare that they sought for a countrie, and if they had ben moued with desire of that lande from whence they came, they had power to returne. But they sought for a better, that is the heauenly countrie. Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for asmuche as he hath prepared them a citie. For they had bene duller than blockes, to followe promises so earnestly, wherof there appered no hope in earth, vnlesse they had loked for the fulfilling of them els where. But this he chiefly enforceth, and that not without good reason, that they called this life a journey from home, euen as Moses reporteth. From if they were strangers and foreiners in the lande of Chanaan, where is the Lordes promise whereby

Gen. 47 they were made heires of it? He sheweth plainly therefore, that the
9. Lordes promise, concerning the possessiō therof, had a further respect; Wherefore they purchaced not one foote in the lande of Chanaan, but for burial, wherby they testified, that they did not hope that they should receiue the frute of the promise till after death. And that is the

Gen. 47 cause why Iacob so much esteemed to be buried there, that he com-
29. and pelled his sonne Ioseph to promise it him, and to sweare to performe
30. it; and why Ioseph willed his bones, certaine ages after, whē they were
Gen. 50 long before fallen into powder, to be remoued thither.
25.

14 Finally, it appeareth plainly, that in all the trauailes of this life they had alway set before them the blessednesse of the life to come. For to what purpose shoulde Iacob haue so much desired, and with so great daunger sought the preeminence of the first begotten, which should procure him nothing but banishment, and in a maner to be cast of from beyng his childe: but no good at all, vnlesse he had respect to a hyer blessing? And he declared, that he had this meaning by the

Gen. 49 wordes which he spake among his last breathinges: Lorde, I will lōke
18. for thy saluation. What saluation coulde he haue loked for, when he sawe that he laie ready to geue vp the ghost, vnlesse he had seene in death the beginning of a newe life? But what dispute we of the holy ones and children of God, when euen he was not without a tast of such vnderstanding, which otherwise was enemy to the truthe? For

Num. 23 what meant Balaam when he said: Let my soule die the death of the
10. righteous, and let my laste times be like vnto theirs? but that he
Psa. 116. meante the same thing that Dauid afterwarde vttered, that the death
15. of the Saintes is precious in the sight of the Lorde, but the death
Psal. 34. of the wicked, is very euill? If the furthest bounde and ende were
22.

in death, there could in it be noted no difference betwene the righteous and vnrighteous, they differ one from the other by the diuersity of the estates, that after death shall befall to them both.

15 We are not yet come beyonde Moses: Which (as these men say) had no other office, but to perswade the carnal people to worship God by the frutefullnesse of the ground & plenty of all things. And yet (vnlesse a man will flee the light that willingly offereth it selfe) there is already a plaine declaration of the spirituall couenant. But if we come downe to the Prophetes, there with most full brightnesse both the life euerlasting and the kingdome of Christ do vtter themselves. And first of all David, which as he was before y^e other in time, so accordinge to the order of Gods distribution, he shewed the heauenly misteries in shadowes more darkely than the rest, yet with what plainnesse and certainty directeth he all his sayings to that end? How he esteemed the earthly dwelling, this sentence testifieth: I am here a forener & stranger, as all my fathers were. Euery living man is vanity, euery one walketh about as a shadow. But now what is my expectation, Lord? euen to thee is my hope. Truly he that confessing that in the earth there is nothinge sounde or stedfast, keepeth still a stedfastnes of hope in God, considereth his felicity laied vp in an other place. To such consideration is he wont to call all the faithfull, so oft as he meaneth to comfort them truely. For in an other place, after he had spoken of the shortnesse, and the transitorie and vanishing image of mans life, he addeth: but the mercy of the Lord is for euer vpon them that feare him. Like whereunto is that which is in the hundred and second Psalm. At the beginning Lord thou didst lay the foundation of the earth, and the heauens are the workes of thy handes. They shall perish, but thou abidest: they shall waxe olde like a garment, and thou shalt change them as apparell, but thou remaine the selfe same, and thy yeares shall not faile: the sonnes of thy seruantes shall dwell, and thy posterity shall be stablished before thee. If the Godly cease not for the decay of heauen & earth to be stablished before the Lord, it followeth, that their saluation is ioyned with the eternity of God. But that hope can not stand at all, vnlesse it rest vpon the promise that is set forth in Esay: The heauens (sayth the Lord) shall vanish away like smoke, the earth shall be worne out like a garment, & the inhabitantes of it shall perish like those things. But my saluation shall be for euer, & my righteousnes shall not faile: where euerlastingnes is giue to righteousness & saluation, not in respect y^e they remaine with God, but in respect that they are felt of men.

16 Neither may we otherwise take those things, that he com-

Ps. 39.
13.

Ps. 101
17.

Es. 51.
6.

monly speaketh of the prosperous successe of the faithfull, but to apply the to the open shewing of the heavenly glory. As these sayings:

Psa. 97. The Lord kepeth the soules of the righteous, he shall deliuer them
10. from the hand of the sinner. Light is arisen to the righteous, and ioy to the vpright in heart. The righteousness of the Godly man abideth
Psa. 112. for ever: his horne shalbe exalted in glory, the desire of the sinner shal
7. 9. perish. Again: but the righteous shal confesse vnto thy name, the vpright shall dwell with thy countenance. Again: the righteous shall be
Psa. 140 in eternall remembrance. Again: The Lord shall redeeme the soules
12. of his seruantes. For the Lord oftentimes leaueth his seruantes to the
Psa. 112 lust of the wicked, not only to be vexed, but also to be torne in peeces
6. & destroyed: he suffereth the good to lye languishing in darkenesse & filth, while the wicked do in a manner shine among the starres. And he doth not so chere them with $\hat{y}$ brightnes of his couenance, that they enioy long cōtinuing gladnes. Wherefore euen he also hideth not, that if the faithfull fasten their eyes vpon the present state of thinges, they shalbe stricken with a sore tēptation, as though there were no fauour or reward of innocency with God. So much doth wickednes for the most part prosper & flourish, while the company of the Godly is oppressed with shame, pouerty, contempt & all kindes of crosses. It wanted but litle (sayth he) that my foote slipped not, & my steppes fell not
Psa. 73. abroad, while the fortune of fooles grieueth me, and while I see the
17. prosperity of $\hat{y}$ wicked. At length after rehearfall of it he concludeth. I bent my thought, if I could vnderstand these thinges. But it is a torment to my spirit, till I enter into the sanctuary of the Lord, & vnderstand the last end of them.

17 Let vs therfore learne, yet by this confession of Dauid, that the holy fathers vnder the old testament were not ignorant, how seldom or neuer God doth in this worlde performe to his seruantes those things that he promiseth them, & that therefore they did lift vp their mindes to Gods sanctuary, wherein they had $\hat{y}$ laied vp in store, which appeareth not in $\hat{y}$ shadow of this present life. That was $\hat{y}$ last iudgement of God, which when they coule not see with eyes, they were content to vnderstand by faith. Trusting vpon which affiance, whatsoever happened in the world, yet they doubted not a time would once come, when the promises of God should be fulfilled. As these sayings do witnesse, I will behold the face of God in righteousness; I will be
Psal. 17. satisfied with thy countenance. Again. I as a greene Oliue tree in the
Psa. 52. house of the Lord. Again. The righteous shall flourish as a Date tree,
10. and shall spred in branches like the Cedar of Libanus, beinge planted
Psa. 92. in the house of $\hat{y}$ Lord, they shall flourish in the Palaces of our God;

They

They shall still beare frute, they shall be fat and greene in their olde age. When he had sayd a litle before: How deepe are thy thoughtes. O Lord, while the wicked do flourish, they bud out like an herbe, that they may perish for euer. Where is that faire shew and beauty of the faithfull, but when the face of this worlde shall be turned inward by disclosing of the kingdom of God? When they turned their eyes to that eternity, they despised the hardnesse enduring but a moment of present miseries, & boldly burst forth into these words: Thou shalt not suffer for euer the righteous to die, but thou shalt throw downe the wicked headlong into y^e pit of destruction. Where as in this world the pit of eternall destruction that may swallow vp the wicked? Among whose felicities, this is also reckened in an other place, that they close vp the end of their life in a momēt, without long languishing. Where is that so great stedfastnesse of the holy ones, whom Dauid himselfe ech where complaineth, not only to be shaken with trouble, but also to be oppressed, and vterly broken in peeces? Forsooth, he did set before his eyes, not what the altering course of the world beareth, which is vnstable & more vnstedfast than the ebbing and flowing of tides, but what the Lord will do, when he shall one day sitte for the eternall settling of heauen and earth. As in an other place he excellently wel describeth it: The foolish do stay vpon their welthines, & are proude because of their great riches. And yet no mā, though he flourish in neuer so great dignity, can redeeme his brother from death, no man can pay to God the price of his ransome, but whereas they see that both the wise do die, and that the wicked also and fooles do perish & leaue their riches to strangers, yet they thinke that their houses shall abide for euer, and their dwellings to the ende of ages, and they aduaunce their names vpon the earth, but man shall not continue in honor the shalbe like to the beastes that die. This imagination of theirs is extremest folly, which yet their posterity do greedily follow. They shall be placed like a flocke in Hell, and death shall haue rule ouer them. When the light ariseth, the vpright shall haue dominion ouer them, the beauty of them shall perish, Hell is their dwelling house. First this laughinge to scorne of the foolish, for that they rest on the slippery and rolling good things of the worlde, doth shew that the wise must seeke a farre other felicity. But there he more euidently discloseth the mistery of the resurrection, where after the destruction & extinguishment of them, he erecteth the kingdom of the Godly. For what rising of light (I pray you) shal we call that; but the reueeling of the new life which followeth the end of this present life.

18 From thence did spring vp that consideration, which the faith-

full oftentimes vsed for a comfort of their mileries and remedy of
 Ps. 30. 6 patience: It is but a moment in the Lordes displeasure, and life in his
 mercy. How did they determine afflictions to end in a moment, that
 were in affliction in a manner their life long? where did they espie so
 long an enduring of Gods kindenesse, whereof they scarcely felt any
 litle tast? If they had sticke fast vpon the earth, they coulde haue
 founde no such thing, but because they looked vpon heauen, they ac-
 knowledged that it is but a moment of time, while the Lord exercise
 his holy ones by the crosse, but that his mercies, wherein they are ga-
 thered together, do last the worldes age. Againe, they did foresee the
 eternall and neuer endinge destruction of the vngodly, which were as
 Pro. 10. in a dreame happy for one day. Whereupon came these sayings: The
 7. remembrance of the righteous shall be in blessinge, but the name of
 Ps. 100 the wicked shall rot. Precious is the death of the Saintes in the sight
 16. & of the Lord, but the death of the wicked, most euill. Againe in Samu-
 30. 22. el. The Lorde shall keepe the feete of the holy, and the wicked shall
 1. Sam. 2 be put to silence in darkenesse. Which do declare that they wel knew,
 9. that howsoeuer the holy were diuersly caried about, yet their last end
 is life and saluation: and that the prosperity of the wicked is a plea-
 saunt way, whereby they by litle and litle slide forward into the gulse
 of death. Therefore they called the death of such, the destruction of
 Eze. 28. the vncircumcised, as of them from whom the hope of the resurre-
 10. & 31 ction was cut away. Wherefore Dauid could not deuise a more gree-
 Ps. 69. uous curse than this: Let them be blotted out of the booke of life, &
 26. not be written with the righteous.

19 But aboue all other, notable is that saying of Iob: I know that
 my redemer liueth, & in the last day I shal rise againe out of the earth,
 and in my flesh I shall see God my sauour: This hope is layed vp in
 my bosome. Some that haue a minde to make a shew of their sharpe
 wit, do cauill that this is not to be vnderstanded of the last resurre-
 ction, but of the first day that Iob looked to haue God more gentle to
 Job. 19. him, which although we graunt them in parte, yet shall we enforce
 25. them to confesse whether they will or no, that Iob coulde not haue
 come to that largenes of hope, if he had rested his thought vpon the
 earth. Therefore we must needes confesse, that he lifted vp his eyes
 to the immortality to come, which saw, that his redeemer would be
 present with him euen lying in his graue. For to them that thinke on-
 ly of this present life, death is their vttermost desperation: which very
 Job. 13. death could not cut of Iobs hope. Yea though he kill me (said he) ne-
 15. uerthelesse I will still hope in him. And let no trisler here carpe against
 me and say, that these were the sayinges but of a few, whereby is not
 proued

proued that such doctrine was among the Iewes. For I will by and by answere him, that these few did not in these sayings vtter any secret wisdom, whereunto only certaine excellent wittes were seuerally & priuately suffered to attaine, but that as they were by the holy Ghost appointed teachers of the people, so they openly published those mysteries of God that were to be vniuersally learned, and ought to be the principles of the common religion among the people. Therefore whē we heare the publike oracles of the holy Ghost, wherein he spake of the spirituall life so clearly and plainly in the Church of the Iewes, it were a point of vntolerable stubbornnesse to send them away onely to the fleshly couenant, wherein is mention made of nothinge, but earth and earthly wealthinesse.

20 If I come downe to the later Prophetes, there we may freely walke as in our owne fielde. For if it were not hard for vs to get the ypper hande in Dauid, Iob, and Samuel, here it shall be much more easie. For God kept this distribution and order in disposing the couenant of his mercy, that how much the nearer it drew on in proceffe of time to y^e ful performance thereof, with so much greater encrease-mentes of reuelation he did day by day more brightly shew it. Therefore at the beginninge when the first promise of saluation was made vnto Adam, there glistered out but as it were smale sparkles of it. After, hauinge more added vnto it, a greater largenesse of light began to be put forth: which from thense forth brake out more and more, and displaid her brightnesse farther abroad, till at length all the cloudes were driuen away, and Christ the sonne of righteousness fully lightned the whole world. We neede not therefore to feare that we faile of testimonies of the Prophetes, if we seeke them to proue our cause, but because I see that there will arise a huge deale of matter, whereupon I shoulde be constrained of necessity to tary longer then the proportion of my purpose may beare, for it woulde so grow to a worke of a great volume, and also because I haue already, by those thinges that I haue sayd before, made plaine the way, euen for a reader of meane capacity, so as he may go forward without stūblinge: therefore I will at this present abstaine from longe tediousnesse: which to do is no lesse necessary: but giuinge the readers warning before hande, that they remember to opē their owne way with that key that we haue first giuen them in their hande. That is, that so oft as the Prophetes speake of the blessednesse of the faithful people, whereof scarcely the least steppes are seene in this present life, they may resorte to this distinction: that the Prophetes, the better to expresse the goodnesse of God, did as in a shadow expresse it to the

Cap. 10. Of the knowvledge of

people by temporall benefites, as by certaine rough drawinge of the portraiture therof: but that the perfect image, that they haue painted therof, was such as might rauish mens mindes out of the earth, & out of the elements of this worlde, and of the age that shall perish, and of necessity raise it vp to the cōsidering of the felicity of the life that is to come and spirituall.

21 We will be content with one example. When the Israelites being caried away to Babylon, saw their scattering abroad to be like vnto death, they coule hardly be remoued from this opinion that they thought that all was but fables that Ezechiel propheecied of their restitution: because they reckened it euen all one as if he had told them that rotten carcases shoulde be restored againe to life. The Lord to shew, that euen that same difficulty could not stop him from bringinge his benefite to effect, shewed to the Prophet in a vision a felde full of drie bones, to the which in a moment with the onely power of his word he restored breath and liuelinesse. The vision in dede serued to correct the incredulity at that present time: but in the meane season he did put the Iewes in minde how farre the power of the Lord extended beyond the accompt of the people, which so easily quickened with his only becke, bones already rotten and scattered abroad: wherfore you shal cōpare that with an other saying of Esaie. The dead shall rise, my carcase, they shall rise againe. Awake ye and reioyse that dwell in the dust, because the dew of the greene felde is thy dew, & thou shalt plucke downe the lande of the Giances into ruine. Go my people, enter into thy tentes: shut thy dores vpon thee: hide thee a litle while, till my displeasure passe over. For behold, the Lord shall go out of his place, to visite the iniquity of the dweller vpon the earth against him, and the earth shall shewe forth her bloode, and shall no longer hide her flaine.

22 Albeit a man should do fondly, that would go about to drawe all to such a rule. For there be some places that without any couering do shew the immortality to come, that is prepared for the faithfull in the kingdome of God, of which sorte we haue recited some, and of like sorte are the most part of the rest, specially these two, the one in Esa 66. Esa. As a new heauen, & a new earth which I make to stande before me, so shall your seede stande, and there shalbe moneth of moneth, and Sabbath of Sabbath: all flesh shall come to worshippe before my face, saith the Lord. And they shall go out and see the deade carcases of the men that haue offended against me, that their worme shall not die, and their fier shall nor be quenched. The other of Daniel. In that time shall rise vp Michael the great prince, that standeth for the sonnes of

of his people, and there shall come a time of distresse, such as was not since nations first began to be, and then shall all thy people be saued that shall be founde wrytten in thy booke. And of those that slepe in the dust of the earth, there shall awake some to eternall life, and some to euerlasting shame.

23 Now as for prouing y other two pointes that the fathers had Christ for pledge of their couenant, and that they reposed in him all their affiance of blessing, I will not trauaile therein at all, because they haue both lesse controuersie & more plainnesse. Let vs therfore boldly determinethis, which by no engines of the deuil may be remoued, that the olde Testament or couenant which the Lord made with his people Israel, was not limited within the compasse of earthly things, but also contained the promise of the spirituall and eternall life: the expectation wherof must nedes haue binimprinted in all their mindes that truly consented to the couenant. But let vs put farre away this mad and pernicious opinion, that either God did set forth in his promise to the Iewes nothing else, or that the Iewes sought nothing else but filling of their belly, delites of the flesh, flourishing wealth, outward power, frutefullnesse of children, and whatsoeuer a naturall man esteemeth. For at this day Christ promiseth no other kingdom of heauen to his, but where they shall rest with Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob. And Matt. 8. Peter affirmed, that the Iewes of his time were heires of the grace of 11. the Gospel, for that they were the children of the Prophets, compre- Act. 3. hended in the couenant, which the Lord had in the olde time made 29. with his people. And, that the same shoulde not be witnessed with wordes only, the Lord also approued it by deede. For in the very mo- Mat. 27. ment that he rose againe, he vouchsafed to haue many of y holy men 51. to rise againe in company with him, & made them to be seene in the City: so giuing an assured token, that whatsoeuer he did and suffered for y purchasing of eternall saluation, pertaineth no lesse to the faithfull of the old testamēt, than vnto vs. For as Peter testifieth, they were also endued with y same spirit of faith, wherby we are regenerate into life. Now, when we heare that the same spirit which is in vs a certaine sparcle of immortality, wherupon it is also in an other place called the earnest of our inheritance, did likewise dwell in thé, how dare we take from thé y inheritance of life? Wherby it is so much y more maruell, that in the olde time the Sadduces fell to such grossenesse of errour, that they denied both the resurrection & also the substance of soules, both which pointes they saw sealed with so cleare testimonies of Scripture. And no lesse to be marueled at, euen at this day, were the folly of all that nation in looking for the earthly kingdom of Christ,

Act. 15.
8.

if the Scriptures had not long before declared, that they should haue that punishment for refusing the Gospell. For so it behoued, by the iust iudgement of God, to strike those mindes with blindenes, which in refusing the light of heauen being offered them, did wilfully bring themselves into darkenesse. Therefore they read and continually turne
 2. Cor. 3 ouer Moses, but they are stopped with a veile set betwene them and
 14. him, that they can not see the light that shineth in his countenance. And so shal it remaine couered & hidden from them, till he be turned to Christ, from whom now they trauaile to leade & drawe him away so much as in them lieth.

The xi. Chapter.

Of the difference of the one Testament from the other.

WHat then? wilt thou say: shall there be no difference left betwene the olde Testament and the New? and to what purpose serue all those places of Scripture, where they are compared one against the other, as things most contrary? I do willingly allowe those differences that are rehearsed in the Scripture: but so that they nothinge hinder the vnity already stablished, as it shalbe plaine to see when we shall haue entreated of them in order. Those differences are (as farre as euer I could marke or can remember) chiefly foure in number, to the which if you list to adioyne the 5 I am not against it. I say and trust to proue that they are all such as rather belonge to the manner of ministration, than to the substance of them. And by this meane they shall nothing hinder, but that the promises of both the old and new testament may remayne all one and all one foundation of the same promises, Christ. Now the first difference is, that although, euen, in the old time also, the Lordes will was to direct the mindes of his people, and to haue them raised vp to the heauenly inheritance: yet, that they might be the better nourished in hope thereof, he gaue it to be seene or rather to be tasted of, vnder earthly benefites? But now hauing reueled the grace of the life to come, by the Gospell, he more clearly and plainely directeth our mindes the streight way to the meditation thereof, leauing the inferior maner of exercising which he vsed with the Israelites. They that marke not this purpose of God, do not thinke that the olde people climbed any hier than to y good things promised to y body. They so often heare the lande of Chanaan named, as the excellent, or rather only reward for the keepers of Gods law. They heare that God threatneth nothing more seuerely to the transgressors of the same law, than
 that

that they shalbe driuen out of the possession of the same land, & scattered abroade into strange regions. They see that in a manner to this effect come all the blessings & curses that are pronounced by Moses. Hereby they do vndoubtedly determine, that the Iewes not for their owne sakes, but for others, were seuered from other nations: that is, that the Church of Christ might haue an image, in whose outward forme she might see examples of spirituall things. But sith the Scripture doth sometimes shew, that God himselfe directed all the earthly benefites that he did for them to this end, that so he might leade them by the hand to the hope of heauely benefites. It was too much vnskillfulness, I will not say blockishnesse, not to consider this order of disposition. The issue or point of our controuersie with this sorte of men is this, that they teach that the possession of the land of Chanaan was to the Israelites their chiefe and last blessednes, & that to vs after the reuealing of Christ, it doth but figuratiuely signifie y^e heauenly inheritance. On the other side we affirme, that they did in the earthly possession which they enjoyed, as in a lookinge glasse behold the inheritance to come, which they beleued to be prepared for them in heauen.

2 That shall better appeare by the similitude that Paul vsed to the Galatians. He compareth the nation of the Iewes to an heire, within age, which beinge not yet able to to gouerne himselfe, followeth the guiding of the tutor or schoolemaister, to whose custody he is committed. And whereas he applieth that similitude to the ceremonies, that nothinge hindereth but that it may also very fitly serue to this purpose. The same inheritance was appointed for them, that was appointed for vs: but such as yet for want of age, they were not of capacity to enter vpon and vse. The same Church was among them, but whereof the age was yet but childish. Therefore the Lord kept them vnder this schooling, that he gaue them not the spirituall promises so naked and openly, but as it were shadowed wth earthly promises. Therefore, where he called Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, and their posterity vnto hope of immortality, he promised them the land of Chanaan to be their inheritance: not to determine their hopes vpon it, but that in beholding of it, they shoulde exercise and confirme themselves in the hope of that true inheritance that did not yet appeare. And that they might not be deceiued, there was giuen them a hier promise to testify, that that lande was not the hiest benefite of God. So Abraham was not suffered to lie slouthfull in the promise receiued of the lande, but his minde was with a greater promise raised vp vnto the Lord. For Abraham heard this sayd vnto him: I am thy protector, & thy reward exceeding great. Here we see, that Abraham hath the ende of his re-

Gal. 4.1

Ge. 15.1

ward set forth in the Lord, that he should not accompt vpon a transitory and slippery reward in the elementes of this worlde, but rather thinke it to be such as can not wither away. Afterward he adioyneth the promise of the land to no other intent, but that it should be a token of the good will of God, & a figure of the heauēly inheritance.

And that the holy men had this meaning, their owne sayings do declare. So Dauid riseth vpward from temporall blessings, to that same highest & last blessing, My heart (saith he) & my flesh faint for desire of thee. God is my portion for euer. Againe, The Lord is y part of my inheritance, and of my cup: thou art he that sauest mine heritage for me. Againe. I haue cried vnto thee, O Lorde, I haue sayd, Thou art my hope, my portion in the land of the liuing. Truly they that dare so speake, do without dout professie that with their hope they climbe aboute the world, and all the good things here present. But the Prophetes do oft describe this blessednesse of y world to come, vnder the figure that they had receiued of the Lord. And so are these sayings to be vnderstanded. That y Godly shal possesse the lande by inheritāce, and the wicked shalbe destroyed out of it. That Hierusalē shal abound with all kinde of riches, and Sion ouerflow with plenty of all things. All which we see, can not properly be spokē of the land of our way-faringe, or the earthly Ierusalem, but of the true contry of the faithfull, and that heauenly citie wherein the Lord hath cōmaunded blessing and life for euer.

3 This is the reason why it is read that the holy mē in time of the olde testament, did esteeme the mortal life & the blessings therof more than is now meete to do. For although they knew wel y they shoulde not rest in it, as in the end of their race, yet whē they called to mind, what markes of his grace y lord had pointed therein, to exercise them according to y small rate of their tendernes, they felt a greater sweetness of it, than if they had considered it by it selfe. But as the Lorde in testifying his good will toward the faithfull, by present good things, did as in shadowe expresse the spirituall felicity, by such figures and signes: so on the other side he did in corporall paines shew examples of his iudgement against the reprobate. Therefore, as the benefites of God were to be seene in earthly things, so were also his punishments. While the vnskillfull do not weye this comparison or agreement, as I may call it betwene the punishmentes and the rewardes, they maruell at so much alteration in God, that in olde time was so sodainly ready to take vengeance on euery offence of man with sterne & horrible punishmentes, & now as if he had layed away the affection of his old angrines, he punisheth both much more gentlie & seldomer, yea and for the

Psal. 73.

26. &

84. 4.

Psal. 16.

5.

Psa. 142

6.

Iob. 18.

17.

Psa. 133

3.

the same cause they do almost imagine seuerall gods of y^e old & new testament: which the Manichees did in dede. But we shal easily be deliuered from such doutes, if we lay our mindes to consider this orderly disposition of God that I haue spoken of, whose will was for the time to signifie & set forth in figure both the grace of the eternall felicity to come, by temporall benefites, and the greuousnes of the spirituall death, by corporall paines. Whereby he deliuered his Testamēt to the Israelites, as yet after a certaine maner folded vp.

4 An other difference of the olde and newe Testament is sayd to be in the figures: for that the olde testament did shew onely an image in absence of the trueth, and a shadow in steede of the body. But the new testament giueth the trueth present, and the sounde body it selfe. And this difference is mentioned commonly wheresoeuer the newe testament is in comparison set against the olde: but it is more largely entreated of in the epistle to the Hebrues than any where else. There the Apostle disputeth against them, which thought that the obseruation of Moses law might not be taken away, but that they should also draw with them the ruine of all religion. To confute this error, he vseth that which had bin forespoken by the Prophete concerning the priesthoode of Christ. For whereas there is giuen him an eternall priesthoode, it is certaine, that that priesthoode is taken away, wherein new successours were daily put in, one after an other. But he proueth that the institution of this new priesthoode is to be preferred, because it is stablished with an oth. He after addeth further, that in the same change of the priesthoode, is also contained the change of the Testament. And that it was necessary so to be, he proueth by this reason: for that the weakenesse of the law was such that it could helpe nothing, to perfection. Then he proceedeth in declaring what was that weakenes, euen this, that it had certaine outward righteousnes of the flesh, which could not make the obseruers of them perfect, according to conscience: that by sacrifices of beastes, it could neither wipe away sinnes, nor purchase true holines. He concludeth therfore that there was in it a shadow of good thinges to come, but not the liuely image of the thinges themselues: & that therfore it had no other office, but to be as an introduction into a better hope, which is deliuered in the Gospell. Here is to be seene, in what point the couenant of the law is compared with the couenant of the Gospell: and the ministry of Christ with the ministry of Moses. For if the comparison concerned the substance of the promises, then were there great difference betweene the two testaments: but sith the point of our case lea-
deth vs an other way, we must tend to this ende, to finde out the

Ps. 109

10.

Heb. 7.

11. & 19

& 9. 9.

& 10. 1.

trueth. Let vs then set forth here the couenant which he hath stablished to be eternall, and neuer to perish. The accomplishment thereof, wherby it attaineth to be stablished & continuing in force, is Christ. While such establishment was in expectation, the Lord did by Moses apoint ceremonies, to be as it were solemne signes of the confirmation. Now this came there in question, whether the ceremonies that were ordained in y^e law ought to giue place to Christ or no. Although these ceremonies were in dede only accidents, or verily additions and things adioyned, or (as the people call them) accessary thinges to the couenant, yet because they were instrumentes or meanes of the administration thereof, they beare the name of the couenant it selfe, as the like is wont to be attributed to other Sacramentes. Therefore in summe, the olde Testament is in this place called the solemne forme of confirming the couenant, contained in Ceremonies and Sacrifices. The Apostle sayth, that because in it is nothinge perfect, vnlesse we passe further, therefore it behoued that they should be discontinued and abrogate, that place might be giuen to Christ the assurer and mediatour of a better testament, by whom eternall sanctification is once purchaced to the elect, and the transgressions blotted out that remained vnder the law. Or, if you like it better, thus: That the olde testament of the Lord was that, which was deliuered, wrapped vp in the shadowish and effectuall obseruation of ceremonies: and that therefore it was but for a time, because it did but (as it were) hang in suspence vntill it might stay vpon a more stedfast and substantiall confirmation: and that then onely it was made newe and eternall, after that it was consecrate and stablished by the blood of Christ. Whereupon Christ calleth the cup that he gaue at his supper to his Disciples, The cup of the new testament in his blood: to signifie, that then the testament of God attaineth his trueth: by which it becommeth new & eternal, when it is sealed with his blood.

5 Hereby appeareth in what sense the Apostle sayd: that in the schoolinge of the law, the Iewes were brought vnto Christ, before that he was shewed in the flesh. And he confesseth, that they were the children and heires of God, but yet such, as for their yong age were to be kept vnder the custody of a schoolemaister. For it behoued, that ere the sonne of righteousnesse was yet risen, their should neither be so great brightnesse of reuelation, nor so great deepe sight of vnderstandinge. Therefore God so gaue them in measure the light of his word, that they saw it as yet farre of and darkely. Therefore Paule expresseth this sclendernesse of vnderstandinge by the tearme of yong age, which the Lordes will was to haue to be exercised with the ele-

mentes of this world & with outward obseruations, as rules of instruction for children vntill Christ should shine abroad, by whom it be-
 houed that the knowledge of the faithfull people should grow to full
 age. This distinction Christ himselfe meant of, when he said, that the
 law and the Prophetes were vntill Iohn, and that from thensefoorth
 the kingdom of God is preached. What did the law & the Prophetes
 open to men of their time? euen this, they gaue a tast of that wisdom
 which in time to come should be plainly disclosed: and they shewed it
 before as it were twinklingly shining a far of. But whē it came to passe
 y^e Christ might be pointed to with the finger, thē was the kingdom of
 God set opē. For in him are laied abroade the treasures of all wisdom
 and vnderstanding, whereby we attaine, euen in a manner, into the se-
 cret closets of heauen. Mat. 11. 13. Col. 1. 9

6 And it maketh not against vs, that there can scarcely any one be
 found in the Christian Church, that in excellency of faith may be cō-
 pared with Abraham, or that the Prophetes excelled in such force of
 spirite, that euen at this day they lighten the whole world withall. For
 our question is not here, what grace the Lord hath bestowed vpon a
 fewe, but what ordinarie disposition he vsed in teaching his people:
 such as is declared in the Prophetes themselues, which were endued
 with peculiar knowledge aboue the rest. For euen their preaching is
 darke and enclosed in figures, as of thinges a farre of. Moreouer how
 maruellous knowledge soeuer appeared in them aboue other, yet for-
 asmuch as they were driuen of necessity to submit them to the com-
 mon childish instructiō of the people, they themselues also were reck-
 ned in the number of children. Finally, there neuer chaunged any
 such cleare sight to any at that time, but that it did in some parte
 sauer of the darkenesse of the time. Whereupon Christ sayd, Many
 kings and Prophetes haue desired to see the thinges that ye see, and
 haue not seene them: and to heare the things that ye heare, and haue
 not heard them. Therefore blessed are your eyes, because they see, &
 your eares because they heare. And truely it was meete that the pre-
 sence of Christ should haue this excellency of prerogatiue, that from
 it should arise the cleare reuealing of the heavenly misteries. And for
 this purpose also maketh that, which euē we now alleaged out of the
 first epistle of Peter: that it was opened to them, that their trauaile was
 profitable, principally for our age. Mat. 13. 17. Luc. 10. 24. 1. Pet. 1. 12.

7 Now I come to the third difference, which is taken out of Je-
 remie, whose wordes are these. Behold the dayes shall come, sayth the
 Lord, and I will make a new couenant with the house of Israell, & the
 house of Iuda, not according to the couenant that I made with your
Jer. 31. 31.

Fathers, in the day when I tooke them by the hande, to leade the out of the lande of Ægypt, the couenant that they made voide although I ruled ouer them. But this shal be the couenant that I will make with the house of Israell. I will put my lawe in their bowelles, and I will wryte it in their heartes, and I will be mercifull to their iniquity. And no man shall teach his neighbour, and no man his brother. For they shall all know me, from the least vnto the most. Of which wordes the Apostle tooke occasion to make this comparifon betwene the law & the Gospell, that he called the law a literall, and the Gospell a spirituall doctrine: the law, he said, was fashioned out in Tables of stone, the Gospell written in heartes: that the law was the preaching of death, the Gospell the preaching of life: the law the preaching of damnatiō, the Gospell the preaching of righteousness: that the lawe is made voide, that the Gospell abideth. Sith the Apostles purpose was but to declare the meaninge of the Prophet, it shall be sufficient that we weye the wordes of one of the, to attaine the meaning of them both. Albeit, there is some vnlikenes betwene them. For the Apostle speaketh more odiously of the law than the Prophet doth: and that not in simple respect of the law, but because there were certaine naughty men, hauing a wrong zeale to the law, which did with peruerse loue of the ceremonies, obscure the brightnesse of the Gospell. He disputeth of the nature of the law, accordinge to their errour and foolish affection. Therefore it shall be good to note that peculiarly in Paul. But both of them, because they do by comparifon set the olde and the new testament, the one against the other: do consider nothing in the law, but that which properly belongeth vnto it. As for example. The law doth commonly in euery place containe promises of mercy, but because they are borrowed from elsewhere, therefore they are not reckened as part of the law, whē the mere nature of the law is spoken of. The onely thing they ascribe vnto it, to commaunde thinges that are right, and to forbid wicked doings: to promise reward to the followers of righteousness, and to threaten punishment to the transgressours: but in the meane time neither to change nor amende the peruerfenes of heart, that is naturally in all men.

8 Now let vs expounde the Apostles comparifon, one peece after another. The old testament is literal, because it was published without the effectuall workinge of the spirite: The new is spirituall, which the Lord hath spiritually grauen in the heartes of men. Therefore the second diuersity is as it were a declaration of the first. The old is deadly, because it can do nothinge but wrappe all mankind within the curse. The new is the instrument of life, because it deliuereth from curse, & restoreth

restoreth into fauour with God. The olde is the ministry of damnation, because it condemneth all Adams children of vnrighteousnesse. The new is the ministry of righteousness, because it reuealeth the mercy of God, by which we are made righteous. The last diuersity is to be referred to the ceremonies. Because the old testament had an image of things absent, it behoued that it should in time decay & vanish away: but the Gospell, because it giueth the true body in deede, keepeth still a firme & perpetuall stedfastnes. Ieremie in deede calleth euen the morall lawes, a weake and fraile couenant: but that is for another reason, because by the sodaine falling away of the vnthankfull people, it was by and by broken, but forasmuch as such breakinge of it was the fault of the people, it can not properly be layd vpon the testament. But the ceremonies, forasmuch as by their owne weakenesse were dissolued by the coming of Christ, had the cause of their weakenesse within themselues. Now, that difference of the letter and spirite is not so to be takē, as though the Lord had giuen his lawes to the Iewes without any frute at all, hauing none of thē conuerted vnto him: But it is spoken by way of comparison, to aduaunce the aboundance of grace, wherewith the same lawmaker as it were putting on a new personage, did honorably set forth the preaching of the Gospell. For if we reckon vp the multitude of these whom the Lord out of all peoples hath by the preaching of the Gospel regenerate with his spirite, and gathered into the communion of his Church, we shall say, that there were very fewe, or in a manner none in the olde time in Israell, that with affection of minde and entirely from their heart embraced the couenant of the Lord: who yet were very many, if they be reckened in their owne number without comparison.

9 Out of the third differēce riseth y fourth. For the Scripture calleth the old testament, the testamēt of bondage, for that it ingendreth feare in mens mindes: but the new testament, the testament of liberty, because it raiseth them vp to confidence & assurednes. So saith Paule in the eight to the Romaines. Ye haue not receiued the spirit of bondage againe to feare, but y spirit of adoption, by which we crie Abba, father. Hereunto serueth that in the epistle to the Hebrues, that the faithfull are not now come to the bodily mount, and to kindled fire, & whirlewinde, darkenes and tempest, where nothing can be heard or seene but that striketh mens mindes with terroure, in somuch that Moses himselfe quaked for feare, when the terrible voice sounded, which they all besought, that they might not heare: But that we are come to the Mount Sion, and the Citie of the liuinge God, the heauenly Hierusalem. But that which Paule shortly toucheth in the

Ro. 8. 15

Heb. 12.
18.

sentēce that we haue alleaged out of the epistle to the Romaines, he setteth out more largely in the Epistle to the Galatians, when he maketh an allegory of y two sonnes of Abraham, after this manner, that

Gala 4.
21.

Agar the bondwoman is a figure of the mount Sinai, where the people of Israel receiued the law: Sara the freewoman is a figure of the heauenly Hierusalem, from whence proceedeth the Gospell. That, as the seede of Agar is borne bonde, which may neuer come to y inheritance, and the seede of Sara is borne free, to whom the inheritance is due: so by the law we are made subiect to bondage, by the Gospell only we are regenerate into freedom. But the summe commeth to this effect, that the old testament did stricke into consciences feare & trembling: but by the benefite of the new testament it commeth to passe, that they are made ioyfull. The olde did hold consciences bound vnto the yoke of bondage, by the liberality of the new they are discharged of bondage, and brought into freedom. But if out of the people of Israel they obiekt against vs the holy fathers, who sith it is euident, that they were endued with the same spirit that we are, it followeth that they were also partakers both of the selfe same freedom & ioy: We answere, that neither of both came of the law. But that when they felt themselues by the law to be both oppressed with estate of bondage, and wearied with vnquietnes of conscience, they fled to the succour of the Gospell, & that therfore it was a peculiar frute of the new testament, that beside the common law of the old testament they were exempted frō these euils. Moreouer, we wil deny that they were so endued with the spirit of freedom and assurednes, that they did not in some parte feeble both feare and bondage by the law. For howsoeuer they enioied that prerogatiue which they had obtained by grace of the Gospell, yet were they subiect to the same bondes and burdēs of obseruation, that the commō people were. Sith therfore they were compelled to the carefulll keepinge of those ceremonies, which were the signes of a schooling much like vnto bondage, and the handwrytinges whereby they confessed themselues guilty of sinne, did not discharge them from being bonde: it may rightfully be said, that in comparison of vs they were vnder the testament of bondage and feare, while we haue respect to that common order of distribution that the Lord then vsed with the people of Israel.

10 The three last comparisons that we haue recited, are of the law and the Gospell. Wherefore in them by the name of the Old testament is meant the lawe, and by the name of the New testament is meant the Gospell. The first stretched further, for it comprehendeth vnder it the promises also that were published before the lawe, but whereas

Augustine

Augustine denieth that they ought to be reckened vnder the name of the olde testament, therein he thought very well, and meant euen the same thing that we do nowe teach, for he hadde regarde to those sayings of Hieremie and Paule, where the olde testament is seuered from the worde of mercie and grace. And this also he very aptely adioyneth in the same place, that the children of promise regenerat of God, which by faith working through loue, haue obeyed the commandements, do from the beginning of the worlde belong to the new Testamēt, and that in hope not of fleshly, earthly and temporall, but spirituall, heauenly, and eternall good thinges, principally beleeuing in the Mediatour, by whome they doubted not that the spirit was not ministred vnto them, both to do good, and to haue pardon so oft as they sinned. For the same thing it is that I minded to affirme, that all the Sainctes whome the Scripture reherseth to haue been from the beginning of the worlde chosen by God, were partakers of the selfe same blessing with vs vnto eternall saluation. This difference therefore is betweene our diuision and Augustines: that oures (according to that saying of Christ: The lawe and the Prophets were vnto Iohn: Lib. 3.
ad Ro-
ni. ca. 4 from thensforth the kingdome of God is preached) doth make distinction Mat. 11.
13 betweene the cleereneffe of the Gospell, and the darker distribution of the worde that went before: and Augustine doth onely seuer the weaknesse of the lawe from the strength of the Gospell. And here also is to be noted cōcerning the holy fathers, that they so liued vnder the olde testament, that they stayed not there, but alway aspired to the newe, yea and imbraced the assured partaking thereof. For the Apostle condemneth them of blindenesse and accursednesse, which being cōtented with present shadowes, did not stretch vp their minde vnto Christ. For (to speake nothing of the rest) what greater blindenesse can be imagined, than to hope for the purging of sinne by the killing of a beast, than to seeke for the cleansing of the soule in outwarde sprinkeling of water? than to seeke to appease God with colde ceremonies, as though he were much delited therewith? For to all these absurdities do they fall, that sticke fast in the obseruations of the lawe without respect of Christ.

11 The fifth difference that we may adde, lieth in this: that vntill the comming of Christ the Lord had chosen out one nation, within which he woulde keepe seuerall the couenant of his grace. When the hiest did distribute the nations, when he diuided the sonnes of Adam (saith Moses) his people fell to his possession: Iacob the corde of his inheritance. In an other place he thus speaketh to the people: Beholde the heauen and earth and all that is in it, are the Lord thy Deu. 32.
8.
Deu. 10.
14

Gods. He cleaued onely ro thy fathers, he loued them, to chose their seede after them euen your selues out of all nations. Therefore he vouchesaued to graunt the knowledge of his name to that people onely, as if they onely of all men belonged vnto him: he layed his couenant as it were in their bosome: to them he openly shewed the presence of his Godhead: them he honored with all prerogatiues. But (to omit the rest of his benefites, and speake that which onely here is to our purpose) he bound them to him by the communicating of his worde, that he might be called and compted their God. In the meane season he suffered other nations to walke in vanitie, as though they had not any entercourse or any thing to do with him: neither did he to helpe their destruction, geue them that which was onely the remedie, namely the preaching of his worde. Therefore Israell was then the Lordes sonne that was his derling, other were straungers: Israell was knowen to him and receyued into his charge and protection, other were left to their owne darkenesse: Israell was sanctified by God, other were prophane: Israel was honored with the presence of God, other were excluded from comming nie vnto him. But when the fullnesse of time was come, appointed for the restoring of all men, and that same reconciler of God and men was deliuered in deede, the particion was plucked downe, which had so long holden the mercy of God enclosed within the boundes of Israell, & peace was preached to them that were farre of, euen as to them that were neere adioyned, that being together reconciled to God, they might growe into one people. Wherefore, nowe there is no respect of Greke or Iewe, circumcision or vncircumcision, but Christ is all in all, to whome the nations are geuen for his inheritaunce, and the endes of the earth for his peculiar possession, that vniuersally without difference he might haue dominion from sea to sea, and from the riuers to the vttermost endes of the worlde.

12 Therefore the calling of the Gentiles is a notable token, whereby is clearely shewed the excellencie of the newe Testament aboue the olde. It had in deede bin before testified by many, & most plaine oracles of the Prophetes, but so as the perfourmance thereof was still differred vnto the kingdome of Messias. And Christ him selfe did not procede vnto it at the first beginning of his preaching, but differred it so long vntil that all the partes of our redemption being perfourmed, and the time of his abacement ended, he receyued of his father a name that is aboue all names, before whome all knees shoulde bowe. For which cause when this conuenience of time was not yet fulfilled, he said to the woman of Chanaan, that he was not sent but to the lost sheepe

Ad. 14.
16.

Gal. 4.4
Ephe. 2.
14.
Gala. 6.
15.
Psal. 3.8
Psal. 62.

Phil. 2.
Mat. 15.
24.

sheepe of the house of Israell. And he suffred not his Apostles at the first sending, to passe these boundes. Go not ye, (saith he) into the way of the Gentiles, nor entre into the Cities of the Samaritanes, but rather go ye to the lost sheepe of the house of Israell. But howsoever it was before vttered by so many testimonies, yet when the Apostles were first to beginne it, it seemed so newe and strange a thing vnto them, that they were afraide of it, as of some monster. Truly very fearefully and not without sticking at it, they first did set vpon it. And no maruell, for it seemed against reason, that the Lorde which by so many ages had chosen out Israel from all other nations, should now vndo that choise, as it were, sodenly changing his purpose. It was in deede spoken of afore by prophecies: but they coule not geue so great heede to the prophecies, as to be nothing moued with the newnesse of the thing that they sawe. And these examples which the Lorde had shewed of the calling of the Gentiles that shoulde one day come to passe, were not sufficient to moue them. For beside this that he hade called vey fewe, he did after a certaine maner engraft them into the householde of Abraham, to adde them vnto his people as percell of them: but by this generall calling the Gentiles, were not onely made egall with the Iewes, but also it appeared that they came into the place of the Iewes, that were become deade. And yet all those strangers whome God hath before that time brought into the bodie of the Church, were neuer made egall with the Iewes. And therefore not without a cause doth Paule so extoll this mysterie hidden from ages and generations, and which he also saith to be marvellous to the very Angles. Col. 1.
16.

13 In these fower or fve pointes, I thinke, I haue well & faithfully set forth the whole difference of the olde and newe Testament, so much as sufficeth to y simple ordre of teaching. But because many report this varietie in gouerning the Church, this diuers manner in teaching, so great alteration of vsages and ceremonies, to be a great absurditie: they are also to be answered before that we passe forth to other things. And that may be done shortly, bycause the obiections are not so strong that they nede a curious confutation. It hangeth not together (say they) that God which doth alway stedfastly agree with him selfe, shoulde suffer so great an alteration, as afterwarde to disalow the same thing, which he had before both commaunded and commended. I answere, that God ought not therefore to be compted mutable, for that he applied diuerse formes to diuerse ages, as he knew to be expediēt for euery one. If the husbandman apoint to his householde one sorte of businesse in winter, & an other in sommer, shall we

therfore accuse him of inconstancie, or thinke that he swarueth from the right rule of husbandrie which agreeth with the continuall ordre of nature? Likewise if a father of a householde do instruct, rule and ordre his children of one sorte in childhoode, of an other in youth, and of an other in mans state, we can not therefore say that he is fickle & forsaketh his owne purpose. Why therfore do we charge God with reproch of inconstancies, for that he hath seuered the diuersitie of times with fit and agreeable markes? The last similitude ought fully to satisfie vs. Paule maketh the Iewes like vnto children, & Christians to yongmen. What disordre is there in this gouernement of God that he helde them in their childish lessons, which accordinge to the capacity of their age were fit for them, and instructed vs with stronger and as it were more manly discipline? Therefore herein appeareth the constancie of God, that he taught one selfe same doctrine in all ages, and continueth in requiring the same worshippe of his name, which he commaunded from the beginning. But wheras he chaunged the outwarde forme and manner thereof, in that he shewed not him selfe subiect to change: but so faire he tempered him selfe to the capacitie of man, which is diuerse and chaungeable.

14 But whense (say they) commeth this diuersitie, but bycause God willed it to be such? Coulede he not as well from the beginning as sins the comming of Christ, reuele the eternall life in plaine wordes without any figures, instruct those that are his with a few sacramentes and easy to perceauē, geue his holy spirite, and poure abroad his grace throughout the whole worlde? This is euen like as if they shoulde quarell with God for that he hath created the worlde so late, sith he might haue created it from the beginning: or for that his will was to haue enterchaunged courses betwene winter and sommer, betwene day and night. But as for vs, euen as al Godly men ought to thinke, let vs not doubtē that whatsoeuer God hath done, is wisely and righteously done, although oftentimes we know not the cause why it ought so to haue been done. For that were to take presumptuously to much vpon vs, not to geue God leaue to haue the causes of his owne purpose secret to himselfe from vs. But it is meruellous (say they) that he now refuseth and abhorreth the sacrificing of beastes, and all that furniture of the Leviticall priesthode, wherewith in the olde time he was delited. As though these outward and trāsitorie thinges did delite God, or any way moue affection in him. We haue already said that he did none of these for his owne cause, but disposed them all for the saluation of men. If a Phisicion do heale a yong man after one very good meane from his disease, and afterward do vse an other maner of healing

healing with the same man being olde: shall we therefore say, that he hath refused the manner of healing which before pleased him, but rather continuing still in the same, he hath consideration of age? So behoued it, that Christ being absent, shoulde be expressed in figure by one sort of signes, and by an other sort be before shewed that he was to come: and it is mete that now being already deliuered, he be represented by other signes. But as concerning Gods calling, nowe at the comming of Christ more largely spread abroad among all peoples than it was before, and the graces of the holy ghost more plenteously poured out, who, I pray you, can denie it to be right, that that God haue in his owne hande and will the disposing of his owne graces, to geue light to what nations it pleaseth him? to raise vp the preaching of his worde in what places it pleaseth him? to geue what doctrine and howe great profiting and successe of doctrine it pleaseth him? and in what ages he will, to take away the knowledge of his name out of the worlde for their vnthankfulnesse? and againe when he will to restore it for his owne mercie? We see therefore, that the cauillations are to much vnmeete, wherewith wicked men do in this point disquiet the mindes of the simple, to make them call either the righteousnesse of God, or the faith of the Scripture into doubt.

The xij. Chapter.

That it behoued, that Christ, to performe the office of the Mediatour, shoulde be made man.

NOwe, it much behoued vs that he shoulde be both God and man, which shoulde be our Mediatour. If a man aske of the necessitie, it was not in deede a simple or absolute necessitie, as they commonly call it, but it proceeded from the heauenly decree, wherevpon hanged all the saluation of men. But the most merciful father appointed that which should be best for vs. For wheras our owne iniquities had, as it were, cast a cloude betwene him and vs, and vtterly excluded vs from the kingdome of heauen, no man could be the interpreter for restoring of our peace, but he that could attaine vnto God. But who could haue attained vnto him? could any of the sonnes of Adam? But all they did with their father shunne the sight of God for feare. Could any of the Angels? but they also had neede of a head, by whose knitting together they might perfectly and vnseuerably cleaue vnto God. What then? It was past all hope, vnlesse the very maiestie of God would descend vnto vs, for we could not ascēde vnto it. So it behoued that the sonne of God shoulde become for vs Immanuel, that is, God with vs: and that in this sort, that by mutuall

ioyning, his godhed and the nature of man might growe into one together. Otherwise neither coulde the neereneſſe be neere enough, nor the alliance ſtrong enough for vs to hope by, that God dwelleth with vs. So great was the diſagreement betwene our filthineſſe, and the moſt pure cleanneſſe of God. Although man had ſtand vndeſiled without any ſpot, yet was his eſtate too baſe to attein to God without a Mediator. What coulde he then do being plunged downe into death and hell with deadly fall, deſiled with ſo many ſpottes, ſtinking with his owne corruption, and ouerwhelmed with all accuſedneſſe?

1. Tim. Therefore not without cauſe, Paule meaning to ſet forth Chriſt for
2.3. the Mediator, doth expreſſely recite that he is Man. One Mediator (ſaith he) of God and man, the man Ieſus Chriſt. He might haue ſaid, God: or at the leaſt he might haue left the name of Man as well as of God. But by cauſe the holy Ghoſt ſpeaking by his mouth, knewe our weakenefſe: therefore to prouide for it in time, he vſed a moſt fit remedy, ſetting among vs the ſonne of God familiarly as one of vs. Therefore leaſt any man ſhoulde trouble himſelf to know where the Mediatour is to be ſought, or which way to come vnto him, in naming Man, he putteth vs in minde that he is nere vnto vs, yea ſo nere that he toucheth vs, for aſmuch as he is our owne fleſh. Truly he meaneth there euen the ſame thing that in another place is ſet out with moe wordes: that we haue not a biſhop that can not haue
Hebr. 4. 15. compaſſion of our infirmities, for aſmuch as he was in all thinges tempted as we are, onely ſinne excepted.

2 That ſhall alſo appere more plainely, if we conſider how it was no meane thing that the Mediatour had to do: that is, ſo to reſtore vs into the fauour of God, as to make vs of the children of men, the children of God: of the heires of hell, the heires of the kingdome of heauen. Who could do that, vnleſſe the ſonne of God were made alſo the ſonne of manne, and ſo take oures vpon him to conuey his vnto vs, and to make that oures by grace, which was his by nature? Therefore by this earneſt we truſt, that we are the children of God, by cauſe the naturall ſonne of God hath ſhapen for himſelfe a body of our body, fleſh of our fleſh, bones of our bones, that he might be all one with vs. He diſdained not to take that vpon him which was propre vnto vs, to make againe that to belong to vs which he had propre to himſelfe, and that ſo in common together with vs, he might be both the ſonne of God and the ſonne of man. Herevpon commeth that holy brotherhode which he commendeth with his owne mouth when he ſaith: I go vp to my father and your father, my God and your God.

17. Thō. 10. By this meane is the inheritance of the kingdome of heauen aſſured

vnto

vnto vs: for that the onely sonne of God, to whome it wholly did properly belong, hath adopted vs into his brethren: by cause if we be brethren, then are we partakers of the inheritaunce. Moreouer it was for the same cause very profitable, that he which shoulde be our redeemer, shoulde be both very God and very manne. It was his office to swallowe vp death: who coulde do that but life it selfe? It was his office to ouercome sinne: who coulde do that but righteousnesse it selfe? It was his office to vanquish the powers of the worlde and of the aire: who coulde do that but a power aboue both worlde and aire: Nowe in whose possession is life, or righteousnesse, or the empire and power of heauen, but in Gods alone? Therefore the most merciful God, in the persone of his onely begotten sonne, made himselfe our redeemer, when his will was to haue vs redeemed.

Rom. 8.
17.

3 An other principall point of our reconciliation with God was this that man which had lost by his disobedience, shoulde for remedy set obedience against it, shoulde satisfie the iudgement of God, and paye the penaltie of sinne. Therefore there came forth the true man, our Lorde, he put on the persone of Adam, and toke vpon him his name to entre into his stede in obeyeng his father, to yeld our flesh the price of the satisfaction to the iust iudgement of God, and in the same flesh suffer the paine that we had deserued. For asmuch as therefore neither being onely God he coulde fele death, nor being onely man he coulde ouercome death, he coupled the nature of man with the nature of God, that he might yelde the one subiect to death to satisfie for sinnes, and by y power of the other he might wrastle with death, and get victorie for vs. They therfore that spoile Christ either of his godhed or of his manhode, do in deede either diminish his maiesty and glory, or obscure his goodnes: but on the other side they do no lesse wrong vnto men whose faith they do therby weaken and querthrow, which can not stād but resting vpon this foundatiō. Beside that, it was to be hoped, that the Redemer shoulde be the sonne of Abraham and Dauid, which God had promised in the lawe and the Prophetes. Wherby the godly mindes do gather this other frute, that being by the very course of his pedigree brought to Dauid and Abraham, they do the more certainly know that this is the same Christ that was spoken of by so many oracles. But this which I euen now declared, is principally to be holden in minde, that the common nature betwene him and vs is a pledge of our felowship with the sonne of God: that he clothed with our flesh vanquished death and sinne together, that the victorie so might be oures and the triumph oures: that he offred vp for sacrifice the flesh that he receyued of vs, that hauing

made satisfaction he might wipe away our guiltinesse, and appease the iust wrath of his father.

4 He that shalbe diligently hede full in considering these thinges as he ought, wil easily neglect these wandring speculations that rauish vnto them light spirites and desirous of noueltie: of which sort is, that Christ should haue been man, although there had been no neede of remedie to redeeme mankind. I graunt that in the first degree of creation, and in the state of nature vncorrupted, he was set as head ouer Angels and men. For which cause Paule calleth him the first begottē of all creatures. But sith all the Scripture crieth out, that he was clothed with flesh, that he might be the Redeemer: it is to much rash presumptiō to imagine any other cause or ende. To what ende Christ was promised from the beginning, it is well enough knowen: euen to restore the world fallen in ruine, and to succour men being lost. Therefore vnder the lawe, the image of him was set forth in sacrifices, to make the faithfull to hope that God woulde be mercifull to them, when after satisfaction made for sinne, he shoulde be reconciled. But whereas in all ages, euen when the lawe was not yet published, the Mediatour was neuer promised without blood: we gather that he was appointed by the eternall counsell of God to purge the filthinesse of men, for that the sheding of blood is a token of expiation. The Prophetes so preached of him, that they promised that he shoulde be the reconciler of God and men. That one specially notable testimonie of

Esa. 53. 45. Esaie shal suffice vs for all, where he foretelleth, that he shalbe stricken with the hande of God for the sinnes of the people, that the chastisement of peace shoulde be vpon him: and that he shoulde be a priest that shoulde offer vp himselfe for sacrifice: that of his woundes should come health to other: and that, bycause all haue strayed and been scattered abroad like sheepe, therefore it pleased God to punish him, that he might beare the iniquities of all. Sith we heare that Christ is properly appointed by God to helpe wretched sinners, who so euer passeth beyond these boundes, he doth to much follow foolish curiositie. Nowe when himselfe was ones come, he affirmed this to be the cause of his comming, to appease God, and gather vs vp from death into

Iohn. 1. 9. life. The same thing did the Apostles testifie of him. So Iohn before that he teacheth that the Worde wrs made flesh, declareth of the falling away of man. But he himselfe is to be hearde before all, when he

Iohn. 1. 14. speaketh thus of his owne office: So God loued the worlde, that he gaue his only begottē sonne, that who so euer beleueth in him should

Iohn. 3. 16. not perish, but haue euerlasting life. Againe: The houre is come that the dead shall heare the voice of the sonne of God, & they that heare

it, shall liue. I am the resurrection and life: he that beleueth in me, al-
though he be dead, shall liue. Againe. The sonne of man cometh to
saue that which was lost. Againe. The whole neede not a Physician.
I shoulde neuer make an ende, if I shoulde reherse all. The Apostles
do all with one consent call vs to this fountaine: And truely if he had
not come to reconcile God, the honor of the priesthode should haue
come to nought. For asmuch as the priest appointed meane betwene
God and man to make intercession: and he should not be our righte-
ousnesse, bycause he was made a sacrifice for vs, that God should not
impute sinnes vnto vs. Finally, he shoulde be spoiled of all the hono-
rable titles, wherewith the Scripture doth set him out. And also that
saying of Paule shoulde proue vaine, that that which was impossible
to the law, God hath sent his owne sonne, that in likenes of the flesh
of sinne he shoulde satisfie for vs. Neither will this stand that he tea-
cheth in an other place, that in this glasse appeared the goodnesse of
God and his infinite goodnesse towarde men, when Christ was geuen
to be the Redemer. Finally, the Scripture euery where assigneth no
other ende, why the sonne of God woulde take vpon him our flesh,
and also receiued this commaundement of his father, but to be made
a sacrifice to appease his father towarde vs. So it is written, and so it
behoued that Christ should suffer, and repentance be preached in his
name. Therefore my father loueth me, bycause I geue my life for the
sheepe, this commaundement he gaue me. As Moses lifted vp the
Serpēt in the desert, so must the sonne of man be lifted vp. In an other
place. Father, saue me from this houre. But I am therfore come euen
to this houre. Father glorifie thy sonne. Where he plainely speaketh
of the ende why he toke flesh, that he might be a sacrifice and satisf-
faction to do away sinne. After the same sorte doth Zacharie pro-
nounce, that he came according to the promise geuen to the fathers,
to geue light to them that sate in the shadow of death. Let vs remem-
ber that all these things are spoken of the sonne of God: in whome
Paule in an other place testifieth, that all the treasures of knowledge
and wisdom are hidden, and byside whome he glorifieth that he
knoweth nothing.

5 If any man take exception & say, that none of all these things
proue the cōtrarie, but that the same Christ that redeemed men being
damned, might also in putting on their flesh testifie his loue towarde
them, being preserued & safe. The aunswere is short, that for asmuch
as the holy Ghost pronounceth, that by the eternall decree of God
these two things were ioyned together, that Christ should be our re-
deemer, and also partaker of all one nature with vs, therefore it is not

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lawfull for vs to search any further. For who so euer is tickled with desire to knowe any more, he being not contented with the vncchangeable ordinance of God, doth shewe also that he is not contented with the same Christ that was geuen vs to be the price of our redemption. But Paule not onely reherseth to what ende he was sente, but also climbing to the hye misterie of the predestination, he very fitly represseth all wantonnesse and itching desire of mans wit. The father

Eph. 4. chose vs in Christ before the creation of the worlde, to make vs his
5. sonnes by adoption, according to the purpose of his will: and he accepted vs in his beloued sonne, in whom we haue redemption by his bloude. Truly here is not the fall of Adam set before as though it were formost in time, but is shewed what God determined before all ages, when his wil was to helpe the miserie of mankinde. If the aduersarie objecte againe, that this purpose of God did hang vpon the fall of man which he did foresee: it is enough and more for me, to say, that they with wicked boldnesse breake forth to faine them a new Christ, who so euer suffer themselues to searche for more, or hope to know more of Christ thā God hath foreappointed them by his secret decree. And for good cause did Paule, after he had so discoursed of

Eph. 3. the proper office of Christ, wish to the Ephesians the spirite of vn-
16. derstanding, to comprehend what is the length, heygth, bredth, and depth, euen the loue of Christ that surmounteth all knowledge: euen as if of purpose he would set barres about our mindes, that when mētiō is made of Christ, they should not, be it neuer so litle, swarue from the grace of reconciliation. Wherefore, siſte this is a faithfull saying

1. Tim. (as Paule testifieth) that Christ is come to saue sinners, I do gladly rest
1. 15. in the same. And wheras in an other place the same Apostle teacheth, that the grace which is nowe disclosed by the Gospell, was geuen vs in Christ before the times of the worlde: I determine that I ought constantly to abide therein to the ende. Against this modestie Oflander carpeth vniustly which hath againe in this time unhappily stirred this question before lightly moued by a fewe. He accuseth them of presumption that say, that the sonne of God should not haue appered in the flesh, if Adam had not fallen, bycause this inuention is confuted by no testimonie of Scripture. As though Paule did not bridle forward curiositie, when after he had spoken of redemption purchaced

Tim. 3. 9 by Christ, he by and by commaundeth to auoide foolish questions. The madnesse of some did burst out so farre, that while they disorderly coueted to seeme witty, they moued this question, whether the Sonne of God might haue taken vpon him the nature of an Asse. This monstrousnes which all the godly do worthily abhorre as de-

testa-

testable, let Osiander confute with this pretence that it is neuer expressly confuted in the Scripture. As though when Paule accompreth nothing precious or worthy to be knowen, but Christ crucified, he doth therefore admit an Assle to be the author of saluation. Therefore he that in an other place reporteth, that Christ by the eternall counsell of his father was ordeined to be a head to gather all thinges together: will neuer the more acknowledge an other that hath no office of redeming apointed him. Eph. 4
22.

6 But as for the principle that he braggeth of, it is very trifling. He would haue it, that man was created after the image of God, bycause he was fashioned after the paterne of Christ to come, that he might resemble him, whome the father had already decreed to clothe with our flesh. Wherevpon he gathereth, that if Adam had neuer fallen fro his first and vncorrupted originall state, yet Christ should haue bene man. How trifling this is & wrested, all men that haue sounde iudgement, do easily perceiue of themselves. In the meane time first he thinketh that he hath seene what was the image of God, that forsooth the glorie of God did not onely shine in those excellent giftes wherewith he was garnished, but also that God himselfe essentially dwelt in him. But as for me, although I graunt that Adam did beare the image of God, in so much as he was ioyned to God, (which is the true & hyest perfection of dignitie) yet I say, that the likenesse of God is no where els to be sought, but in those markes of excellencie wherewith he had garnished Adam aboue other liuing creatures. And that Christ was then the image of God, all men doe graunt with one consent, and therefore that what so euer excellencie was grauen in Adam, it proceeded from this, that by the onely begotten sonne he approached to the glorie of his creator. Therefore man was created after the image of Gene. 1. God, in whome the creators will was to haue his glorie seene as in 27. a looking glasse. To this degree of honour was he aduanced by the benefite of the onely begotten sonne: But I say further, that the same sonne was a common head as well to Angels as to men, so that the same dignitie that was bestowed vpon man, did also belong vnto Angels. For when we heare them called the children of God, it were inconuenient to denie, that there is something in them wherein they resemble their father. Nowe if his will was to haue his glorie to be represented as well in Angels as in menne, and to be seene in both natures, Osiander doth fondely trifle in sayinge, that the Angels were then set behinde menne, bycause they did not beare the image of Christ. For they coule not continually enioy the present beholding of God, vnlesse they were like him. And Paul teacheth, that men are Gala. 3.

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no otherwise renewed after the image of God, but if they be coupled with Angels, that they may cleave together vnder one head. Finally, if we beleue Christ, this shalbe our last felicitie, to be made of like forme to the Angels, when we shalbe receyued vp into heauen. But if Osiander will conclude, that the originall paterne of the image of God was in Christ as he is man, by the same reason a manne may say, that Christ must needs haue been partaker of the nature of Angels, bycause the image of God pertaineth also to them.

7 Therefore, Osiander hath no cause to feare, that God shoulde be found a lier, vnlesse it had ben first stedfastly and vnchangeably decreed in his minde, to haue his sonne incarnate: bycause if the integritie of Adam had not fallen, he shoulde with the Angels haue ben like vnto God, and yet it shoulde not therefore haue ben necessarie, that the sonne of God shoulde be made either man or Angel. And in vaine he feareth that absurditie, least vnlesse the vnchangeable counsell of God had been before the creation of man that Christ shoulde be borne, not as the redemer but as the first man, he shoulde haue lost his prerogatiue: for asmuch as now he shoulde be borne man onely by an accident cause, that is to restore man kinde being lost, and so it might be gathered therevpon, that Christ was created after the image of Adam. For why shoulde he so muche abhorre that which

Hebr. 4. the Scripture so openly teacheth, that he was made like vnto vs in all
15. things, except sinne? Wherevpon Luke doubteth not to reckon him
Luke 3. the sonne of Adam in his Genealogie. And I woulde faine know why
38. Paule calleth Christ the second Adam, but bycause the estate of man
1. Cor. was appointed for him, that he might raise vp the posteritie of Adam
15-47. out of their ruine. For if he were in order before that creation, he
shoulde haue been called the first Adam. Osiander boldly affirmeth,
that bycause Christ was alredey before knowen man in the minde of
God, men were formed after the same paterne. But Paule in naming
him the second Adam, setteth meane betwene the first beginning of
man and the restitution which we obtaine by Christ, the fall of man
wherby grew the necessity to haue nature restored to her first degree.
Wherupō it foloweth, that this same was the cause why the sonne of
God was borne to become man. In the meane time, Osiander rea-
soneth ill and vnsauorily, that Adam, so long as he had stande without
falling, shoulde haue bin the image of himselfe and not of Christ. I
aunswere by the contrarie, bycause though the sonne of God had
neuer put on flesh, neuerthelesse both in the body and in the soule
of man shoulde haue shined the image of God, in the bright beames
whercof it alway appered, that Christ is verily the head, and hath the
soue-

Soueraigne supremicie in all. And so is that foolish subtletie assoyled, which Oslander bloweth abroad, that the Angels shoulde haue lacked this head, vnlesse it had bene purposed by God to clothe his sonne with flesh, yea though there had bine no fault of Adam. For he doth to rashly snatche holde of that which no manne in his right wit will graunt, that Christ hath no supremicie ouer Angels, that they shoulde haue him for their Prince, but in so much as he is man. But it is easily gathered by the wordes of Paule, that in as much as he is the eternall worde of God, he is the first begotten of all creatures: not that he is create, or ought to be reckened among creatures: but because the state of the worlde in integritie, such as it was at the beginning garnished with excellent beautie, had no other originall: and then, that in as much as he was made man, he was the first begotten of the dead. For the Apostle in one shorte clause setteth forth both these pointes to be considered: that all thinges were create by the sonne, that he might beare rule ouer Angels: and that he was made man, that he might beginne to be the redemer. Of like ignoraunce is it that he saith, that men shoulde not haue had Christ to their king, if he had not bene man. As though the kingdome of God coulde not stand, if the eternall sonne of God, although not clothed with the flesh of man, gathering together both Angels and men into the felowship of his heavenly glorie and life, shoulde himselfe beare the soueraintie. But in this false principle he is alway deceyued, or rather deceyueth himselfe, that the Church shoulde haue bene without a head, vnlesse Christ had appeared in the flesh. As though, euen as the Angels enioyed him their heade, he coulde not likewise by his diuine power rule ouer men, and by the secret force of his spirite quicken and nourish them like his owne body, till being gathered vp into heauen, they might enioy all one life with the Angels. These trifles that I haue herherto confuted, Oslander accompteth for most strong oracles: euen so as being dronke with the sweetenesse of his owne speculations, he vseth to blowe out fonde Bacchus cries of matters of nothing. But this one that he bringeth after, he saith is much more strong, that is the prophecie of Adam, which, seying his wife said, this now is a bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. But howe proueth he that to be a prophecie? Bycause in Matthew Christ geueth the same saying to God. As though that what so euer God hath spoken by men, conteyneth some prophecie. Let Oslander seeke prophcies in euery commaundement of the lawe, which, it is certaine so haue come from God the author of them. Beside that, Christ should haue bene grosse and earthly, if he had rested vpon the literall

Colof. 1
15.

Colof. 1
18.
Colof. 1
16.

Gen. 1.
18.

Cap. 13. Of the knowledge of

sense. Bycause he speaketh not of the mysticall vnion wherevnto he hath vouchsafed to receiue his church, but only of faithfulness betweene man and wife: for this cause he teacheth, that God prouounced that man and wife shalbe one flesh, that no man shoulde attempt to breake that insoluble knot by diuorce. If Osiander loth this simplicitie, let him blame Christ, for that he led not his disciples further to a misterie, in more suttely expounding the saying of his father. Neither yet doth Paule mainteine his error, which after he had said that we are flesh of the flesh of Christ, by and by addeth, that this is a great misterie, for his purpose was not to tell in what meaning Adam spake it, but vnder the figure and similitude of mariage, to set forth the holy coupling together, that maketh vs one with Christ. And so doe the wordes sound. Bycause when he geueth warning that he speaketh this of Christ and his church, he doth as it were by way of correction, seuer the spirituall ioyning of Christ and his church from the lawe of mariage. Wherefore this fickle reason easily vanisheth away. And I thinke I neede no more to shake vp any more of that sort of chaffe, bycause the vanitie of them all his sone found out by this short confutation. But this sobriety shall abundantly suffice to feede soundly the children of God: that when the fulnesse of times was come, the sonne of God was sent, made of woman, made vnder the lawe, to redeeme them that were vnder the lawe.

The xiiij. Chapter.

That Christ took vpon him the true substance of the flesh of man.

NOwe, vnlesse I be deceiued, it were superfluous to entreate againe of the godhead of Christ, which hath already in another place ben proued with plaine and strong testimonies. It remaineth therefore to be seene, howe he being clothed with our flesh, hath fulfilled the office of Mediatour. The trueth of his humaine nature hath in the olde time ben impugned both by the Manichees and the Marcionites: of whome, the Marcionites fained a ghost in stede of the body of Christ, and the Manichees dreamed that he had a heauenly flesh. But both many and strong testimonies of the Scripture do stand against them both. For the blessing is promised neither in a heauenly seede, nor in the couterfaite shape of man, but in the seede of Abraham and Iacob. Neither is the eternal throne promised to a man made of aire, but to the sonne of Dauid & to the frute of his wombe. Therefore being deliuered in the flesh, he is called the sonne of Dauid and Abraham: not bycause he is onely borne

of

Gen. 17.
2. and
12. 18.
and 26.
4.
Psal. 45.
7.

of the wombe of the Virgine, and create in the aire, but because (as ^{Matt. 1.} Paule expoundeth it) he is according to the flesh made of the seede of ^{1.} Dauid: as in an other place the Apostle teacheth, that he descended ^{Rom. 1.} of the Iewes. For which cause the Lord himselfe not contented with ^{3.} the bare name of man, doth oftentimes call himselfe the sonne of ^{Rom. 9.} man, meaning to expresse more plainly that he was man truely issued of the seede of mankinde. Sith the holy Ghost hath so oft by so many meanes with so great diligence and simplicitie declared a thing not obscure of it selfe, who woulde haue thought any men to be so shamelesse as to presume yet to spread mistes to darken it? And yet we haue other testimoniés at hand, if we list to heape vp more of them. As is that saying of Paule: that God sent his sonne made of woman. ^{Gal. 4. 4} And innumerable other places, whereby appeareth that he was subject to hungre, thirst, colde, & other infirmities of our nature. But out of many these are chiefly to be chosen, that may most auaille to edifie our mindes in true confidence. As, where it is said, that he gaue not ^{Hebr. 2.} so great honour to the Angels, as to take their nature vpon him: but ^{16.} toke our nature, that in flesh & bloud he might, by death, destroy him that had the power of death. Againe, that by benefite of that communicating we are reckened his brethren. Againe, that he ought to ^{Hebr. 1.} haue bine made like vnto his brethren, that he might be made a mer- ^{10. and} cifull and faithfull intercessour: that we haue not a Bishop that can ^{17.} not be compatiēt of our infirmities. And such like. And for the same ^{Hebr. 4.} purpose serueth that which we touched a litle before, that it behoued ^{15.} that the sinnes of the worlde shoulde be cleansed in our flesh: Which Paule plainly affirmeth. And truely, what so euer the father hath geuen to Christ, it doth therefore belong to vs, because he is the head, ^{Rom. 8.} from which the whole body being knit together, groweth into one. ^{3.} Yea, and otherwise that will not agree together, which is said: that the ^{Iohn. 1.} Spirit was geuen him without measure, that all we shoulde drawe ^{16.} of the fulnesse thereof. For asmuch as there is no greater absurditie than to say, that God is enriched in his essence by any accidentall gifte. And for this cause Christ saith in an other place: I do sanctifie my selfe for them. ^{Ioh. 17.} ^{19.}

2 As for the places that they bring forth to confirme their errour, they do to vnaptly wrest them, and they nothing preuaile by their trifling suttelties, when they goe about to wipe away those thinges that I haue alleged for our part. Marcion imagineth that Christ did put on a fantastical body in stede of a true body: because in some places it is said, that he was made after the likenesse of man, and that he ^{Phil. 2.} was founde in shape as a manne. But so he nothing weyeth what is ^{7.}

Pauls purpose in that place. For his meaning is not to teach what manner of body Christ toke vpon him, but that whereas he might haue shewed forth his godhead, he made none other shewe of himselfe, but as of an abiect and vnregarded man. For, to exhorte vs by his example to submission, he sheweth, that for asmuch as he was God, he might haue by and by set forth his glory to be seene to the worlde: but yet that he gaue ouer some of his owne right; and of his owne accord abaced himselfe, bycause he did put on the image of a seruant and contended with that humilitie, suffred his godhed to be hidden with the veile of the flesh. He doth not here teach what Christ was; but how he behaued himselfe. And also by the whole processe of the texte it is easily gathered, that Christ was abaced in the true nature of manne. For what meaneth this, that in shape he was founde as man, but that for a time the glorie of his godhead did not shine forth, but only the shape of man appeared in base and abiect estate? For other-

1. Pet. 3.
18. wise that place of Peter could not stande together, that he was dead in the flesh, but quickened in the spirite, if the sonne of God had not bene weake in the nature of man: which Paule expresth more plaine-ly in sayeng, that he suffred by reason of the weakenesse of the flesh.

2. Cor.
13. 4. And herevnto serueth the exaltation: bycause it is expressely said, that Christ attained a new glorie after that he abaced himselfe, which could not well agree to be spoken of any, but of a man hauing flesh and soule. Manichees framed Christ a body of aire, bycause Christ is called the second Adam, heavenly of heauen. But neither in that place doth the Apostle bring in a heavenly essence of the body, but a spirituall force which being poured abroad by Christ, doth quicken vs. Nowe, as we haue already seene, Peter and Paule doe seuer the same from his fleshe. But rather that doctrine which is receiued among the true teachers, concerning the flesh of Christ, is very well proued by that place. For if Christ had not all one nature of body with vs, it were a very vaine argument, that Paule with such vehemencie followeth: that if Christ be risen againe, we shall also rise againe: and if we do not rise, then that Christ also is not risen. By what cauillations so euer either the olde Manichees or their new Disciples goe about to escape, they shall not winde them selues away. It is a fowle shifte, that they fondely say, that Christ is called the sonne of manne, in so much as he is promised of menne. For it is plaine, that after the Hebrew phraze, very man in deede is called the Sonne of manne. And Christ without doubte kepte the phraze of his owne tongue. Also it ought to make no question, what ought to be vnder-

7. Cor.
15. 16. stood by the children of Adam, And (not to go farre of) the place of the

of the eight Psalmes, which the Apostles apply to Christ, shalbe sufficient enough : What is man that thou art mindefull of him , or the sonne of man , that thou visitest him ? In this figure is expressed the true manhoode of Christ . For though he were not immediatly begotten of a mortall father, yet his race came frō Adam. For else that place could not stande which we haue already alleaged that Christ is made partaker of flesh and blood, that he might gather to him yonge children to the seruice of God. In which words it is plainly determined, that Christ is made fellow & partaker of all one nature with vs. In which meaninge also he sayth , that both the author of holinesse & they that are made holy, are all of one. For it is proued by the processe of the text, that the same is referred to the fellowship of nature: because he by and by addeth, Therefore he is not ashamed to call them brethren. For if he had said before, that the faithfull are of God in so great dignity, what cause should there be to be ashamed? But because Christ of his infinite grace doth ioynne himselfe to the base & vnnoble therefore it is sayd, that he is not ashamed. But in vaine they object, that by this meane the wicked shall become the brethren of Christ: because we know that the children of God are not borne of flesh and blood, but of the holy Ghost by faith. Therefore onely flesh maketh not a brotherly ioynninge. But although the Apostle giue this honor to y^e faithfull only, to be of one with Christ, yet it followeth not, but that the wicked may be borne of the same originall. As when we say that Christ was made man, to make vs the sonnes of God: this saying extendeth not to all men, because faith is the meane which spiritually graffeth vs. into the body of Christ . Also they foolishly moue a brawle about the name of First begottē. They say that Christ should haue bin borne of Adam streight at the beginning , that he might be the first begotten amonge brethren. For the title of First begotten, is not referred to age, but to the degree of honor, and excellence of power. And more colour hath that which they bable, that Christ tooke to him man and not Angels, because he receiued mankind into fauour. For, to set out more largely the honor which God vouchsafed to giue vs, he cōpared the Angels with vs, which were in this behalfe set behinde vs. And if y^e testimony of Moses be well weyed, where he sayth that the seede of the woman shall breake the serpentes heade, it shall vtterly ende the controuersie. For only Christ is not there spoken of, but all mankind . Because the victory was to be gotten by Christ for vs, he generally pronounceth that the posterity of the woman should get the vpper hand of y^e Deuil. Whereupon followeth, that Christ issued of mankind, because it was Gods purpose there to raise

Heb. 2.
14

Rom. 8.
29.

He. 2. 16

Ge. 3. 15

vp Eue, whom he spake vnto with good hope, that she shoulde not faint with sorow.

3 They do no lesse wickedly than foolishly entangle with allegories these testimonies where Christ is called the seede of Abraham, and the frute of the wombe of Dauid. For if the name of Seede had bin spoken in an allegory,truely Paul would not haue left it vntolde, where he plainly & without figure affirmeth, that there are not many sonnes of Abraham redemers, but one Christ. Of like sorte is it that they alleage: that he is no otherwise called the sonne of Dauid, but because he was promised and at length in his due time deliuered. For after that Paule had once named him the sonne of God: in that

Gal. 3. 16 he byandby addeth, According to the flesh, he truely meaneth of nature. And so in the 9 chapter callinge him the blessed God, he sayth seuerally beside, that accordinge to the flesh he descended of the Iewes. Nowe if he were not truely begotten of the seede of Dauid, to what purpose shalbe this sayinge, that he is the frute of his wombe?

Rom. 1. 3. What meaneth this promise? Out of thy loynes shal he descende, that shall abide in thy seate. Now in the Genealogie of Christ, as it is rehearsed of Matthew, they do Sophistically mocke. For though he do not rehearse the parêtes of Marie but of Ioseph, yet because he speaketh of a thing sufficiently knowē abrode among the people, he reckoneth it enough to shew that Ioseph came of the seede of Dauid, when it was well knownen that Mary was of the same stocke. But Luke more preffeth them in teaching that saluation brought by Christ, is cōmon to all mankind: because Christ the author of saluation proceeded frō Adam the common parent of all. I graunt in dede, that by the Genealogie it can none otherwise be gathered that Christ was the sonne of Dauid, but in so much as he was begotten of the Virgine. But the newe Marcionites to colour their errour do to proudly, in this that to proue that Christ tooke his body of nothing, they affirme that women are seedeles, and so they ouerthrow the principles of nature. But because that is no question of diuinity, & the reasons that they bringe are so fickle, that they may very easily be confuted: therefore I will not touch those thinges that belong to Philosophie and Phisike, and will hold me contented to wipe away those thinges that they alleage out of Scripture: that is, that Aaron and Ioiadah tooke wiues of the tribe of Iehudah, & so the difference of tribes had then bin confounded, if woman hadde engendringe seede in her. But it is well enough knownen y as touching ciuile order, the kindreds are reckened by the sede of the man, & yet the excellency of the kinde of man aboue woman proueth not the contrary, but that in generatiō the seede of wo-

man

man must meete. And this solution extendeth to all the Genealogies. Oftentimes when the Scripture reckoneth vp a Genealogie, it nameth the mē only:shal we therfore say,that the women are nothing? But very children do know,that women are comprehended vnder the name of men. And after this sorte it is said, that women bring forth to their husbandes,because the name of the household alway remaineth with the males. Now as this is graunted to the excellency of the male kinde, that the children are compted noble or vnnoble, according to the estate of their fathers:so also in the state of bondage the issue followeth the wombe,according to the iudgement of the Ciuile lawyers. Whereby we may gather, that the issue is engendred of the seede of the woman. And it hath of long time bin receiued in common vse of al nations,that the mothers are called Genetrices,that is engēdrers. Wherwith Gods law alsoagreeth,which else should wrōgfully forbid y mariage of he vacle with his sisters daughter, because there were no consanguinity betwene them: and also it were lawfull for a man to marry his sister by the mothers side, so that she were begotten of an other father But as I graunt that there is a passiue power ascribed to women,so do I answere that the same thing is indifferently spoken of them that is of men. And Christ himselfe is not sayd to Ga.4.4 be made by the woman, but of the woman. But some of their company shaking of all shame do too leudly aske,whether we wil say that Christ was engendred of the menstruall seede of the Virgine, for I will likewise aske of them,whether he did not congele in the bloud of his mother,which they shalbe constrained to confesse. Therefore it is fitly gathered of Matthewes words,that because Christ was begotten of Marie, he was engendred of her seede:as a like engendringe is meant when it is sayd, y Booz was begotten of Rahab. Neither doth Mat.1.3 Matthew here describe the Virgine as a conduit pipe through which Christ passed: but he seuereth this maruellous maner of generation from the common maner,for that by her Christ was begotten of the seede of Dauid. For euen in the same sorte, that Isaac was begotten of Abraham, Salomon of Dauid, and Ioseph of Iacob, likewise it is sayd that Christ was begotten of his mother. For the Euangelist so frameth the order of his speach, and willinge to proue that Christ came of Dauid,is contented with this one reason,that he was begotten of Marie. Wherby it followeth, that he tooke it for a matter confessed,that Marie was of kinne to Ioseph.

4 The absurdities wherewith they woulde charge vs, are stuffed full of childish caullations. They thinke it a shame and dishonor to Christ,if he should haue takē his original of men:because so he could

Cap. 13.

Of the knowledge of

Ro. 5. 12
1. Cor.
15. 47.
Ro. 8. 3.
not be exempt from the vniuersall law that enloseth all the offspring of Adam without exception, vnder sinne. But the comparison that we read in Paule doth easily asswoyle this dout: that as by one man came sinne, and by sinne death, so by the righteousnesse of one man grace hath abounded. Wherewith also agreeth an other comparison of his: the first Adam of earth, earthly and naturall, the seconde of heauen, heavenly. Therefore in an other place, the same Apostle, where he teacheth that Christ was sent in the likenes of sinfull flesh to satisfie the law, doth so expressely seuer him from the common estate of men, that he be very man without fault and corruption. But very childishly they trifle in reasoning thus: If Christ be free from all spot, and was by the secrete workinge of the holy Ghost begotten of the seede of Marie, then is not the womans seede, but onely the mans seede vncleane. For we do not make Christ free frō all spot, for this cause y he is only engendred of his mother without copulation of man, but because he is sanctified by the holy Ghost, that the generation might be pure and vncorrupted, such as should haue bin before the fall of Adam. And this alway remained stedfastly determined with vs, that so oft as the scripture putteth vs in minde of the cleanness of Christ, it is meant of his true nature of manhoode: because it were superfluous to say that God is cleane. Also the sanctification that he speaketh of in the seuteene of Iohn, could haue no place in the nature of God. Neither are there fained two seedes of Adam, although there came no infection to Christ: because the generation of mā is not vncleane or vicious of it selfe, but accidentall by his falling. Therefore it is no maruell, if Christ, by whom the estate of innocency was to be restored, were exempt from common corruption. And wheras also they thrust this vpon vs for an absurdity, y if the Word of God did put on flesh, then was it enclosed in a narrow prison of an earthly body: this is but mere waywardnes: because although the infinite effe of the Word did growe together into one person with the nature of man: yet do we faine no enclosing of it. For the Sonne of God descended maruelously from heauen, so as yet he left not heauen, it was his will to be maruelously borne in the Virgins wombe, to be conuersant in earth, & hang vpon the crosse, yet that he alway filled the world euen as at the beginning.

The xiiii. Chapter.

Howe the two natures of the Mediatour do make one person.

Now

NOW where it is sayd, that the Word was made flesh: that is not so to be vnderstanded, as though it were either turned into flesh, or confusely mingeled with flesh, but because he chose him a temple of the Virgins wombe to dwell in: he that was the Sonne of God, became also the sonne of man, not by confusion of substance, but by vnity of person. For we so affirme the godheade ioyned and vnited to the manhoode, that either of them haue their whole property remaining, and yet of them both is made one Christ. If any thing in all worldly things may be founde like to so great a mysterie, the similitude of man is most fitte, whom we see to consist of two substances, whereof yet neither is so mingeled with other, but that either keepeth the property of his owne nature. For neither is the soule the body, nor the body the soule. Wherefore both that thing may be seuerally spoken of the soule, which can no way agree with the body: and likewise of the body that thing may be sayd, which can by no meane agree with the soule: and that may be said of the whole man, which can be but vnfitly taken neither of the soule nor of the body seuerally. Finally, the properties of the soule are sometime attributed to the body, and the properties of the body sometime to the soule: and yet he that consulteth of them is but one man and not many. But such formes of speech do signifie both that there is one person in man compounded of two natures knit together, and that there are two diuerse natures which do make the same person. And so do the Scriptures speake of Christ: Sometime they giue vnto him those things that ought singularly to be referred to his manhoode, & sometime those things that do peculiarly belong to his godhead, & sometime those things that do comprehend both natures, & do agree with neither of them seuerally. And this conioyning of the two natures y^e are in Christ, they do with such religiousnes expresse, that sometime they do put them in common together: which figure is among the old authors called, Communicating of properties.

2. These things were but weake, vnles many phrascs of Scripture, and such as be echwhere ready to finde, did proue that nothing hereof hath bin deuised by man. That same thing which Christ spake of himselfe, saying: Before that Abraham was, I am: was farre disagreeing Ioh. 8. from his manhoode. Neither am I ignorant with what cauillation 58. the erroneous spirites do deprauce this place: for they say that he was before all ages, because he was already foreknowen the Redemer, as well in the counsell of the father, as in the mindes of the godly. But where as he openly distinguisheth the day of his manifestation from his eternall essence, & of purpose pronounceth vnto himselfe an as-

Cap. 14. Of the knowledge of

thority by antiquity wherein he excelleth aboue Abraham, he doth vndoubtedly chalenge to himselfe that which is proper to the God-head. Whereas Paul affirmeth that he is the first begotten of all creatures, which was before all things, & by whom all things keepe their being: & wheras he himselfe reporteth that he was in glory with the father before the creatiō of the world, & y he worketh together with the father: these things do nothing more agree with y nature of men. It is therfore certaine, that these and such like are peculiarly ascribed to the godhead. But whereas he is called the seruant of the father: and wheras it is said, that he grew in age, wisdom & fauour with God and men: that he seketh not his owne glory: that he knoweth not the last day: that he speaketh not of himselfe: that he doth not his owne will: where it is sayd, that he was seene and felt: this wholly belongeth to his only manhode. For in the respect that he is God, neither can he encrease in any thinge, and he worketh all thinges for his owne sake, neither is any thing hidden from him, he doth all thinges according to the free choise of his owne will, and can neither be seene nor felt. And yet he doth not seuerally ascribe these things to his nature of mā only, but taketh the vpon himselfe, as if they did agree with the person of the mediatur. But the communicinge of properties is in this that Paul saith, that God did by his owne blood purchase vnto him a Church: and the Lord of glory crucified Againe, where Iohn sayth, that the Word of life was felt. Truly God neither hath blood, nor suffereth, nor can be touched with handes. But because he which was both very God & man, Christ being crucified, did shed his blood for vs: those thinges that were done in his nature of man, are vnproperly, and yet not without reason giuen to his godhead. A like example is, where Iohn teacheth that God gaue his soule for vs: therefore there also the property of the manhode is cōmunicate with the other nature. Againe, when Christ sayd being yet conuersant in earth, that no man hath ascended into heauē, but the sonne of man that was in heauen: truly according to his manhode, and in the flesh that he had put on, he was not the in heauen: but because himselfe was both God and man, by reason of the vniy of both natures, he gaue to the one that, which belonged to the other.

3 But most plainly of all do these places set forth the true substance of Christ, which do comprehend both natures together: of which sort there are very many in the gospell of him. For that which is there red is singularly belonging neither to his godhead nor to his manhode; but both together: y he hath receiued of his father power to forgiue sinnes, to raise vp whom he will, to giue righteousness, holinesse and saluation

Colo. 1.
15.
Ioh. 17.
5.
Ioh. 5.
17.

Esa. 42.1
Lu. 1.52
Ioh. 8.
50.
Matt. 13
Ioh. 14
10. & 6.
36.
Luc. 24.
39.

Act. 20.
28.
1. Cor. 2
6.
1. Ioh. 1.
2.

2. Ioh. 3.
16.
Ioh. 3.
13.

Ioh. 1.
19. & 5.
21.

saluation, to be made iudge ouer the quicke & the dead, to be honored euen as the father is : Finally, that he is called the light of the world, the good shepherd, the only dore, the true Vine. For such prerogatiues had y^e sonne of God, whē he was shewed in the flesh: which although he enioyed with his father before the worlde was made, yet he had thē not in the same maner or the same respect, & which could not be giuē to such a man as was nothing but man. In the same meaning ought we to take that which is in Paule : that Christ after the iudgement ended, shall yeelde vp the kingdom to God & the father: Euen the kingdom of the sonne of God, which had no beginning, nor shall haue any ending: but euen as he lay hid vnder the baseness of the flesh, and abaced himselfe, takinge vpon him the forme of a seruauant, and layinge aside the porte of maiesty, he shewed himselfe obedient to his father: & hauing performed all such subiection, at length is crowned with honor & glory, & auanced to the highest dominion, that all knees shall bow before him: so shall he then yeelde vp to his father both that name & crowne of glory, & whatsoever he hath receiued of his father, that God may be all in all. For to what purpose is power & dominion giuen him, but that the father should gouerne vs by his hande? In which sense it is also sayd, that he sitteth at y^e right hand of the father. But this is but for a time, til we may enioy the present beholding of the godhead. And here the error of y^e old fathers can not be excused, which while they tooke no heede to the person of the Mediatour, haue obscured y^e natural meaning of almost all the doctrine that is read in the gospell of Iohn, & haue entangled themselves in many snares. Let this therefore be vnto vs the key of right vnderstanding, that such things as belong to the office of the Mediatour, are not spokē simply of the nature of God, nor of the nature of man. Therefore, Christ shal reigne til he come forth to iudge y^e world, in somuch as he ioyneth vs to his father, according to the smale measure of our weakenesse. But when we beinge made partakers of the heavenly glory, shall see God such as he is, thē he hauing performed the office of Mediatour, shall cease to be the embassadour of his father, & shalbe cōtented with that glory which he enioyed before the makinge of the worlde. And the name of Lord doth in no other respect peculiarly agree with the person of Christ, but in this, that it signifieth y^e meane degree betwene God & vs. For which purpose maketh y^e saying of Paul: One God, of whom are all things, & one Lord, by whom are all things, euen he to whom the dominion for a time is cōmitted by the father, vntil his diuine maiesty be to be seene face to face. Fro^m whom so far is it of that any thing shall decay, by yelding vp

Ioh. 9.5

Ioh. 28. 1.

1. Cor.

24

Phil. 2.8

He. 2.6.

Phil. 2.

10.

1. Cor.

15. 28.

1. Cor. 8

6.

Cap. 14. Of the knowledge of

the dominion to his father, that he shall become so much the more glorious. For then shall God also cesse to be y head of Christ because Christes godheade shall then shine of it selfe, whereas yet it is couered with a certaine veile.

4 And this obseruation shall do no small seruice to assoile many doutes, if the readers do fitly apply it. For it is maruelous how much the vnskilfull, yea some not viterly vnlearned, are combred with such formes of speech, which they see spoken by Christ, which do well agree neither with his godheade nor with his manhoode: because they consider not that they do agree with his person wherein he is shewed both God and man, and with the office of Mediatour. And it is alway easie to see, how well all things hang together, if they haue a sober expositour, to examine so great misteries with such deuout reuerence as they ought to be. But there is nothing that these furious and phrentike spirites trouble not. They catch hold of those things that are spoken of his manhoode, to take away his Godhead: and likewise of those things that are spoken of his godhead to take away his manhoode: and of those things that are so ioynly spoken of both natures, that they seuerally agree with neither, to take away both. But what is that else but to say, that Christ is not man, because he is God: and that he is not God, because he is man: and that he is neither man nor God, because he is both man and God? We therefore do determine that Christ, as he is both God and man, consisting of both natures, vnited, though not confounded, is our Lord and the true sonne of God, euen according to this manhoode, though not by reason of his manhoode. For the error of Nestorius is to be driuen far away from vs, which when he went about rather to draw in sunder, than to distinguish the nature, did by y meane imagine a double Christ. Whereas we see that the Scripture crieth out with loude voice against it, where both the name of the sonne of God is giuen to him that was borne of the Virgine, & the Virgine her selfe is called the mother of our Lorde. We must also beware of the madnesse of Eutiches, least while we go about to shew the vnity of the person, we destroy either nature. For we haue already alleaged so many testimonies, & there are euery where so many other to be alleaged, where his Godhead is distinguished from his manhoode, as may stop the mouthes euen of the most contentious, And a litle herafter I will adioine some testimonies, to confute better that fained deuise, but at this present, one place shal cōtent vs. Christ would not haue called his body a Temple, vnlesse the Godhead did distinctly dwel therein. Wherefore as Nestorius was worthily condemned in the synode at Ephesus, so also was Eutiches afterward

Aug. in
enchir.
ad Lau-
rent. ca.
36.

Lu. 1. 33
& 44.

Ioh. 2.
19.

ward condemned in the synodes of Constantinople and Chalcedon: forasmuch as it is no more lawfull to confounde the two natures in Christ, than it is to draw them in sunder.

5 But in our age also there hath risen vp no les pestilent a móster, Machaell Seruettus which did thrust in place of the sonne of God, a fained thing made of the essence of God, of spirit, flesh & three elementes vncreate. And first he denieth that Christ is by any other way the sonne of God, but in this that he was begotten of y^e holy ghost in the wombe of the Virgine. But to this ende tendeth his surlery, that the distinctiō of y^e two natures being once ouerthrowē, Christ might be thought to be a certaine thing mingled of God & man, & yet neither God nor man. For in his whole processe he trauaileth toward this point, that before Christ was opēly shewed in the flesh, there were on-ly certaine shadowish figures in God, wherof the trueth or effect then at length was in beinge, when that word which was ordained to that honor, began truly to be the sonne of God. And we in dede do confesse that the Mediatour which is borne of the Virgin, is properly the sonne of God. For Christ in that he is man, could not be the mirror of the inestimable fauour of God, vnlesse this dignity were giuen him to be, and be called the onely begotten sonne of God. But in the meane season the definitiō of the Church standeth stedfastly grounded, that he is compted the sonne of God, because he being the Word begotten of the father before all worlds, did by hypostaticall vnion take vpō him the nature of man. Now the hypostaticall vniō is called with the olde fathers, that which maketh one person of two natures, which phrase of speach was deuised to ouerthrow the doting error of Nestorius, because he fained that the sonne of God did so dwell in flesh, that yet he the same was not man. Seruettus sleaundereth vs, that we make two sonnes of God when we say that the eternall Word was already the sonne of God before that it was clothed with flesh, as if we did say any thing else but that he was manifested in the flesh. Neither doth it follow, that if he were God before that he was man, he began to be a new God. And no more absurdity it is to say, that the sonne of God appeared in the flesh, which yet had this alway from eternall be-getting to be the Sonne, which the Angels words to Mary do secretly shew, That holy thing y^e shall be borne of thee, shall be called y^e sonne of God: as if he should haue sayd, that the name of the Sonne which was obscure in time of the law, should now become famous and eue-ry where knowen abroade. Wherewith agreeth that saying of Paul, Ro. 8.15 that now by Christ we are the children of God, freely & with bold-nesse to crie Abba, Father. But were not the holy fathers in the olde

Cap. 14. Of the knowledge of

time also accompted amonge the children of God? Yea: and bearing them bold vpon that interest, they called vpon God by name of their Father. But because since $\hat{y}$ only begotten sonne of God was brought forth into the world, the heavenly fatherhode is become more plainly knowen: therefore Paul assigneth this, as it were, a priuilege to the kingdom of Christ. But yet this is stadfastly to be holdē, that God neuer was father either to Angels or men, but in respect of the only begotten sonne: and that men specially, whom their owne wickednesse maketh hateful to God, are his children by free adoption because he is the sonne of God by nature. And there is no cause why Seruettus should cauil, that this hangeth vpon filiatiō or becoming a sonne, which God had determined with himself: because our purpose is not heare to speake of the figures howe the expiation was shewed in the bloud of beastes: but because they could not in dede be the childre of God, vnlesse their adoption were grounded vpon $\hat{y}$ head, it is without reason to take that from the head which is common to all the members. I go yet further: Whereas the Scripture calleth the Angels the

Psa. 82. sonnes of God, whose so great dignity did not hang vpon the redēption to come: yet must it needes be, that the sonne is in order before them, which maketh the father to be their father. I will repeate it againe shortly, & adde the same of mankinde. Sith from at their first beginning both Angels and men were created, with this condition, that God should be common father to them both, if that saying of Paule be true, that Christ was alway the head & the first begottē of all creatures, to haue the first degree in all: I thinke I do rightly gather that

7.

Colo. 1. he was also the sonne of God before the creation of the world.

15.

6 But if his Filiation (if I may so terme it) began since he was manifested in the flesh, it shall follow, that he was also sonne in respect of his nature of man. Seruettus and other such frenlike men would haue it, that Christ which appeared in $\hat{y}$ flesh, is the sonne of God, because out of the flesh he coulde not be called by that name. Now let them answer me whether he be the sonne according to both natures, and in respect of both. So in deede they prate, but Paule teacheth farre otherwise. We graunt in deede, that Christ is in the flesh of man called the Sonne, but not as the faithfull are, that is by adoption only and grace, but the true and naturall, and therefore only sonne, that by this marke he may be discerned from all other. For God voutsaueth to giue the name of his sonnes to vs, that are regenerate into a new life: but the name of the true and only begotten sonne, he giueth to Christ only. How can he be the only sonne in so great a number of brethrē, but because he possesseth that by nature, which we haue receiued by gift?

gift? And y^e honor we extend to the whole person of the Mediatour, that he be truly & properly the Sonne of God, which was also borne of the Virgine, & offered himselfe for sacrifice to his father vpon the crosse: but yet in respect of his Godhead, as Paule teacheth, when he sayth, he was seuered out to preach the Gospell of God, which he had before promised of his sonne, which was begotten of the seede of Dauid according to his flesh, and declared the sonne of God in power. But why, whē he nameth him distinctly the sonne of Dauid according to the flesh, should he seuerally say, that he was declared the Sonne of God, vnlesse he meant to shew that this did hang vpon some other thing, than vpon the very flesh? For in the same sense in another place he sayth, that he suffered by the weakenesse of the flesh, and rose againe by the power of the spirite, euen so in this place he maketh a difference of both natures. Truly they must needs graunt, that as he hath that of his mother for which he is called the Sonne of Dauid, so he hath that of his Father for which he is called the Sonne of God: and the same is an other thing and seuerall from the nature of man. The Scripture giueth him two names, callinge him here & there sometimes the Sonne of God, and somtimes the Sonne of Man. Of the second there can be no cōtention moued: but according to the common vse of the Hebrue tongue he is called the Sonne of mā, because he is of the offspring of Adā. By the contrary I affirme, that he is called the Sonne of God in respect of the Godhead & eternall essence: because it is no lesse meete that it be referred to the nature of God, that he is called the Sonne of God, than to the nature of man, that he is called the Sonne of Man. Againe, in y^e same place that I alleaged, Paul doth meane that he which was according to the flesh begotten of the seede of Dauid, was no otherwise declared the Sonne of God in power, thā he teacheth in another place, that Christ which accordinge to the flesh descended of the Iewes, is God blessed for euer. Now if in both places the distinctiō of the double nature be rouchēd, by what right wil they say, that he which according to y^e flesh is the Sonne of Man, is not also the Sonne of God, in respect of the nature of God.

7 They do in dede disorderly enforce for the maintenāce of their error, the place where it is sayd, y^e God spared not his owne Sonne: & where the Angell commaunded, that the very same he that should be borne of y^e Virgine, should be called the Sonne of the highest. But, least they should glory in so fickle an obiection, let them wey with vs a litle, how strongly they reason. For if it be rightly concluded, that from his conception he beganne to be the Sonne of God, because he

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that is conceiued is called the Sonne of God, then shall it follow, that
 1. Ioh. 1. he began to be the word at his manifesting in the flesh, because Iohn
 1. sayth, that he bringeth them tidings of the Word of life, which his
 handes haue handeled. Likewise that, which is reade in the Prophet:
 Mic. 5. 2 Thou Bethleem in the lande of Iuda, art a litle one in thousandes of
 Iuda: Out of thee shall be borne to me a guide to rule my people Is-
 rael, and his comming forth from the beginning, from the daies of
 eternity. How will they be compelled to expounde this, if they will be
 content to follow such manner of reasoning? For I haue protested,
 that we do not agre with Nestorius, which imagined a double Christ:
 whereas by our doctrine, Christ hath made vs the sonnes of God
 with him, by right of brotherly conioyninge, because he is the on-
 ly begotten sonne of God in the flesh which he tooke of vs. And Au-
 gustine doth wisely admonish vs, that this is a bright glasse, wherein
 to behold the marvellous and singular fauour of God, that he attain-
 ed honor in respect that he is man which he coulede not deserue.
 Therefore Christ was adorned with this excellency euen according to
 the flesh frō the wombe of his mother, to be the Sonne of God. Yet
 is there not in the vnity of person to be fained such a mixture, as may
 take away that which is proper to the Godheade. For it is no more
 absurdity, that the eternall word of God and Christ, by reason of
 the two natures vnited into one person, be diuerse wayes called the
 Sonne of God, than that he be accordinge to diuerse respectes, cal-
 led sometime the Sonne of God, and sometime the sonne of Man.
 And no more doth that other caullation of Seruettus accomber vs:
 that before that Christ appeared in the flesh, he is no where called
 the Sonne of God, but vnder a figure, because although the descri-
 bing of him, the was somewhat darke: yet where as it is already clere-
 ly proued that he was no otherwise eternall God, but because he was
 the word begotten of the eternall father, and that this name doth no
 otherwise belonge to the person of the Mediatour which he hath ta-
 ken vpon him, but because he is God openly shewed in the flesh: and
 that God the Father hath not bin called Father from the beginning;
 Ep. 3. 15 if there had not then bin a mutuall relation to the Sonne, by whome
 all kinred or fatherhood is reckened in heauen and in earth: hereby it
 is easie to gather, that euen in the time of the law and the Prophets,
 he was the Sonne of God, before that this name was commōly kno-
 wen in the Church. But if they strīue onely about the onely word,
 Salomon discoursing of the infinite highnesse of God, affirmeth as
 well his Sonne as himselfe to be incomprehensible. Tell his name if
 Pro. 30. thou canst (sayth he) or the name of his sonne. Yet I am not igno-
 4. rant

rant, that with the contentious this testimony will not be of sufficient force: neither do I much grounde vpon it, sauing that it sheweth that they do maliciously caull, that deny Christ to be the Sonne of God, but in this respect that he was made man. Beside that, all the oldest wryters with one mouth and consent haue openly testified the same: so that their shamelesnesse is no lesse worthy to be scorned than to be abhorred, which dare obiekt Ireneus & Tertullia against vs, both which do confesse that the Sonne of God was inuisible, which afterward appeared visible.

8 But although Seruettus hath heaped vp horrible monstrous deuises, which peraduenture the other woulde not allow: yet if ye presse them hard, ye shall perceiue that all they that do not acknowledge Christ to be the sonne of God but in the flesh, do graunt it onely in this respect, that he was conceiued in the wombe of the Virgin by the holy Ghost, like as the Maniches in olde time did foolishly affirme, that man hath his soule (as it were) by deriuation from God, because they reade that God breathed into Adam the breath of life. For they take so fast hold of y^e name of Sonne, that they leaue no difference berweene the natures, but babble disorderly, that Christ being man, is the Sonne of God, because according to his nature of man, he is begotten of God. So the eternall begetting of Wisdom, that Salomon speaketh of, is destroied, and there is no accompt made of the Godheade in the Mediatour, or a fantasied Ghost is thrust in place of the Manhoode. It were in deede profitable to confute the grosser deceites of Seruettus, wherewith he hath bewitched himselfe and some other, to the ende that the Godly readers admonished by this example, may hold themselues within the compasse of sobernes and modesty: sauing that I thinke it should be superfluous, because I haue already done it in a booke by it selfe. The summe of them commeth to this effect, that the Sonne of God, was a forme in minde from the beginning, and euen then he was before appointed to be man that should be the essentiall image of God. And he doth acknowledge no other Word of God, but in outward shew. This he expoundeth to be the begetting of him, that there was begotten in God from the beginning a will to begette a Sonne, which also in act extended to the nature it selfe. In the meane time he confoundeth the Spirite with the Word, for that God distributed the inuisible Word and the Spirite into flesh and soule. Finally the figuration of Christ, hath with them the place of begetting, but he saith, that he which then was but a shadowish sonne in forme, was at length begotten by the word, to which he assigneth the office of seede. Whereby it shall follow that

hogs and dogs are as well the children of God, because they were create of the originall seede of the word of God. For although he compound Christ of three vncreate elements to make him begotten of the essence of God, yet he saith that he is so the first begotten among creatures, that the same essentiall godheade is in stones, according to their degree. And least he should seeme to strippe Christ out of his godhead, he affirmeth that his flesh is consubstantiall with God, and that the Word was made man by turninge the flesh into God. So while he can not conceiue Christ to be the Sonne of God, vnlesse his flesh came from the essence of God, and were turned into godhead, he bringeth the eternall person of the Word to nothinge, and taketh from vs the sonne of Dauid, that was promised to be the Redeemer. He oft repeateth this, that the Sonne was begotten of God by knowledge and predestination, and that at length he was made man of that matter which at the beginning shined with God in the three elementes, which after ward appeared in the first light of the worlde, in the cloude and in the piiler of fire. Now how shamefully he sometime disagreeeth with himselfe, it were too tedious to rehearse. By this shorte recirall the readers that haue their sounde witte may gather, that with the circumstances of this vncleane dogge the hope of saluation is vtterly extinguished. For if the flesh were the godheade it selfe, it shoulde cease to be the temple thereof. And none can be our redemer, but he that begotten of the seede of Abraham and Dauid, is accordinge to the flesh, truely made man. And he wrongfully standeth vpon the wordes of Iohn, that the Word was made flesh. for as they resist the error of Nestorius, so they nothing further this wicked inuention, wherof Eutiches was author, forasmuch as the onely purpose of the Euangelist was to defend the vnyty of persons in the two natures.

The .xv. Chapter.

That vnto may knowe, to what end Christ was sent of his Father, and what he brought vs: three things are principally to be considered in him, his Prophetically office, his Kingdom, and his Priesthoode.

Augustine saith rightly, that although the Heretikes do bragge of the name of Christ, yet they haue not all one foundation with the godly, but that it remaineth onely proper to the Church. For if these things be diligently considered, that belong to Christ. Christ shall be founde among them onely in name, and not in very deede. So at this day the Papistes, although the name of the Sonne of God redemer of the worlde, sounde in their mouth:

mouth: yet because being contented with vaine pretense of the name, they spoile him of his power and dignity: this sayinge of Paule may be well spoken of them, that they haue not the head. Therefore, that faith may finde sounde matter of saluation in Christ, and so rest in him, this principle is to be stablished, that the office which is committed to him by his Father, consisteth of three partes. For he is giuen both a Prophet, a King, and a Priest. Albeit, it were but small profite to know those names, without knowledge of the ende and vse of them. For they are also named amonge the Papistes, but coldly and to no great profite, where it is not knowen what eche of these titles cōtaineth in it. We haue said before, how, though God sending Prophets by continual course one after an other did neuer leaue his people destitute of profitable doctrine, and such as was sufficient to saluation: that yet the mindes of the godly hadde alway this perswasion, that full light of vnderstandinge was to be hoped for onely at the comminge of Messias: yea and the opinion thereof was come, euen to the Samaritans, who yet neuer knew the true religion, as appeareth by the sayinge of the woman: When Messias commeth, he shall teach vs all thinges. And the Iewes had not rashly gathered this vpon presumptions in their mindes: But as they were taught by assured oracles, so they beleued. Notable amonge the other is that sayinge of Esay: Behold, I haue made him a witnesse to peoples, I haue giuen him to be a guide and Schoolemaister to peoples: euen as in an other place he had called him y Angell or interpreter of the great counsell. After this maner the Apostle commending the perfection of the doctrine of the gospell, after that he had sayd, that God in the old time spake to the Fathers by the Prophetes diuersly, and vnder manifolde figures, addeth that last of all he spake vnto vs by his beloued Sonne. But because it was the common office of the Prophetes to keepe the Church in suspense, and to vphold it vntill the comming of the Mediatour, therfore we reade that in their scattering abroad, the faithfull cōplained that they were depriued of that ordinary benefite, saying: We see not our tokens: there is not a Prophet amonge vs: there is no more any that hath knowledge. But when Christ was now not farre of, there was a time appoynted to Daniell to seale vp the vision and the Prophet, not onely that the Prophecie, which is there spoken of, shoulde be stablished in assured credit, but also that the faithfull shoulde learne with contented minde to want the Prophetes for a time, because the fulnesse and closing vp of all reuelations was at hand.

Colo. 2.
19.

Io. 4. 25

Esa. 55.

Heb. 1. 1

Ps. 74. 9

Dani. 9.
24.

2 Now it is to be noted, that the title of commendation of Christ

belongeth to these three offices. For we know that in the time of the law, as well the Prophetes as Priestes and Kings were anointed with holy oyle. For which cause the renoumed name of Messias was geuen to the promised Mediatour. But though in deede I confesse (as I haue also declared in an other place,) that he was called Messias by peculiar consideration and respect of his kingdome: yet the annoyntinges in respect of the office of Prophet & of priest, haue their place, and are not to be neglected of vs. Of the first of these two is expresse mention made in Esay, in these words: The spirit of the Lord Iehoua vpon me. Therefore the Lord hath anointed me, that I should preach to the meeke, should bring health to the contrite in heart, should declare deliuerance to captiues, should publish the yeare of good will. &c. We see that he was anoynted with the Spirit, to be the publisher and witnesse of the grace of the Father. And that not after the common manner: for he is seuered from other teachers, that had the like office. And here againe is to be noted, that he tooke not the anointing for himselfe alone, that he might execute the office of teaching, but for his whole body, that in his continuall preaching of the Gospell, the vertue of the Spirite shoulde ioine withall. But in the meane time this remaineth certaine, that by this perfectiō of doctrine which he hath brought, an ende is made of all prophecies: so that they do diminish his authority, that beinge not content with the Gospell, do patch any foraine thinge vnto it. For that voice which thundered from heauen, saying: This is my beloued Sonne, heare him: hath auanced him by singular priuilege aboue the degrees of all other. Then, this oyntment is poured abroad from the head vnto all the members: as it was forespoken by Ioel: Your children shall prophetic, and your daughters shall see visions. &c. But where Paule sayth, that he was giuen vs vnto wisdom: and in an other place, that in him are hidden all the treasures of knowledge and vnderstandinge: this hath somewhat an other meaninge: that is, that out of him there is nothinge profitable to knowe, and that they which by faith perceaued what he is, haue comprehended the whole infinitenesse of heauenly good things. For which cause he wryteth in an other place: I haue compred it precious to know nothing, but Iesus Christ, and him crucified: which is most true, because it is not lawfull to passe beyonde the simplicity of the Gospell. And hereunto tendereth the dignity of a Prophetes office in Christ, that we might know that in the summe of the doctrine, which he hath taught, are contained all pointes of perfect wisdom.

3 Now come I to his kingdome, of which were vayne to speake,
if

Esa. 51. 1

Mat. 3.
17.

Ioel. 2.

28.

1. Cor 1

30.

Col. 2. 3

1. Cor. 2

2.

if the readers were not first warned, that the nature thereof is spirituall. For thereby is gathered, both to what purpose it serueth, and what it auaieth vs, and the whole force and eternitie thereof, and also the eternitie which in Daniel the Angell doth attribute to the person of Christ: and againe the Angell in Luke doth worthily applie to the saluation of the people. But that is also double or of two sortes, for the one belongeth to the whole bodie of the Church, the other is propre to euery membre. To the first is to be referred that which is said in the Psalme: I haue ones sworne by my holinesse to Dauid, Psa. 89.
 I will not lie, his seede shall abide for-euer, his seate shall be as the 36.
 Sunne in my sight, it shall be stablished as the Moone for ever, and a faithfull witnesse in heauen. Neither is it doubtfull, but that God doth there promise, that he wil be by the hande of his sonne an eternall gouerner and defender of his Church. For the true performance of this prophecie can be founde no where els but in Christ: for as much as immediatly after the death of Salomon, the greater parte of the dignitie of the kingdome fell away, and was to the dishonour of the house of Dauid conueyed ouer to a priuate man, and afterwarde by litle and litle was diminished, till at length it came to vtter decaye with heauy and shamefull destruction. And the same meaning hath that exclamation of Esaie: Who shall shewe forth his generation? For he so pronounceth that Christ shall remaine alue Esa. 53.
 after death, that he ioyneth him with his membres. Therefore, so oft as we heare that Christ is armed with eternall power, let vs remembre that the euerlasting continuance of the Church is vpholden by this support, to remaine still safe amōg the troublesome tossings, wherewith it is continually vexed, and among the greivous and terrible motions that threaten innumerable destructions. So when Dauid scorneth the boldnesse of his enemies, that go about to breake Psal. 2.
 the yoke of God and of Christ, and saith, that the kinges and peoples 3.4.
 raged in vaine, bycause he that dwelleth in heauen is strong enough to breake their violent assaultes: he assureth the Godly of the continuall preseruatiō of the Church, and encourageth them to hope well so oft as it happeneth to be oppressed. So in an other place, when he Psal. 110
 saith in the person of God: sit on my right hande, till I make thine enemies thy foote stoole: he warneth vs, that how many and strong enemies so euer do conspire to besiege the Church, yet they haue not strength enough to preuaile against that vchangeable decree of God, whereby he hath apointed his sonne an eternall king: wherevpon it followeth, that it is impossible that the Deuell with all the preparation of the worlde, may be able at any time to destroy the Church,

which is grounded vpon the eternall seate of Christ. Now for so much as concerneth the speciall vse of euery one, the very same eternal continuance ought to raise vs vp to hope of immortality. For we see, that whatsoeuer is earthly and of the worlde, endureth but for a time, yea

Ioh. 18. 36. and is very fraile. Therefore Christ, to lift vp our hope vnto heaven, pronounceth that his kingdome is not of this worlde. Finally, when any of vs heareth, that the kingdome of Christ is spirituall, let him be raised vp with this saying, and let him pearce to the hope of a better life: and whereas he is nowe defended by the hande of Christ, let him looke for the full frute of this grace in the worlde to come.

4 That, as we haue saide, the force and profite of the kingdome of Christ can not otherwise be perceiued by vs, but when we knowe it to be spirituall, appeareth sufficiently though it were but by this, that while we must liue in warfare vnder the crosse, during the whole course of our life, our estate is harde and miserable: what then should it profit vs to be gathered together vnder the dominion of a heavenly king, vnlesse we were certaine to enioy the frute thereof out of the state of this earthly life? And therefore it is to be knowen, that whatsoeuer felicitie is promised vs in Christ, it consisteth not in outwarde commodities, that we shoulde leade a merry and quiet life, flourish in wealth, be assured from all harmes, and flowe full of those delitefull thinges that the flesh is wont to desire, but that it wholly belongeth to the heavenly life. But as in the worlde the prosperous and desired state of the people is partely mainteined by plentie of good thinges and peace at home, and partly by strong forceable defenses, whereby it may be safe against outwarde violence: so Christ also doth enriche his with all thinges necessarie to eternall saluation of soules, and fortifieth them with strength, by which they may stande inuincible against all assaultes of spirituall enemies. Whereby we gather, that he reigneth more for vs than for himselfe, and that both within & without: that being furnished, so farre as God knoweth to be expedient for vs, with the giftes of the spirite, whereof we are naturally empty, we may by these first frutes perceiue that we are truely ioyned to God vnto perfect blessednesse. And then, that bearing vs bolde vpon the power of the same spirit, we may not doubt that we shall alway haue the victorie against the Deuill, the worlde, and euery kinde of hurtefull thing. To this purpose redeth the aunswere of Christ to the Pharises, that because the kingdome of God is within vs, it shal not come with obseruation. For it is likely that because he professed that he was the same king, vnder whome the soueraigne blessing of God was to be hoped for, they in scorne required him to shew forth his signes.

But

But he, bycause they (who otherwise are to much bent to the earth) should not foolishly rest vpon worldly pompes, biddeth the to enter into their owne consciences, bycause the kingdome of God is righteousnesse, peace and ioy in the holy Ghost. Hereby we are briefly taught, what the kingdome of Christ auaieth vs. For, bycause it is not earthly or fleshly, subiect to corruption, but spirituall: he listeth vs vpon euen to eternall life, that we may patiently passe over this life in miseries, hunger, colde, contempt, reproches, and other greues, contented with this one thing, that our king will neuer leaue vs destitute, but succour vs in our necessities, till hauing ended our warre, we be called to triumph. For such is his maner of reigning, to communicate with vs all that he hath receiued of his father. Nowe whereas he armeth and furnisheth vs with power, and garnisheth vs with beautie and magnificence, enricheth vs with wealth: hereby is ministred vnto vs most plentifull matter to glorie vpon, and also bolde courage to fight without feare against the Deuill, sinne and death. Finally, that clothed with his righteousnesse, we may valiantly ouercome all the reproches of the worlde, and as he liberally filleth vs with his giftes, so we againe for our parte, may bring forth frute to his glorie.

5 Therefore his kingly anointing is set forth vnto vs, not done with oyle or ointmētes made with spices, but he is called the anointed of God, because vpon him hath rested the spirit of wisdom, vnderstanding, counsell, strength and feare of God. This is the oyle of gladnesse, wherewith the Psalme reporteth that he was annointed aboute his fellowes, because if there were not such excellencie in him, we should be all needy and hungry. For, as it is already said, he is not priuarily enriched for him selfe, but to poure his plenty vpon vs being hungry and drie. For as it is said, that the father gaue the spirit to his sonne, not by measure, so there is expresse a reason why, that all we should receiue of his fulnesse, and grace for grace. Out of which fountaine floweth that liberall geuing, whereof Paule maketh mention, whereby grace is diuersly distributed to the faithfull, according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Hereby is that which I said, sufficiently confirmed, that the kingdome of Christ consisteth in the spirit, not in earthly delites or pompes, and therefore we must forsake the worlde that we may be partakers of it. A visible signe of this holy anointing was shewed in the baptisme of Christ, when the holy Ghost rested vpon him in the likenesse of a doue. That the holy Ghost and his giftes are meante by the worde Anointing, ought to seeme neither noueltie nor absurditie. For we are none other way quickened, specially for so much as concerneth the heauenly life: there is no droppe of liuely

Ro. 14.

17.

Ioh. 3.

34.

Ioh. 1.

16.

Eph. 4.7

Iohn. 1.

32.

Luc. 3.

22.

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force in vs, but that which the holy Ghost poureth into vs, which hath chosen his seate in Christ, that from thence the heavenly riches might largely flowe out vnto vs, whereof we are so needy. And whereas both the faithfull stande inuincible by the strength of their king, and also his spirituall riches plenteously flowe out vnto them, they are not vnworthily called Christians. But this eternitie whereof we haue spoken, is nothing derogate by that saying of Paule: Then he shall yelde vp the kingdome to God and the Father. Againe: The sonne him selfe shall be made subiecte, that God may be all in all thinges: for his meaning is nothing els, but that in that same perfect glorie, the administration of the kingdome shall not be such as it is now. For the father hath geuen all power to the sonne, that by the sonnes hande he may gouerne, cherish and susteine vs, defende vs vnder his sauegarde, and helpe vs. So while for a litle time we are wauering abroad from God, Christ is the meane betweene God and vs, by litle and litle to bring vs to perfect conioyning with God. And truly, whereas he sitteth on the right hande of the father, that is as much in effect, as if he were called the fathers depute; vnder whome is the whole power of his dominion, bycause it is Gods will to rule and defende his Church by a meane (as I may so call it) in the person of his Sonne. As also Paule doth expounde it in the first chapter to the Ephesians, that he was set at the right hande of the father, to be the heade of the Church, which is his body. And to no other meaning tendeth that which he teacheth in an other place, that

1. Cor. 15. 24.
1. Cor. 15. 28.

Phi. 2. 9

there is geuen him a name aboue all names, that in the name of Iesus all knees should bow, and all tongues confesse that it is to the glorie of God the Father. For euen in the same wordes also he setteth out in the kingdome of Christ an ordre necessarie for our present weakenesse. So Paule gathereth rightly, that God shall then be by him selfe the onely head of the Church, bycause Christes office in defending of the Church, shall be fulfilled. For the same reason the Scripture commonly calleth him Lorde, bycause his Father did set him ouer vs to this ende, to exercise his owne Lordely power by him. For though there be many lordeshippes in the worlde, yet is there to vs but one God the father, of whome are all thinges and we in him, and one Lord Christ, by whome are all thinges and we by him, saith Paule. Wherevpon is rightly gathered that he is the selfe same God, which by the mouth of Esaie affirmed him selfe to be the kinge and the lawemaker of the Church. For though he do euery where call all the power that he hath, the benefit and gifte of the Father, yet he meaneth nothing els, but that he reigneth by power of

Esa. 33.
22.

God:

God: bycause he hath therfore put on y personage of the Mediator, that descendinge from the bosome & incomprehenfible glory of the father, he might approach nie vnto vs. And so much more rightfull it is, that we be with all consent prepared to obey, and that with great cherefulnesse we direct our obediences to his commaundement. For as he ioyneth the offices of king and pastor toward them that willingly yeele themselves obedient: so on the other side we heare that he beareth an yron scepter, to breake and broose all the obstinate like potters vessels: we heare also that he shalbe the iudge of nations, to couer the earth with deade corpses, and to ouerthrowe the heighth that standeth against him. Of which thing there are some examples seene at this day: but the full proufe thereof shalbe at the last iudgement, which may also properly be accompted the last act of his kingdome.

Psal. 2.
9.
Psa. 110
6.

6 Concerning his Priesthood, thus it is briefly to be holden, that the ende and vse of it is, that he shoulde be a Mediator pure from all spotte, that shoulde by his holinesse reconcile vs to God. But bycause the iuste curse possesseth the entrie, and God according to his office of iudge is bente against ys, it is necessarie that some expiation be vsed, that he being a priest may procure fauour for vs, to appease the wrath of God. Wherefore, that Christ might fulfill this office, it behoued that he shoulde come forth with a sacrifice. For in the lawe it was not lawefull for the priest to entre into the sanctuarie without bloud, that the faithfull might know, that though there were a priest become meane for vs to make intercession, yet God coulde not be made fauourable to vs before that our sinnes were purged. Vpō which point the Apostle discourseth largely in the epistle to the Hebrues, from the seuenth chapter almost to the ende of the tenth. But the summe of all commeth to this effect, that the honour of priestthoode can be applied to none but to Christ, which by the sacrifice of his death hath wiped away our guiltinesse, & satisfied for our sinnes. But how weighty a matter it is, we are enfourmed by that solempne orthe of God, which was spoken without repentance: Thou art a priest for euer, according to the ordre of Melchisedech. For without doubt his will was to establish that principall pointe, which he knewe to be the chiefe iointe wherevpon our saluation hanged. For, as it is said, there is no way open for vs or for our prayers to God, vnlesse our filthinesse being purged, the priestes do sanctifie vs and obtaine grace for vs, from which the vncleannesse of our wicked doinges and sinnes doth debarre vs. So do we see, that we must beginne at the death of Christ, that the efficacie and profite of his Priestthoode may come vnto vs.

Psa. 110
4.

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Of this it followeth that he is an eternall intercessor, by whose mediation we obteine fauour, whervpon againe ariseth no: only affiance to pray, but also quiertesse to godly consciences, while they safely leane vpon the fatherly tenderesse of God, and are certainly periwaded that it please him whatsoeuer is dedicated to him by the Mediator. But whereas in the time of the lawe, God commaunded sacrifices of beastes to be offered to him: there was an other and a new ordre in Christ, that one should be both the sacrificed host, & y Priest: because there neither could be found any other meete satisfactiō for sinnes, nor any was worthy so great honour to offer vp to God his onely begotten sonne. Now Christ beareth the person of a priest, not onely by eternall meane of reconciliation to make the Father fauourable & mercifull vnto vs, but also to bring vs into the felowship of so great an honour. For we that are defiled in our selues. yet being made

Reue. 1. 6. Priesttes in him do offer vp our selues, & all ours to God, & do freely enter into y heauely sanctuarie, that al the sacrifice of prayer & praise that come from vs, may be acceptable & sweete smelling in the sight of God. And thus farre doth that saying of Christ extend: For their

Ioh. 17. 15. sakes I sanctifie my selfe: because, hauing his holinesse poured vpon vs, in as much as he hath offered vs with himselfe to his father, we that otherwise do stinke before him, do please him as pure & cleane, yea and holy. Herevnto serueth the anointing of the sanctuarie,

Dani. 9. 24. whereof mention is made in Daniell. For the comparison of contrarietie is to be noted betweene this anointing, and that shadowish anointing that then was in vse: as if the Angell should haue said, that the shadowes being driuen away, there should be a cleere priesthood in the person of Christ. And so much more detestable is their inuention, which not contented with the sacrifice of Christ, haue presumed to thrust in them selues to kill him: which is daily enterprised among the Papistes, where the Masse is reckened a sacrificing of Christ.

The xvj. Chapter.

How Christ hath fulfilled the office of Redeemer, to purchase saluation for vs, VVherein is intreated of his Death, and Resurrection, and his Ascending into Heauen.

AL that we haue hether to saide of Christ, is to be directed to this marke, that being damned, dead, and lost in our selues, we may seeke for righteousness, deliuerance, life and saluation in him: as we be taught by that notable saying of Peter, that there is none other name vnder heauen geuen to men wherein they must be saued. Neither was the name of Iesus geuen him vn-

adui-

aduisedly, or at chaũsable aduẽture, or by the will of men, but brought from heauen by the Angell the publisher of Gods decree, and with a reason also assigned: because he was sent to saue the people from their sinnes. In which wordes that is to be noted, which we haue touched in an other place, that the office of redeemer was appointed him, that he shoulde be our Sauour: but in the meane time our redemption should be but vnperfect, vnlesse he shoulde by continuall proceedinges conuey vs forward to the vttermoſt marke of saluation. Therefore, so ſone as we ſwarue neuer ſo litle from him, our saluation by litle and litle vaniſheth away, which wholly reſteth in him: ſo that all they wilfully ſpoile them ſelues of all grace, that reſte not in him. And that admonition of Bernarde is worthy to be rehearſed, that the name of Ieſus is not only light, but alſo meate, yea and oile alſo, without which all the meate of the ſoule is drie, and that it is alſo ſalte without the ſeaſonning whereof all that is ſet before vs is vnſauorie. Finally, that it is hony in the mouth, melodie in the eare, and ioyfulneſſe in the heart, and alſo medicine, and that whatſoeuer is ſpoken in diſputation is vnſauory, but where this name ſoundeth. But here it behoueth to weye diligently, how ſaluation is purchaſed by him for vs: that we may not onely be perſwaded that he is the author of it, but alſo embracing ſuch things as are ſufficient to the ſtedfaſt vpholdinge of our faith, we may reſuſe all ſuch things as might drawe vs away hether or thether. For ſith no man can deſcende into him ſelfe, and earneſtly conſider what he is, but feeling God angry and bent againſt him, he hath neede carefullly to ſeek a meane and way to appeaſe him, which demaundeth ſatiſfaction: there is no common aſſuredneſſe required, becauſe the wrath and curſe of God lieth alwaie vpon ſinners, til they be looſe from their guiltineſſe: who, as he is a righteous iudge, ſuffereth not his lawe to be broken without puniſhment, but is ready armed to reuenge it.

Matt. 2.
21.
Luk. 4.
31.

Bern. in
cap. ſec
mo. 15.

2 But before we goe any further, it is to be ſeene by the way, how it agreeth together, that God which preuented vs with his mercie, was our enemy vntill he was reconciled to vs by Chriſt. For how, could he haue geuen vs in his only begotten Sonne a ſingular pledge of his loue, vnlesse he had already before that embraced vs with his free fauour? Bycauſe therefore here ariſeth ſome ſeeming of contrarietie, I will firſt vndo this knot. The holy Ghoſt commonly ſpeaketh after this maner in the Scriptures, that God was enemy to men, till they were reſtored into fauour by the death of Chriſt: that they were accuſed till their iniquitie was purged by his ſacrifice: that they were ſeuered from God, till they were receyued into a conioyning by

Rom. 5.
10.
Gal. 3.
10.
Col. 2.
11.

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his body. Such maner of phrafes are applied to our capacitie, that we may the better vnderstand how miserable and wretched our estate is being out of Christ. For if it were not spoken in expresse wordes, that the wrath and vengeance of God, and euerlasting death did rest vpon vs, we woulde lesse acknowledge how miserable we shoulde be without Gods mercie, and woulde lesse regarde the benefite of deliuerance. As for example. If a man heare this spoken to him: If God, at such time as thou wast yet a sinner, had hated thee, and cast thee away as thou hadst deserued, thou shouldest haue suffered horrible destruction: but because he hath willingly and of his owne free kindenesse kept thee in fauour, & not suffred thee to be estrāged frō him, he hath so deliuered thee from that perill: truely he will be moued with, and in some parte feele how much he oweth to the mercie of God. But if he heare on the other side that which the Scripture teacheth, that he was by sinne estranged from God, the heir of wrath, subiect to the curse of eternall death, excluded from all hope of saluation, a stranger from all blessing of God, the bondeslaue of Satan, captiue vnder the yoke of sinne. Finally, ordeined vnto and already entangled with horrible destruction, that in this case Christ became an intercessor to entreat for him, that Christ toke vpon him and suffered the punishment which by the iust iudgement of God did hang ouer all sinners, that he hath purged with his bloude those euils that made them hatefull to God, that by this expiation is sufficient satisfaction and sacrifice made to God the father: that by this intercessor his wrath was appeased: that within this foundation resteth the peace betwene God and men: that vpon this bonde is conceined his good will towarde them: shall not he be so much the more moued with these, as it is more liuely represented, out of how great miserie he hath bene deliuered? In a summe: because our minde can neither desirously enough take holde of life in the mercy of God, nor receiue it with such thākefulnesse as we ought, but when it is before stricken and throwne downe with the feare of the wrath of God and dreade of eternall death, we are so taught by holy Scripture, that without Christ we may see God in maner wrathfully bent against vs, and his hande armed to our destruction: and that we may embrace his goodwill and fatherly kindnesse no otherwhere, but in Christ.

3. And although this be spoken according to the weakenesse of our capacitie, yet is it not falsely saide. For God which is the highest righteousnesse, can not loue wickednesse which he seeth in vs all. Therefore we all haue in vs that, which is worthy of the hatred of God. Therefore in respect of our corrupted nature, and then of euill life

life added vnto it, truly we are all in displeasure of God, guilty in his sight, and borne to damnation of hell. But because the Lord will not lose that which is his in vs, he findeth yet somewhat that he of his goodnesse may loue. For howsoever we be sinners by our owne fault, yet we remaine his creatures. Howsoever we haue purchaced death to our selues, yet he made vs vnto life. So is he moued by meere and free louing of vs, to receiue vs into fauour. But sith there is a perpetuall and vnappeasable disagreement betweene righteousness and iniquitie, so long as we remaine sinners, he can not receiue vs wholly. Therefore, that taking away all matter of disagreement, he might wholly reconcile vs vnto him, he doth by expiation set forth in the death of Christ, take away whatsoever euill is in vs, that we, which before weare vncleane and vnpure, may now appeare righteous and holy in his sight. Therefore God the Father doth with his loue preuent and go before our reconciliation in Christ: yea, bycause he first loued vs, therefore he afterwarde doth reconcile vs vnto himselfe. But bycause, vntill Christ with his death come to succour vs, there remaineth wickednesse in vs, which deserueth Gods indignation, and is accursed and damned in his sight, therefore we are not fully and firmly ioyned to God, vntill Christ do ioine vs. Therefore if we will assure our selues to haue God made well pleased and fauourable vnto vs, we must fasten our eyes and mindes vpon Christ onely: as in deede we obtaine by him onely, that our sinnes be not imputed to vs, the imputing whereof, draweth with it the wrath of God.

4 And for this reason Paule saith, that the same loue, wherewith God embraced vs before the creation of the worlde, was stayed and grounded vpon Christ. These thinges are plaine and agreeable with the Scripture, and do make those places of Scripture to accomde very well together, where it is saide: that God declared his loue towards vs in this, that he gaue his onely begotten sonne to death: and yet that he was our enemy till he was made fauourable againe to vs by the death of Christ. But that they may be more strongly proued to them that require the testament of the olde Church, I will allege one place of Augustine, where he teacheth the very same that we do. The loue of God (saith he) is incomprehensible and vchangeable. For he beganne not to loue vs, since the time that we weare reconciled to him by the bloude of his sonne. But before the making of the worlde he loued vs, euen before that we weare any thing at all, that we might also be his children with his only begotten Sonne. Therefore wheras we are reconciled by the death of Christ, it is not so to be taken as though the Sonne did therefore reconcile vs vnto him, that he might

1. Iohn.
4. 29.

Iohn. 3.
16.
Rom. 5.
10.

Tract.
in Euāg.
Iohn. 4.
10.

nowe beginne to loue vs whome he hated before: but we are reconciled to him that already loued vs, to whome we were enemies by reason of sinne. And whether this be true or no that I say, let the Apostle beare witnessse. He doth commend (saith he) his loue towarde vs, because when we were yet sinners, Christ died for vs. He therefore had a loue to vs, euen thē when we were enemies to him & wrought wickednesse. Therefore after a maruellous and diuine maner he loued vs, euen then when he hated vs. For he hated vs in that we were such as he had not made vs, and because our wickednesse had on every side wasted away his worke, he knew how in euery one of vs, both to hate that which we our selues had made, and to loue that which he had made. These be the wordes of Augustine.

5 Nowe where it is demaunded, howe Christ hath done away our sinnes, and taken away the strife betwene vs and God, and purchased such righteousness as might make him fauourable and wel willing towarde vs: it may be generally answered, that he hath brought it to passe by the whole course of his obedience. Which is proued by
 Rom. 5. y^e testimony of Paul. As by one mans offense many were made sinners,
 19. so by one mā's obediēce we are made righteous. And in an other place he extendeth the cause of the pardō that deliuereth vs from the curse of the lawe, to the whole life of Christ, saying: When the fulnesse of
 Gal. 4. time was come, God sente his sonne made of a woman, subiect to the
 4. lawe, to redeeme them that were vnder the lawe: And so affirmed
 Matt. 3. that in his very baptisme was fulfilled one parte of righteousness, that
 25. he obediently did the commaundement of his father. Finally, from the time that he toke vpon him the person of a seruaunt, he beganne to paye the raunsome to redeeme vs. But the Scripture to set out the maner of our saluation more certainly, doth ascribe this as peculiar and proprely belonging to the death of Christ. He him selfe pronounced that he gaue his life to be a redemption for many. Pauls
 Mat. 10 teacheth that he died for our sinnes. John the Baptist cried out that
 18. Christ came to take away the sinnes of the worlde, bycause he was the
 Rom. 4. Lambe of God. In an other place Paule saith, that we are iustified
 25. freely by the redemption that is in Christ, bycause he is set forth the
 Iohn. 1. reconciler in his owne bloude. Againē, that we are iustified in his
 29. bloude, and reconciled by his death. Againē. He that knewe not
 Rom. 3. sinne, was made sinne for vs, that we might be the righteousness of
 1. Cor. God in him. I will not recite all the testimonies, because the numbere
 5. 21. would be infinite, and many of them must be hereafter alleged in their order. Therefore in the summe of beleefe, which they call the Apostles creede, it is very ordrely passed immediatly from the birth
 of

of Christ to his death and resurrection, wherein consisteth the summe of perfect saluation. And yet is not the reste of his obedience excluded, which he perfourmed in his life: as Paule comprehendeth it Phil. 1. 7 wholly from the beginning to the ende in saying, that he abaced him selfe, taking vpon him the forme of a seruant, and was obedient to his father to death, euen the death of the crosse. And truely euen in the same death his willing submissiō hath the first degree, because the sacrifice, vnlesse it had bene willingly offred, had nothing profited towards righteousnesse. Therefore, where the Lorde testified, that he gaue his soule for his sheepe, he expressly addeth this, no man taketh it away from my selfe. According to the which meaning, Esaie saith, Ioh. 10. 15. that he helde his peace like a lambe before the shearer. And the historie Esa. 53. 7. of the Gospell rehearseth, that he went forth and met the souldiers, Iohn 18 4. and before Pilate he left defending of him selfe, and stode still to Mat. 27 2. yelde him selfe to iudgement to be pronounced vpon him. But that not without some strife: for both he had taken our infirmities vpon him, and it behoued that his obedience to his father, shoulde be this way tried. And this was no slender shew of his incomparable loue towards vs, to wrastle with horrible feare, and in the midst of these cruell tormentes, to cast away all care of himselfe, that he might prouide for vs. And this is to be beleued, that there could no sacrifice be wel offered to God any otherwise, but by this that Christ forsaking all his owne affection, did submitte and wholly yelde him selfe to his fathers will. For prooffe whereof, the Apostle doth fitly allege that testimony of the Psalme: In the booke of the lawe it is written of me, Heb. 10 5. that I may do thy will, O God. I will, and thy lawe is in the midst Psal. 40. 9. of my heart. Then I saide: Loe, I come. But because trembling consciences finde no reste but in sacrifice and washing whereby sinnes are cleansed: therefore for good cause we are directed thither, and in the death of Christ is appointed for vs the matter of life. Nowe forasmuch as by our owne guiltinesse, curse was due vnto vs, before the heauenly iudgement seate of God, therefore first of all is recited how he was condemned before Ponce Pilate president of Iurie: that we shoulde know that the punishment whereunto we were subiect, was iustely laide vpon vs. We coule not escape the dreadfull iudgement of God: Christ, to deliuer vs from it, suffred himselfe to be condemned before a mortall man, yea a wicked & heathen man. For the name of the president is expressed not onely to procure credit to the historie, but that we shoulde learne that which Esaie teacheth, that that Esa. 53. 9. chaſisement of our peace was vpon him, and that by his stripes we were healed. For to take away our damnation, euery kinde of death

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sufficed not for him to suffer, but to satisfie our redemption, one speciall kinde of death was to be chosen, wherein both drawing away our damnation to him selfe, and taking our guiltinesse vpon himselfe, he might deliuer vs from them both. If he had bene murdered by theues, or had bene ragingly slaine in a commotion of the common people: in such a death there shoulde haue bene no apparance of satisfaction. But when he was brought to be arraigned before the iudgement seate, when he was accused and pressed with witnesss against him, and was by the mouth of the iudge condemned to die: by these tokens we vnderstand, that he did beare the person of a guilty man and of an euill doer. And here are two things to be noted, which both were afore spoken by the prophecies of the Prophetes, and do bring a singular comfort and confirmation of faith. For when we heare that Christ was sent from the iudges seate to death, and was hanged among theues, we haue the fulfilling of that prophecie which is alledged by the Euangelist. He was accompted among the wicked.

Esa. 53. And why so? euen to take vpon him the steede of a sinner, not of a
21.
Mar. 15. man righteous or innocent, bycause he suffered death not for cause
18. of innocencie, but for sinne. On the other side when we heare that he was acquired by the same mouth whereby he was condemned, for Pilate was compelled openly more than ones to beare vitnesse of his innocencie: let that come in our minde which is in the other Prophet: that he repayed that which he had not taken away. And so we shall beholde the person of a sinner and euill doer represented in Christ: and by the open apparance of his innocencie it shall become plaine to see, that he was charged rather with others offence than his owne. He suffered therefore vnder Ponce Pilate, and so by the solemne sentence of the President, was reckened in the number of wicked doers: but yet not so, but that he was by the same iudge at the same time pronounced righteous, when he affirmed that he founde no cause of condemnation in him. This is our acquittal, that the guiltinesse which made vs subiect to punishment, is remoued vpon the head of the sonne of God. For this setting of the one against the other, we ought principally to holde fast, least we tremble and be carefull all our life long, as though the iuste vengeance of God did hang ouer vs, which the sonne of God hath taken vpon himselfe.

6 By side that, the very maner of his death is not without a singular mysterie. The Crosse was accursed, not onely by opinion of men, but also by decree of the lawe of God. Therefore when Christ was lifted vp to the Crosse, he made himselfe subiect to the curse. And so it behoued to be done, that when the curse was remoued from vs

to him, we might be deliuered from all curse that for our finnes was prepared for vs, or rather did already rest vpon vs. Which thing was also by shadowe expresse in the lawe. For the sacrifices and satisfactorie oblations that were offered for finnes, were called *Ashemoth*: Which worde properly signifieth sinne it selfe. By which figuratine chaunge of name, the holy Ghost ment to shewe, that they were like vnto cleansing playsters to drawe out to them selues, and beare the curse due to finnes. But that same which was figuratiuely represented in the sacrifices of Moses, is in deede deliuered in Christ the originall paterne of all the figures. Wherefore he, to performe a perfect expiation, gaue his owne soule to be an asham, that is a satisfactorie oblation as the Prophet calleth it, vpon the which our filth and punishment might be cast, and so cesse to be imputed to vs. The Apostle testifieth the same thing more plainly where he teacheth, that he which knewe no sinne, was by his father made sinne for vs, that we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him. For the sonne of God being most cleane from all fault, did yet put vpon him the reproch and shame of our iniquities, and on the other side couered vs with his cleanness. It seemeth that he meante the same, when he speaketh of sinne, that sinne was condemned in his flesh. For the father destroyed the force of sinne, when the curse thereof was remoued and layed vpon the flesh of Christ. It is therefore declared by this saying, that Christ was in his death offered vp to his father for a satisfactorie sacrifice, that the whole satisfaction for sinne being ended by his sacrifice, we might cesse to dread the wrath of God. Nowe is it plaine, what that saying of the Prophet meaneth, that the iniquities of vs all were layed vpon him, that is, that he intending to wipe away the fulthinesse of our iniquities, was himselfe as it were by way of enterchanged imputation, couered with them. Of this, the crosse whereunto he was fastened was a token, as the Apostle testifieth. Christ (saith he) redeemed vs from the curse of the lawe, when he was made a curse for vs. For it is written: Accursed is every one that hangeth on the tree: that the blessing of Abraham might in Christ come to the Gentiles. And the same had Peter respect vnto, where he teacheth that Christ did beare our finnes vpon the tree. Bycause 'by the very token of the curse we do more plainly learne that the burden wherewith we were oppressed was layed vpon him, And yet it is not so to be vnderstanded, that he toke vpon him such a curse, wherewith himselfe was ouerladen, but rather that in taking it vpon him, he did treade downe, breake and destroy the whole force of it. And so saith conceiuerh acquittall in the

Esa. 53.
5. and
21.

2. Cor.
5. 21.

Rom. 8.
3.

Esa. 53.
6.

Gala. 3.
13.
Deu. 27
26.

1. Pet. 2.
24.

Cap. 16.

Of the knowledge of

condemnation of Christ, and blessing in his being accursed. Wherefore Paule doth not without a cause honorably reporte the triumph that Christ obtained to him selfe on the crosse, as if the crosse which was full of shame, had bene turned into a Chariot of triumph. For he saith, that the hande writing which was against vs, was fastened to the crosse, and the Princely powers were spoyled and led openly. And no maruell: bycause (as the other Apostle testifieth) Christ offred vp himselfe by the eternall spirite. And therevpon proceded that turning of the nature of thinges. But that these thinges may take steadfast roote, and be thoroughly settled in our heartes, lette vs alway thinke vpon his sacrifice and washing. For we coulde not certainly beleue that Christ was the raunsome, redemption, and satisfaction, vnlesse he had bene a sacrificed hoste. And therefore there is so often mention made of bloud, where the Scripture sheweth the maner of our redeming. Albeit the bloude of Christ that was shed, serued not onely for sacrifice, but also in steede of washing, to cleanse away our filthinesse.

7 It followeth in the Crede, that he was dead and buried. Where againe it is to be seene, howe he did euery where put him selfe in our stede, to paie the price of our redemption. Death held vs bounde vnder his yoke, Christ in our stede did yelde him selfe into the power of death, to deliuer vs from it. This the Apostle meaneth where he writeth, that he tasted of death for all men. For he by dying brought to passe that we shoulde not die, or (which is all one) by his death he did redeme life for vs. But in this he differed from vs, that he gaue him selfe to death as it were to be deuoured, not that he shoulde be swallowed vp with the gulfes of it, but rather that he shoulde swallowe vp it, of which we shoulde haue bene presently swallowed: that he gaue himselfe to death to be subdued, not that he shoulde be oppressed with the power thereof, but rather that he shoulde overthrow death which approached nere vs, yea and had already beaten vs downe and triumphed vpon vs. Finally, that by death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the Deuill: and might deliuer them that by feare of death were all their life long subiect to bondage. This is the first fruite that his death did bring vs. An other is, that by enterpartening of him selfe with vs, he mortifieth our earthly membres, that they shoulde no more hereafter vse their owne workes: and killeth our olde manne, that it shoulde no more liue and beare frute. And to the same purpose pertaineth his buriall, that we being partakers thereof, shoulde also be buried to sinne. For when the Apostle teacheth that we are grafted into

Col. 2.
19.

Heb. 9.
17.

Heb. 2.
9.

Heb. 2.
19.

Gal. 2.

into the likenesse of the death of Christ, and buried with him to the death of sinne, that by his crosse the worlde was crucified to vs, and we to the worlde, that we are dead together with him, he doth not onely exhorte vs to expresse the example of Christes death, but he declareth that there is such effectualnesse in it, as ought to appere in all Christians, vnlesse they will make his death vnprofitable and frutelesse. Therefore in the death and buriall of Christ, there is offred vs a double benefit to be enioyed, that is deliuerance from death, wherevnto we were become bonde, and the mortifying of our flesh.

8 But it is not meete to ouerpasse his going downe to the helles, wherein is no small importaunce to the effect of redemption. For although it appeareth by the writings of the olde fathers, that that parte which is read in the Crede was not in olde time so much vsed in the Churches: yet in entreating of the summe of our doctrine, it is necessarie that it haue a place allowed it, as a thing that containeth a very profitable and not to be despised mystery of a right weighty matter. And there are also some of the olde writers that do not leaue it out. Whereby we may gesse, that it was after a certaine time added, and did not presently but by litle and litle growe in vse in the Churches. But this certainly is out of question, that it proceded of the common iudgement of all the godly: For as much as there is none of the Fathers that doth not in his writings make mention of Christes going downe to the helles, although after diuerse maner of exposition. But by whome, or at what time it was first added, maketh litle to the purpose. But rather in the Creede this is to be taken heede vnto, that we therein certainly haue a full and in all pointes perfect summe of our faith, whereinto nothing may be thrust, but that which is taken out of the most pure worde of God. Nowe if any will not for precise curiositie admit it into the Crede, yet shall it streight way be made to appere plainly, that it is of so great importance to the summe of our redemption, that if it be leste out, there is lost a great parte of the frute of the death of Christ. There are againe some that thinke, that there is no newe thing spoken in this article, but that in other wordes the same thing is repeted which was spoken before of his buriall: for asmuch as the worde *Infernum*, hell, is in the Scripture oftentimes vsed for the graue. I graunt that to be true which they allege of the signification of the worde, that Hell is oftentimes taken for the graue: but there are against their opinion two reasons, by which I am easily perswaded to dissent from them. For what an idlenesse were it, when

a thing not harde to vnderstand, hath ones bene set out in plaine and easy wordes, afterwarde with darker implication of wordes, rather to pointe towarde it than to declare it. For when two maners of speaking that expresse one thing be ioyned together, it behoueth that the later be an exposition of the former. But what an exposition were this, if a man shoulde say thus: Whereas it is saide that Christ was buried, thereby is meante that he went downe to hell? Againe, it is not likely that such a superfluous vaine repetition coulde haue crepte into this abridgement, wherein the chiefe pointes of our faith are summarily noted in as few wordes as was possible. And I doubte not that so many as shall haue somewhat diligently weyed the matter it selfe, will easily agree with me.

9 Some expounde it otherwise, and say, that Christ went downe to the soules of the fathers that died in the time of the law, to carry them tidings, that the redemption was performed, and to deliuer them out of the prison wherein they were kept enclosed: and to the profe herof they do wrongfully draw testimonies out of the Psalme, that he brake the brasen gates and yron barres. Againe out of Zacharie, that he redemed them that were bounde, out of the pit wherein was no water. But whereas the Psalme speaketh of their deliuerances that in farre countries are caste captiue into bondes, and Zacharie compareth the Babylonicall ouerthrow, wherein the people was oppressed, to a drie pit or bottomlesse deapth, and therewithall teacheth that the saluation of the whole Church is as it were a coming out of the deepe helles. I wote not howe it is come to passe, that they which came after, thought that there was a certaine place vnder the earth whereunto they haue fained the name of *Limbus*. But this fable, although they were great authours, and at this day many do earnestly defende it for a truth: is yet nothing els but a fable. For, to enclose the soule of dead men as in a prison, is very childish. And what neede was it that Christs soule shoulde go downe thether to set them at libertie? I do in deede willingly confesse, that Christ shined to the by the power of his spirit, that they might know that the grace which they had onely tasted of by hope, was then deliuered to the worlde. And to this purpose may the place of Peter be probably applied, where he sayeth, that Christ came and preached to the spirites that were in a dongeon or prison, as it is comonly translated. For the very proceffe of the text leadeth vs to this, that y^e faithfull which were dead before that time, were partakers of y^e same grace that we were: because he doth therby amplifie the force of Christs death, for that it pearced euen to the dead, when the godly soules enioyed the

Psa. 10.

16.

Zach. 9.

11.

1. Pet. 3.

19.

the present sight of that visitation which they had carefully looked for: on the other side it did more plainly appere to the reprobate that they were excluded from all saluation. But wheras Peter in his saying maketh no distinction betwene them, that is not so to be taken, as though he mingeled together the godly and vngodly without difference: but only he meant to teach that generally they both had one common feling of the death of Christ.

10 But concerning Christs goinge downe to the hels, beside the consideration of the Crede, we must seeke for a more certaine exposition, and we assuredly haue such a one out of the word of God, as is not only holy & godly, but also full of singular comfort. Christs death had bin to no effect, if he had suffered onely a corporall death: but it behoued also that he should feele the rigour of Gods vengeāce: that he might both appease his wrath and satisfie his iust iudgement. For which cause also it behoued that he shoulde as it were hand to hand wrastle with the armies of the hels & the horreur of eternall death. We haue euen now alleaged out of y^e Prophet that the chastisement of our peace was layd vpon him: that he was stricken of his father for our sinnes, and broused for our infirmities. Whereby is meant, that he was put in the steede of wicked doers, as surety & pledge, yea and as the very gilty person himselfe, to abide & suffer all the punishments that should haue bin layd vpon them: this one thing excepted, that he could not be holden still of the sorrowes of death. Therefore it is no maruell if it be said that he went downe to the hels, sith he suffered that death wherewith God in his wrath striketh wicked doers. And their exception is very fond, yea and to be scorned, which say, that by this exposition the order is peruerued, because it were an absurdity to set that after his buriall which went before it. For after the setting forth of those things that Christ suffered in the sight of men, in very good order followeth that inuisible and incomprehensible iudgement which he suffered in the sight of God: that we shoulde know that not only the body of Christ was giuen to be the price of our redemption, but that there was an other greater and more excellent price payed in this, that in his soule he suffred the terrible tormentes of a damned and forsaken man.

11 According to this meaninge doth Peter say, that Christ rose againe hauing loosed y^e sorrowes of death, of which it was impossible that he should be holden, or ouercome. He doth not name it simply death: but he expresth that the sonne of God was wrapped in the sorrowes of death, which proceede from the curse & wrath of God, which is the originall of death. For how smale a matter had it bin,

Eccl. 33.
5.

Act. 2.
24.

Act. 2.
24.

carelessly and as it were, in sporte to come forth to suffer death? But this was a true proufe of his infinite mercy, not to shun y death which he so fore trembled at. And it is no dout that the same is the

He. 5. 7.

Apostles meaning to teach, in the Epistle to the Hebrues, where he wryterh: that Christ was heard of his owne Feare: some translate it Reuerence or piety, but how vnfitly, both the matter it selfe, and the very manner of speakinge proueth. Christ therefore prayinge with teares and mighty crie, is hearde of his owne feare: not to be free from death, but not to be swallowed vp of death as a sinner: because in that place he had but our person vpon him. And truly there can be imagined no more dreadfull bottomlesse depth, than for a man to fele himselfe forsaken and estraunged from God, and not to be heard when he calleth vpon him, euen as if God himselfe had conspired to his destruction. Euen thither we see that Christ was throwen downe, so farre that by enforcemēt of distresse he was compelled to crie out:

Psal. 22.

My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me? For whereas some would haue it taken, that he so spake rather according to the opiniō

2.

Mat. 27

46.

of other, thā as he felt in himselfe: y is in no case probable, forasmuch as it is euident, that this saying proceeded out of the very anguish of the bottome of his heart. Yet do we not meane thereby, that God was at any time his enemy or angry with him. For how could he be angry with his beloued sonne, vpon whom his minde rested? Or how could Christ by his intercessiō appease his fathers wrath toward other, hauinge him hatefully bent agaynst himselfe? But this is our meaning: that he suffered the greuousnesse of Gods rigour, for that he beinge stricken and tormented with the hande of God, did fele all the tokens of God when he is angry and punisheth. Wherupon Hylary argueth thus, that by this goinge downe we haue obtained this, that death is slayne. And in other places he agreeth with our iudgement, as where he sayth. The crosse, death, and hels are our life. Againe in an other place. The sonne of God is in the hels, but man is caried vp to heauen. But why do I alleage the testimony of a priuate man, when the Apostle affirmeth the same, rehearsing this for a frute of his victory, that they were deliuered which were by feare of death all their life long subiect to bondage? It behoued therefore, that he shall overcome that feare, that naturally doth continually torment and oppresse all mortall men: which coulde not be done but by fightinge with it. Moreouer, that his feare was no common feare or conceiued vpon a slender cause, shall by and by more plainly appeare. So by fightinge hande to hande with the power of the Deuill, with the horreur of death, with the paynes of the hels it came to passe, that he both had

the

Vide
Cyrill.
lib. 2. de
recta fi-
de ad
Regin.
Li. 4. de
Trin.
Li. 1. &
Lib. 3.

the victory of them, and triumphed ouer them, that we now in death shoulde no more feare those thinges, which our Prince hath swallowed vp.

12 Here some leud men, although vnlearned, yet rather moued by malice than by ignoraunce, crie out that I do a hainous wronge to Christ, because it was against conueniency of reason, that he shoulde be fearefull for the saluation of his soule. And then they more hardly enforce this cauillation with sayinge, that I ascribe to the sonne of God desperation, which is contrary to faith. First they do but maliciously moue controuerſie of Christs feare and trembling, which the Euangelistes do so plainly reporte. For a litle before that the time of his death approached, he was troubled in spirite and passioneth with heauinesse, and at his very meeting with it, he began more vehemently to tremble for feare. If they say that he did but counterfait, that is too foule a shift. We must therfore as Ambrose truly teacheth, boldly confesse the sorowfulnesse of Christ, vnlesse we be ashamed of his crosse. And truly if his soule had not bin partaker of payne, he had bin only a redeemer for bodies. But it behoued that he should wraſtle, to raise vp them that lay throwen downe. And his heavenly glory is so nothinge appaired thereby, that euen herein gloriously shineth his goodnesse which is neuer sufficiently prayed, that he refused not to take our weakenesses vpon him. From whence is also that comforte of our anguiſhes and sorrowes, which the Apostle setteth before vs: that this Mediatour did feele our infirmities, that he might be the more earnestly bent to succour vs in misery. They say: He. 4. 15 that that thinge which is euill of it selfe, is vnworthily ascribed to Christ. As though they were wiser than the spirite of God, which ioyneth these two thinges together, that Christ was in all thinges tempted as we are, and yet that he was without sinne. Therefore there is no cause that the weakenes of Christ should make vs afrayd, whereunto he was not by violence or necessitye compelled, but by meere loue of vs and by mercy was led to submit himselfe. And what soeuer he of his owne will suffered for vs, diminisheth nothinge of his power. But in this one poynte are these backebiters deceiued, that they do not perceiue in Christ an infirmity cleane and free from all fault and spot, because he kept himselfe within the boundes of obedience. For whereas there can be found no moderation in our corrupt nature, where all our affectiōs do with troublesome violence exceede all measure, they do wrong to measure ſ forme of God by that standard. But when man was in his vncorrupted state, then there was a moderation hauinge force in all his affectiōs, to restrayne excesse.

Whereby, it might well be that he was like vnto vs in sorrow, dread, and fearefulnes, and yet that by this marke he differed from vs. Being so confuted, they leape to an other cauillation, that though Christ feared death, yet he feared not the curse and wrath of God frō which he knew himsele to be safe. But let the godly readers weye how honorable this is for Christ, that he was more tender and more fearefull than the most part of the very rascall sort of men. Theues and other euill doers do obstinately hast to death, many do with haute courage despise it: some other do mildly suffer it. But what constancy or stout courage were it, for the sonne of God to be astonished and in a maner stricken dead with feare of it? For euen that w among the common sorte might be accompted miraculous, is reported of him, that for vehemency of griefe, very droppes of bloud did fall from his face. Neither did he this to make a shew to the eyes of other, but whē in a secret corner whither he was gone out of company, he groned vnto his father. And this putteth it out of all dout, that it was nedefull that he should haue Angels to come downe from heauen to relieue him with an vnwonted maner of comforting. How shamefull a tendernes, as I sayd, should this haue bin, to be so farre tormented for feare of common death, as to melt in bloody sweate, and not to be able to be comforted but by sight of Angels? What? doth not that praier thrise repeated, (Father, if it be possible, let this cuppe depart from me) proceeding from an incredible bitternesse of heart, shew that Christ had a more cruell and harder battell than with common death? Whereby appeareth that those triflers against whom I now dispute, do boldly babble vpon things that they know not, because they neuer earnestly considered what it is, or of how great importance it is that we be redeemed from the iudgement of God. But this is our wisdom, well to vnderstande howe deere our saluation did cost the sonne of God. Now if a man should aske me, if Christ went then downe to hel, whē he prayed to escape that death: I answere, that thē was the beginning of it: whereby may be gathered, how grieuous and terrible tormentes he suffered, when he knew himsele to stande to be arained for our cause before the iudgement seate of God. But although for a momēt of time, the diuine power of the spirite did hide it selfe, to giue place to the weakenesse of the flesh: yet must we know, that the tentation by feeling of sorrow and feare was such as was not against faith. And so was that fulfilled which is in the Sermon of Peter, that he coule not be holden of the sorrowes of death, because whē he felt himsele as it were forsaken of God, yet he did nothing at all swarue from the trust of his goodnesse. Which is proued by that his notable callinge vpon

Mat. 26

39.

Ag. 2.

24.

vp^{on} God, when for extremity of peine he cried out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? For though he was aboue measure greued, yet he cesseth not to cal him his God, of whom he crieth out that he was forsaken. Moreouer hereby is confuted as well the error of Apollinaris, as theirs that were called Monothelites. Apollinaris fained that Christ had an eternall spirite in steade of a soule, so that he was onely but halfe a man. As though he could cleanse our sinnes any other way, but by obeying his father. But where is the affection or will of obedience but in the soule? which soule of his we knowe was troubled for this purpose to driue away feare, and bringe peace and quietnesse to our soule. Againe, for confusion of the Monothelites, we see how now he willed not that thing according to his nature of manhoode, which he willed according to his nature of godhead. I omit to speake how he did subdue the aforesaid feare with a contrary affection. For herein is a plaine shew of contrariety. Father deliuer me from this hour. But euen herefore I came euen into this hour. Father glorifie thy name. In which perplexity yet was there no such outrage in him as is scene in vs, euen then when we most of all endeouour to subdue our selues.

13 Now followeth his resurrection from the dead, without which all that we haue hitherto, were but vnperfect. For sith there appeareth in the crosse, death, & buriall of Christ nothing but weakenesse: faith must passe beyond all those things, that it may be furnished with full strength. Therefore although we haue in his death a full accomplishment of saluation, because by it both we are reconciled to God, and his iust iudgement is satisfied, & the curse taken away, and the penalty fully payed: yet we are sayd to be regenerate into a liuing hope, not by his death, but by his risinge againe. For as he in risinge againe rose vp the vanquisher of death, so the victory of our faith consisteth in the very resurrection: but how this is, is better expressed in y^e words of Paule. For he sayth, that Christ died for our sinnes, and was raised vp againe for our iustification: as if he should haue sayd: that by his death sinne was taken away, and by his risinge againe righteousnes was renewed and restored. For how coulde he by dyinge deliuer vs from death if he himselfe hadde lyen still ouercome by death? How coulde he haue gotten victory for vs, if himselfe hadde bin vanquished in fight? wherefore we do so parte the matter of our saluation betwene the death and resurrection of Christ, that by his death we say sinne was taken away and death destroyed, and by his resurrection righteousnesse was repaired, and life raised vp againe: but so that by meane of his resurrection, his death doth shew foorth her force and effect

vnto vs. Therefore Paule affirmeth, that in his very resurrection he was declared the sonne of God, because then at last he vttered his heavenly power, which is both a cleare glasse of his godheade, and a stedfast stay of our faith. As also in an other place he teacheth, that

1. Cor. Christ suffered after the weakenesse of the flesh, & rose againe by the
13. 4. power of the spirit. And in y same meaning in an other place, where
Phi. 3. he entreateth of perfection, he sayth: that I may know him and the
10. power of his resurrectiō. Yet by and by after he adioyneth the fellowship with death. Wherewith most aptly agreeth that saying of Peter: that God raised him vp from the deade and gaue him glory; that our faith and hope might be in God: not that our faith being vpholden by his death should wauer, but that the power of God which kepeth vs vnder faith, doth principally shew it selfe in the resurrection. Therefore let vs remember, that so oft as mention is made of his death onely, there is also comprehended that which properly belongeth to his resurrection: and like figure of comprehension is there in the word Resurrectiō, as oft as it is vsed feuerally without speaking of his death, so that it draweth with it that which peculiarly pertayneth to his death. But forasmuch as by rising againe he obtained the crowne of conquest, so that there should be both resurrection and life: therefore Paule doth for good cause affirme that faith is destroyed, and the Gospell is become vaine & deceitful, if the resurrection of Christ be not fastened in our heartes. Therefore in an other place, after he had gloried in the death of Christ agaynst all the terrours of damnation, to amplifie the same, he sayth further: Yea the same He which

Rom. 8. dyed, is risen vp againe and nowe standeth a Mediatour for vs in the
34. presence of God. Furthermore as we haue before declared, that vpon the partakinge of his crosse hangeth the mortification of our flesh. so is it to be vnderstanded, that by his resurrection we obtaine an other commodity which aunswereth that mortification. For (sayth the Apostle) we are therefore grafted into the likenesse of his death, that being partakers of his resurrection, we may walke in newnesse of life.

Ro. 6. 4. Therefore in an other place: as he gathereth an argument of this that we are dead together with Christ, to proue that we ought to mortifie our members vpon earth: likewise also, because we are risen vp

Col. 3. 5 with Christ, he gathereth therupon that we ought to seeke for those thinges that are aboue, and not those that are vpon the earth. By which wordes we are not onely exhorted to be raised vp after the example of Christ, to folow a newnesse of life. But we are taught that it is wrought by his power that we are regenerate into righteousness. We obtaine also a third frute of his resurrection, that we are, as by an earnest

earnest deliuered vs, assured of our owne resurrection, of which we knowe that his resurrection is a most certaine argument. Whereof he disputeth more at large in the fifteene chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians. But by the way this is to be noted, that it is sayd, that he rose againe from the dead: in which sayinge is expresse the trueth both of his death and of his resurrection: as if it had bin sayd, that he did both dye the same death that other menne naturally do die, and receiued immortality in the same flesh which he had put on mortall.

14 To his resurrection is not vnfitly adioyned his ascending into heauen. For although Christ beganne more fully to set forth his glorie and power by risinge againe, for that he had now layd away that base and vnnoble estate of mortal life, and the shame of the crosse: yet by his ascendinge vp into heauen onely, he truely beganne his kingdome. Which the Apostle sheweth where he teacheth, that Christ ascended to fulfill all thinges. Where in seeming of repugnancy he sheweth that there is a goodly agreement: because he so departed from vs, that yet his presence might be more profitable to vs, which had bin penned in a base lodginge of y flesh, while he was conuersant in earth. And therefore Iohn, after that he had rehearsed that notable calling, Eph. 4. 10. If any thirst, let him come to me, &c. By and by sayth, that the holy Ioh. 7. 37. Ghost was not yet giuen to the faithfull, because Iesus was not yet glorified. Which the Lord himself also did testifie to the Disciples, say- Ioh. 16. 7. inge: It is expedient for you that I go away. For if I do not go away, the holy Ghost shall not come. But he giueth them a comfort for his corporall absence, that he will not leaue them as parentlesse, but will come againe to them after a certaine manner, in deede inuisible, but yet more to be desired, because they were then taught by more assured experience, that the authoritie which he enioyeth, and the power which he useth, is sufficient for the faithfull, not onely to make them liue blessedly, but also to die happily. And truely we see howe much greater abundance of his spirite he then poured out, how much more royally he then aduanced his kingdome, howe much greater power he then shewed, both in helpinge his, and in ouerthrowinge his enemies. Being therefore taken vp into heauen, he toke away the presence of his body out of our sight: not to cesse to be present with the faithfull that yet wandred in the earth, but with more present power to gouerne both heauen and earth. But rather the same that he had promised, that he would be with vs to the end of the worlde, he performed by this his ascendinge, by which as his bodie was lifted vppe aboue all heauens, so his power and effectuell workinge was poured an d

spread abroad beyond all the boundes of heauen and earth. But this

Tracta. I had rather to declare in Augustines wordes than mine owne. **Christ**
in Euā. (sayth he) was to go by death to the right hande of the father, from
Iohan. whense he is to come to iudge the quicke & the dead: & that likewise
109. in bodily presence according to the sounde doctrine and rule of faith.

For in spirituall presence with them, he was to come after his ascen-
sion. And in an other place more largely and plainly: Accordinge to
an vnspokeable & vnvisible grace is that fulfilled which he had spo-

Mat. 28 ken: behold I am with you all the dayes, euen to the end of the world.

20. But accordinge to the flesh which the Word tooke vpon him, accor-
ding to that that he was borne of the Virgin, according to that that he
was taken of the Iewes, that he was fastened on the tree, that he was
taken downe from the crosse, that he was wrapped in linen clothes,
that he was layd in the graue, that he was openly shewed in his rising
again: this was fulfilled, Ye shall not alway haue me with you. Why
so? because he was conuersant according to the presence of his body

Act. 1. 3 forty dayes with his disciples, and they being in his company, seeing
& 9. him, not followinge him, he ascended into heauen and is not here, for
he sitteth there, at the right hande of his Father: and is here, for he is

not gone away in presence of maiestie. Therefore according to the
presence of his maiestie, we alway haue Christ: according to the pre-
sence of his flesh, it was truly said to his Disciples: but me ye shall

Mar. 16. not alway haue. For the Church had him a fewe dayes according to

Heb. 1. 3 the presence of his flesh, but now she holdeth him by faith, but seeth
him not with eyes.

15 Wherefore, it by and by followeth, that he is sitten downe at the
right hande of his father: which is spoken by way of similitude, taken
of princes that haue their sitters by, to whom they commit their of-
fice to rule & gouerne in their stede. So it is said, that Christ, in whom
the father will be exalted and reigne by his hand: was receaued to sit
at his right hande: as if it had bene said, that he was inuested in the
dominion of heauen and earth, solemnly entred vpon the possession
of the gouernment committed vnto him, and that he not onely en-
tred vpon it, but also continueth in it till he come downe to iudge-

Ephe. 1. ment. For so doth the Apostle expounde it, when he saith thus: The

10. father hath set him at his right hand, aboue all principallitie & power,

Phi. 2. 9 and strength and dominion, and euery name that is named not onely

1. Cor. in this worlde, but in the worlde to come. &c. He hath put all thinges

15. 27. vnder his feete, and hath geuen him to be head of the Church aboue

Ephe. 4. all thinges. Nowe you see to what purpose belongeth that sitting, that

15. is, that all creatures both heauenly and earthly may with admiration

Act. 2. looke

30. & 3.

21.

looke vpon his maiestie, be gouerned with his hande, beholde his countenance, and be subject to his power. And the Apostles meane nothing els, when they so oft rehearse it, but to teach, that all thinges are left to his will. Therefore they thinke not rightly, which thinke that blessednesse is onely meant by it. And it forceth not, that in the Actes, Stephen testifieth that he saw him standing, because we speake not heare of the gesture of his body, but of the maiesty of his dominion: so that to Sit is nothing elie, but to be chiefe iudge in the heauenly iudgement seat.

16 Hereupon doth sayth gather manifolde frute: For it learneth, that the Lord by his ascending into heauen, hath opened the entrie of the heauenly kingdom, which before had bin stopped vp by Adā. For when he entred into it in our flesh as in our name, therupon followeth that which the Apostle sayth, that we do already in him after a certaine manner sit in heauen. For that we do not with bare hope looke for heauen, but already in our heade we possesse it. Moreouer faith perceiueth that he sitteth with his father to our great benefite. For he is entred into a sanctuary not made with hands, and there appeareth before the face of the Father a continuall aduocate & intercessor for vs: he so turneth the fathers eyes to his righteousness, that he turneth them away from our sinnes: He so reconcileth his minde vnto vs, that by his intercession he prepareth vs a way and passage to his throne, filling it with grace & mercifulnes, which otherwise would haue bin full of horreur to wretched sinners. Thirdly, faith conceiueth his power, wherein consisteth our strength, might, welch, & glorying against the hels. For ascending into heauē he led captivity captiue, & spoiling his enemies he enriched his people, and daily filleth them with heapes of spirituall richesse. He sitteth therefore on hie, that from thence pouringe out his power vnto vs, he may quicken vs to a spirituall life, sanctifie with his spirit, and garnish his church with the diuerse giftes of his grace, preserue it safe against all hurtes by his protectiō, restraîne with the strength of his hand the raging enemies of his crosse and of our saluation: finally, hold all power both in heauen and in earth, till he haue ouerthrowen all his enemies which are also our enemies, & made perfect the building vp of his Church. And this is the true state of his kingdom: this is the power that his father hath giuen him, till he make an end of the last act, when he commeth to iudge the quicke and the dead.

17 Christ doth in dede here shew to thē that be his, plaine proues of his power present among them: but because vnder the basenes of flesh his kingdom doth in a manner lie hidden in earth, therefore for

Cap. 16. Of the knowledge of

good cause is faith called to thinke vpon that visible presence, which he will openly shew at the last day. For he shall in visible forme come downe from heauen, euen such as he was seene to go vp: and he shall appeare to all men with vnspeakeable maiesty of his kingdome, with bright glittering of immortality, with infinite power of godhead, with a gard of Angels. From thence therefore we are bidden to looke for him to come our redemer at that day, whē he shal seuer the Lambes from the Goates, the chosen from the forsaken: & there shalbe none of all either the quicke or the dead, that shall escape his iudgement.

For frō the furthest corners of the world shall be heard the sound of the trōpet, wherewith all shall be called to his iudgement seate, both they that shalbe founde alieue at that day, and they whom death hath before takē out of the company of the quicke. Some there be that in this place expound the wordes of the quicke and the dead otherwise: and we see that some of the olde wryters did sticke in dout vpon the construction of this article. But as the aforesayd meaning is plaine & easie to perceiue: so doth it better agree with the Crede w^h is euident that it was wrytten according to the capacity of the common people.

And herewith nothing disagreeeth that which the Apostle affirmeth, that it is appointed to all men once to die. For although they which shall remaine in mortall life at the last iudgement. shall not die after a naturall manner and order: yet that change which they shal suffer, because it shalbe like a death, is not vnproperly called death. It is in deede certaine, that not all shall slepe, but all shalbe chaunged. What meaneth that? In one moment their mortall life shall perish and be swallowed vp and be vtterly transformed into a newe nature. This perishinge of the flesh no man can deny to be a death: and yet in the meane time it remaineth true, that the quicke & the dead shalbe summoned to the iudgement: because the dead that are in Christ shal first rise, and then they that shall remaine and be liuinge, shall with them be sodenly taken vp into the ayre to meete the Lord. And truely it is likely that this article was taken out of the sermon of Peter, which Luke reciteth, and out of the solemne protestation of Paule to Timothy.

18 Hereupon ariseth a singular comfort, when we heare that he is iudge, which hath alredy appointed vs parteners with him in iudging: so far is it of, that he will go vp into the iudgement seate to condemne vs. For how shoulde the most mercifull prince destroy his owne people? how should the head scatter abroad his owne members? howe shoulde the patrone condemne his owne clientes? For if the Apostle dare crie out, that while Christ is intercessour for vs, there can none

come

come forth that can condemne vs: it is much more true, that Christ himselfe beinge our intercessour, will not condemne them whom he hath receiued into his charge and tuition. It is truely no small assurednes, that we shalbe brought before no other iudgement seate, but of our owne redeemer, from whom our saluation is to be looked for: moreover that he which now by the Gospel promiseth eternall blessednesse, shall then by sittinge in iudgement performe his promise. Therefore to this end the father hath honored the sonne, in giuinge him all iudgement, that so he hath provided for the consciences of them that be his, trembling for feare of the iudgemēt. Hitherto I haue followed the order of the Apostles Crede, because whereas it shortly in fewe wordes containeth the chiefe articles of our redemption, it may serue vs for a table, wherein we do distinctly and seuerally see those things that are in Christ worthy to be taken heede vnto. I call it the Apostles Crede, not carefully regarding who were the author of it. It is truely by great consent of the olde wryters ascribed to the Apostles, either because they thought that it was by common trauaile wrytten and set out by the Apostles, or for that they iudged that this abridgement beinge faithfully gathered out of the doctrine deliuered by the handes of the Apostles, was worthy to be confirmed with such a title. And I take it for no dout, that whense so euer it proceeded at the first, it hath euen from the first beginning of the church, and from the very time of the Apostles, be vsed as a publike confession, and receiued by consent of all men. And it is likely that it was not priuately wrytten by any one man, forasmuch as it is euident that euen from the farthest age it hath alway continued of sacred authority and credit amonge all the godly. But that thinge which is onely to be cared for, we haue wholly out of controuersie, that the whole History of our faith is shortly and wel in distinct order rehearsed in it, and that there is nothinge containied in it that is not sealed with sounde testimonies of the Scripture. Which beinge vnderstanded, it is to no purpose either curiously to dout, or to strue with any manne, who were the autor of it: vnlesse perhappe it be not enough for some man to be assured of the trueth of the holy Ghost, but if he do also vnderstand either by whose mouth it was spoken, or by whose hand it was wrytten.

Ioh. 5.
22.

19 But forasmuch as we do see, that the whole summe of our saluation, and all the partes thereof, are comprehended in Christ, we must beware, that we do not draw away from him any parte thereof be it neuer so litle. If we seeke for saluation, we are taught by the very name of Iesus, that it is in him. If we seeke for any other gistes of

AA 4.
12.

1. Cor. 1
30.

Cap. 17. Of the knowledge of

Heb. 12.
27.

Ga. 5. 13

the spirite, they are to be found in his anoyninge. If we seeke for strength, it is in his dominion: if we seeke for cleannes, it is in his conception. If we seeke for tender kindnes, it sheweth it selfe in his birth, whereby he was made in all things like vnto vs, that he might learne to sorrow with vs: if we seeke for redemption, it is in his passion: if we seeke for absolution, it is in his condemnation: if we seeke for release of the curse, it is in his crosse: if we seeke for satisfaction, it is in his sacrifice: if we seeke for cleansing, it is in his bloude: if we seeke for reconciliation, it is in his going downe to the hels: if we seeke for mortification of the flesh, it is in his buriall: if we seeke for newnesse of life, it is in his resurrection: if we seeke for immortality, it is in the same: if we seeke for the inheritance of the kingdom of heauen, it is in his entrance into heauen: if we seeke for defense, for assurednesse, for plenty and store of all good things, it is in his kingdom: if we seeke for a dredlesse looking for the iudgement, it is in the power giuen to him to iudge. Finally, with the treasures of all sortes of good things are in him, let vs draw thense and from no where else, euen till we be full withall. For they which, being not content with him alone, are caried hither and thither into diuerse hopes, although they haue principall regard to him, yet euē in this they are out of the right way, that they turne any parte of their knowledge to any other where. Albeit such distrust can not creepe in, where the aboundance of his good giftes hath once bin well known.

The xvij. Chapter.

That it is truly and properly sayd, that Christ hath deserued Gods fauour and saluation for vs.

Ad. 3.
10.

Li. 1. de
præd
sancto-
rum.

THis question is also to be affoyled for an addition. For there are some suttle men after a wronge manner, which although they confesse that we obtaine saluation by Christ, yet can not abide to heare the name of deseruing, by which they thinke the grace of God to be obscured: and so they will haue Christ to be only the instrumēt or minister, not the author, guide, or Prince of life, as Peter calleth him. In deede I confesse, that if a man will set Christ simply and by himselfe against the iudgement of God, then there shalbe no roome for deseruing: because there can not be founde in man any worthines that may deserue the fauour of God: But, as Augustine most truly wryteth, the most cleare light of predestination and grace is our Sauour himselfe, the man Christ Iesus, which hath obtayned so to be, by the nature of man, which is in him, without any deseruinges of workes or of fayth goinge before. I beseeche you
let

let me be answered, whereby that same Man deserued to be taken vp by the Word that is coeternall with the father into one person, and so to be the only begotten sonne of God. Let therefore appeare in our head the very fountaine of grace, from whom accordinge to the measure of euery one, it floweth abroade into all his mébers. By that grace euery one from the beginning of his faith is made a Christian, by which that same man from his beginninge was made Christ. Againe in an other place: there is no plainer example of predestination than the Mediatour himselfe. For he that made of the seede of Dauid a man righteous that neuer shoulde be vnrighteous, without any deseruinge of his will goinge before, euen the same he doth of vnrighteous make them righteous that are the members of that heade: and so forth as there followeth. Therefore when we speake of Christs deseruinge, we do not say that in him is the beginning of deseruinge, but we climbe vp to the ordinance of God, which is the first cause thereof: because God of his owne meere good will appoynted him Mediatour, to purchase saluation for vs. And so is the deseruinge of Christ vnfitly set against the mercy of God. For it is a common rule, that things orderly one vnder an other do not disagree. And therefore it may well stand together, that mans iustification is free by the meere mercy of God, and that there also the deseruinge of Christ come betwene which is contained vnder the mercy of God. But against our workes are aptly set, as directly contrary, both the free fauour of God, & the obedience of Christ, either of them in their degree. For Christ could not deserue any thinge but by the good pleasure of God, and but because he was appointed to this purpose, with his sacrifice to appease the wrath of God, and with his obedience to put away our offences. Finally in a summe: because the deseruinge of Christ hangeth vpon the only grace of God, which apointed vs this meane of saluation, therefore as well the same deseruinge, as that grace, is fitly set against all the workes of men.

De bo.
no per-
seuerat.
cap. vii.

2 This distinction is gathered out of many places of the Scripture. God so loued the world, that he gaue his onely begotten sonne, that whosoever beleueth him, shall not perish. We see how the loue of God holdeth the first place, as the soueraigne cause or original, & the followeth faith in Christ, as the second or nerer cause. If any man take exception and say, that Christ is but the formall cause, he doth more diminish his power than the wordes may beare. For if we obtayne righteousness by faith that resteth vpon him, then is the matter of our saluation to be sought in him, which is in many places plainly proued. Not that we first loued him, but he first loued vs, and sent his

Ioh. 3.
16.

Ioh. 4.

sonne to be the appeasing for our sinnes. In these wordes is clerely shewed, that God to the ende that nothing should withstand his loue toward vs, appointed vs a meane to be reconciled in Christ. And this word Appeasinge, is of great weight : because God after a certaine vnspokeable manner, euen the same time that he loued vs, was also angry with vs, vntill he was reconciled in Christ. And to this purpose serue all those sayings: He is the satisfaction for our sinnes. Againe: It pleased God by him to reconcile all things to himselfe, appeasing himselfe through the blood of the crosse by him, &c. Againe, God was in Christ; reconcilinge the worlde to himselfe, not imputinge to men their sinnes. Againe: He accepted vs in his beloued sonne. Agayne, That he might reconcile them both to God into one man by the crosse. The reason of this mysterie is to be fetched out of the first chapter to the Ephesians, where Paule, after that he had taught that we were chosen in Christ, addeth therewithall, y we haue obtayned fauour in him. Howe did God beginne to embrace with his fauour them whom he loued before the makinge of the world, but because he vttered his loue when he was reconciled by the blood of Christ? For sith God is the fountayne of all righteousness, it must needes be, that man so long as he is a sinner, haue God his enemy and his iudge. Wherefore the beginning of his loue is righteousness, such as is described by Paule: He made him that had done no sinne, to be sinne for vs, that we might be the righteousness of God in him. For he meaneth, that we haue obtayned free righteousness by y sacrifice of Christ, that we should please God, which by nature are the childre of wrath, & by sinne estranged from him. But this distinction is also meant so oft as the grace of Christ is ioyned to y loue of God. Whereupon followeth, that he giueth vs of his owne that which he hath purchaced: For otherwise it would not agree with him, that this praise is given him seuerally from his father, that it is his grace and procedeth from him.

3 But it is truely and perfectly gathered by many places of the Scripture, that Christ by his obedience hath purchaced vs fauour with his father. For this I take for a thinge confessed, that if Christ hath satisfied for our sinnes, if he hath suffered the punishment due vnto vs, if by his obedience he hath appeased God, finally, if he being righteous, hath suffred for the vnrighteous, then is saluation purchaced for vs by his righteousness: which is as much in effect as to deserue it. But, as Paule witnesseth, we are reconciled and haue receiued reconciliation by his death. But reconciliation hath no place, but where there went offence before. Therefore the meaninge is; that

1. Ioh. 2

2.

Co. 1. 10

2. Cor. 5

19.

Eph. 2.

16.

Eph. 1. 6

1. Cor. 5

21.

Ro. 5. 11

that God, to whom we were hatefull by reason of sinne, is by y^e death of his sonne appeased, so that he might be fauorable vnto vs. And the comparision of contraries that followeth a litle after, is diligently to be noted as by the transgressiō of one man, many were made sinners: Ro. 5. 19 so also by the obedience of one, many are made righteous. For the meaning is thus: As by the sinne of Adam we were estranged from God & ordained to destruction, so by the obedience of Christ we are receiued into fauour as righteous. And the future time of the verbe doth not exclude present righteousness, as appeareth by the proceſſe of the text: For he had said before, that the free gift was of many sinnes vnto iustification.

4 But when we say, that grace is purchased vs by the deseruing of Christ, we meane this, that we are cleansed by his blood, and that his death was a satisfaction for our sinnes. His blood cleanseth vs from sinne. This blood is it that is shed for remission of sinne. If this be the effect of his blood shed; y^e sinnes be not imputed vnto vs: it foloweth, that with that price the iudgement of God is satisfied. To which purpose serueth that saying of Iohn the Baptist: Behold y^e lambe of God, that taketh away the sinne of the world. For he setteth in compariſon Christ against all the sacrifices of the law, to teach that in him only was fulfilled y^e which those figures shewed. And we know, what Moses eche where sayth: Iniquity shalbe cleansed, sinne shalbe put away and forgiuen. Finally we are very well taught in the old figures, what is the force and effect of the death of Christ. And this point the Apostle setteth out in the Epistle to the Hebrues, very fitly takinge this principle, that remissiō is not wrought without shedding of blood. Wherupon he gathereth, that Christ for the ablishing of sinne, appeared once for all by his sacrifice. Againe: that he was offered vp to take away y^e sinnes of many. And he had sayd before, that not by the blood of goates or of calues, but by his owne bloude he once entered into the holy place, finding eternall redemption. Now when he thus reasoneth: If the blood of a calfe do sanctifie, accordinge to the cleannes of the flesh, that much more cōſciences are cleansed by the blood of Christ from deade workes: it easily appeareth that the grace of Christ is too much diminished, vnles we graunt vnto his sacrifice the power of cleansing, appeasinge and satisfyinge. As a litle after he addeth: This is the mediatur of the new testament, that they which are called, may receiue y^e promise of eternall inheritance by meane of death for y^e redēption of sinnes going before, which remained vnder the law. But specially it is conuenient to wey the relation which Paul describeth, that he became curse for vs. &c. For it were superfluous.

Cap. 17. Of the knowledge of

yea and an absurdity, that Christ shoulde be charged with curse, but for this entet, that he paying y^e which other did owe, should purchase righteousnesse for them. Also the testimony of Esaie is plaine that the chastisement of our peace was laid vpon Christ, & that we obtained health by his stripes. For if Christ had not satisfied for our sinnes, it could not haue bin said, that he appeased God by taking vpon him the payne whereunto we were subiect. Wherewith agreeth that which foloweth in the same place: For the sinne of my people I haue stricken him. Let vs also recite the expositiō of Peter, which shal leaue nothinge doutfull: that he did beare our sinne, vpon the tree. For he saith, that the burthen of damnation from which we were deliuered, was laid vpon Christ.

5 And the Apottles do plainly pronouce, that he payed the price of raunsome to redeme vs from the giltinesse of death. Being iustified by his grace, through the redemption which is in Christ, whom God hath set to be the propitiatory by faith which is in his blood. Paule cōmendeth the grace of God in this point, because he hath giuen the price of redēption in the death of Christ: & then he biddeth vs to flee vnto his blood, that hauinge obtayned righteousnesse, we may stande boldly before the iudgement of God. And to the same effect is that saying of Peter: that we are redeemed, not by gold and siluer, but by the precious blood of the vnspotted Lambe. For the comparison also would not agree, vnles with that price satisfaction had bin made for sinnes: for which reason Paule sayth, that we are preciously bought. Also that other saying of his would not stand together: There is one mediator that gaue himselfe to be a redemptiō, vnles the paine had bin cast vpon him which we had deserued: Therefore the same Apostle defineth, that the redemption in the blood of Christ is the forgiuenes of sinnes: as if he shoulde haue sayd, y^e we are iustified or acquitted before God, because that blood answereth for satisfaction for vs. Wherewith also agreeth the other place, that the hand wryting which was against vs, was cancelled vpon the crosse. For therein is meant the payment or recompense that acquiteth vs from giltinesse, There is also great weight in these wordes of Paule: If we be iustified by the works of the law, the Christ died for nothing. For hereby we gather, that we must fetch from Christ that which the lawe would giue, if any man can fulfill it: or (which is all one) that we obtayne by the grace of Christ that, which God promised to our workes in the lawe when he sayd: He that doth these thinges, shall liue in them. Which he no lesse plainly confirmeth in his sermon made at Antioche, affirming that by beleuing in Christ we are iustified from all those things,

from

Esa. 53.
5.

1. Pet. 2.
24.

Ro. 3. 24

1. Pet. 1
18.

1. Cor. 6
20.

Col. 1.
14.
Col. 5. 2
14.

Ga. 2. 21

Leu. 18.
5.
Ad. 13.
38.

from which we coulde not be iustified in the lawe of Moses. For if the keeping of the lawe be righteousnesse, who can denie that Christ deserued fauour for vs, when taking that burden vpon him, he to reconciled vs to God, as if we our selues had kept the law? To the same purpose serueth that which he afterwarde writeth to the Galatians: Gal. 4.4
 God sent his Sonne subiect to the lawe, that he might redeeme those that were vnder the lawe. For to what ende serued that submission of his, but that he purchaced to vs righteousnesse, taking vpon him to make good that which we were not able to pay? Hereof commeth that imputation of righteousnesse without workes, whereof Paule Rom. 4.
 speaketh, bycause the righteousnesse is reckened to vs which was founde in Christ onely. And truely for no other cause is the flesh of Christ called our meate, but because we finde in him the substance of John 6.
 life. And that power proceedeth from nothing els, but because the 55.
 Sonne of God was crucified, to be the price of our righteousnesse. As Paule saith, that he gaue vp himselfe a sacrifice of sweete saour. Eph. 5.2
 And in an other place: He died for our sinnes, he rose againe for our Rom. 4
 iustification. Herevpon is gathered, that not onely saluation is geuen 25.
 vs by Christ, but also that for his sake his father is nowe fauourable vnto vs. For there is no doubt that that is perfectly fulfilled in him, which God vnder a figure pronounceth by Esaie, saying: I will do it Esa. 37.
 for mine owne sake, and for Dauid my seruantes sake. Whereof the 35.
 Apostle is a right good witnesse, where he saith: Your sinnes are forgiven you for his names sake. For though the name of Christ be not 1. Ioh. 2.
 expresse, yet Iohn after his accustomed maner signifieth him by 12.
 this pronoun He. In which sense also the Lorde pronounceth: As Iohn. 6.
 I liue because of my father, so shal ye also liue bycause of me. Where- 57.
 with agreeth that which Paule saith, It is geue you because of Christ, Phil. 1.
 not onely to beleue in him, but also to suffer for him. 19.

6 But to demaunde, whether Christ deserued for himselfe, (as Lombarde, and the other schoolemen do) is no lesse foolish curiositie, than it is a rash determination when they affirme it. For what needed the sonne of God to come downe to purchase any newe thing for him selfe? And the Lord declaring his owne counsell, doth put it wholly out of doubt. For it is not said, that the father provided for the commoditie of his sonne in his deseruings, but that he deliuered Rom. 8.
 him to death, and spared him not, because he loued the worlde. And the Prophetes manners of speaking are to be noted, as, A childe is Esa. 9.
 borne to vs. Againe: Reioyce thou daughter of Sion: behold thy king 6.
 commeth to thee. Also that confirmation of loue shoulde be very colde which Paule setteth out, that Christ suffered death for his ene- Rom. 5.
 10.

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Ioh. 17. mics. For therevpon we gather, that he had no respect of himselfe:
and that same he plainly affirmeth in saying: I sanctifie my selfe for
them. For he that geueth away the frute of his holinesse vnto other,
doth thereby testifie that he purchaceth nothing for himselfe. And
truely this is most worthily to be noted, that Christ, to geue him selfe
wholy to saue vs, did after a certaine maner forget him selfe. But to
this purpose they doe wrongfully drawe this testimonie of Paule:
Phil. 2. Therefore the father hath exalted him, and geuen him a name, &c.
9. For by what deseruinges coulde man obteine to be iudge of the
worlde, and the heade of the Angels, and to enioy the soueraigne
dominion of God, and that in him shoulde rest that same maiestie,
the thousandth parte wherof all the powers of men and Angels can
not reach vnto? But the solution thereof is easy and plaine, that Paule
Luc. 24. doth not there entreate of the cause of exalting of Christ, but onely
26. to shewe the effect ensuyng thereof, that it might be for an example
to vs. And no other thing is meante by that which is spoken in an
other place, that it behoued that Christ shoulde suffer, and so enter
into the glorie of his Father.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE INSTITVTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, WHICH intreateth of the maner how to receiue the grace of Christ, and what profiteth do grow vnto vs, and what effectes ensue thereof.

The first Chapter.

*That those things which are spoken of Christ, do profite vs by
secret working of the holy Ghost.*



Owe it is to be seene how those good thinges do
come vnto vs, which the Father hath geuen to
his only begotten Sonne, not for his owne priuate
vse, but to enriche them that were without them
and needed them. And first this is to be learned,
that so long as Christ is out of vs, and we be seuered
from him, whatsoeuer he suffered or did for
the saluation of mankind, is vnprofitable and nothing availeth for
vs.

vs. Therefore that he may enterparten with vs those thinges that he hath receiued of his Father, it behoueth that he become ours, and dwell in vs. And for that cause he is called our heade, and the first begotten among many brethren: and on the other side it is saide, that we are grafted into him, and did put on him. For (as I haue before saide) all that euer he possesseth belongeth nothing to vs, vntill we grow together into one with him. But althogh it be true that we obtaine this by faith: yet forasmuch as we see that not all without difference do embrace this enterpartening of Christ, which is offered by the Gospell, therefore very reason teacheth vs to climbe vp hier, and to enquire of the secret effectual working of the Spirit, by which it is brought to passe, that we enioy Christ and all his good thinges. I haue before entreated of the eternall godheade and essence of the Spirite, at this present let vs be content with this one speciall article, that Christ so came in water and bloude that the Spirite should testifie of him, least the saluation that he hath purchaced, should slippe away from vs. For as there are alleged three witnesses in heauen, the Father, the Worde and the Spirite, so are there also three in earth, Water, Bloude and the Spirite. And not without cause is the testimonie of the Spirite twise repeted, which we feele to be engrauen in our heartes in steede of a seale: whereby commeth to passe, that it sealeth the washing and sacrifice of Christ. After which meaning Peter also saith, that the faithfull are chosen in sanctification of the spirite, vnto obedience and sprinkeling of the bloude of Christ. By which words he telleth vs, that to the entent the sheding of that holy bloud shoulde not become voide, our soules are cleansed with it by the secrete watering of the holy Spirite. According wherevnto Paule also speaking of cleansing and iustification, sayeth that we are made partakers of them both in the name of Iesus Christ and in the Spirite of our God. Finally this is the summe, that the holy Spirite is the bonde wherewith Christ effectually bindeth vs vnto him. For prooffe whereof also do serue all that we haue taught in the last booke before this, concerning his anointing.

2 But that this, being a matter specially worthy to be knowen, may be made more certainly euident, we must holde this in minde, that Christ came furnished with the holy Spirite after a certaine peculiar maner, to the ende that he might seuer vs from the worlde, and gather vs together into the hope of an eternall inheritance. For this cause he is called the Spirite of sanctification, because he doth not onely quicken and nourish vs with that generall power which appeareth as well in mankinde as in all other liuing creatures, but also

Eph. 4.

15.

Rom. 8.

29.

Rom. 11.

17.

Gal. 3.

16.

1. Ioh. 5

7.

1. Pet. 1.

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is in vs: the roote and seede of heauenly life. Therefore the Prophets do principally commend the kingdome of Christ by this title of prerogative, that then should flourish more plentiful abundance of the Spirite. And notable aboue all the rest is that place of Ioel:

Ioel 2.
18.

In that day I will poure of my Spirite vpon all flesh. For though the Prophet there seeme to reſtraine the giſtes of the Spirite to the office of prophecyng, yet vnder a figure he meaneth, that God by the enlightning of his Spirite will make thoſe his ſcholars which before were vnſkillfull and voide of all heauenly doctrine. Now forasmuch as God the Father doth for his Sonnes ſake geue vs his holy Spirite, and yet hath left with him the whole fulneſſe thereof, to the ende that he ſhoulde be a miniſter and diſtributer of his liberalitie: he is ſometime called the Spirite of the Father, and ſometime the Spirite of the

Rom. 8.
9.

Sonne. Ye are not (ſaith Paule) in the fleſh, but in the Spirite, for the Spirite of God dwelleth in you. But if any haue not the ſpirite of Chriſt, he is not his. And here vpon he putteth vs in hope of full re-
nuing, for that he which raiſed vp Chriſt from the deade, ſhall quicken our mortall bodies becauſe of his Spirite dwelling in vs. For it is

Rom. 8.
11.

no abſurditie, that to the Father be aſcribed the praiſe of his owne giſtes, whereof he is the author: and yet that the ſame be aſcribed to Chriſt, with whome the giſtes of the Spirite are leſte, that he may geue them to thoſe that be his. Therefore he calleth all them that

John. 7.
37.

thiſt, to come to him to drinke. And Paule teacheth that the Spirite

Eph. 4.
7.

is diſtributed to euery one, according to the meaſure of the giſte of Chriſt. And it is to be knowne, that he is called the Spirite of Chriſt, not only in reſpect that the eternall Worde of God is with the ſame Spirite ioyned with the Father, but alſo according to his perſon of Mediator, becauſe if he had not had that power, he had come to vs in vaine. After which meaning he is called the ſecond Adam geuen

1. Cor.
15. 45.

from heauen, to be a quickning Spirite: whereby Paule compareth the ſingular life that the ſonne of God breathech into them that be his that they may be all one with him, with the naturall life that is alſo common to the reprobate. Likewiſe where he wiſheth to the faithfull the fauour of Chriſt and the loue of God, he ioyneth withall the common partaking of the Spirite, without which no man can taſt neither of the fatherly fauour of God, nor of the bountifulneſſe of Chriſt. As alſo he ſaith in an other place: The loue of God is poured out into our heartes by the holy Spirite that is geuen vs.

Rom. 5.
5.

3 And here it ſhalbe profitable to note, with what titles the Scripture ſitteth out the holy Spirite, where it entreateth of beginning and whole reſtoring of our ſaluation. Firſt he is called the Spirite of adop-

adoption, because he is a witnesse vnto vs of the free goodwill of God, wherewith God the Father hath embraced vs in his beloued onely begotten Sonne, that he might be a father vnto vs, and doth encourage vs to praie bouldely, yea and doth minister vs wordes to crie with out feare Abba, Father: by the same reason he is called the earnest pledge, and seale of our inheritance, because he so geueth life from heauen to vs wandering in the worlde, and being like to dead men, that we may be assured that our soule is in safegarde vnder the faithful keping of God: for which cause he is also called life, by reason for righteousnesse. And forasmuch as by his secret watering he maketh vs frutefull to bring forth the buddes of righteousnesse, he is oftentimes called water, as in Esaie: All ye that thirst come to the waters. Againe: I will poure out my spirite vpon the thirstie, and floodes vpon the drie lande: wherewith agreeth that saying of Christ, which I did euen now allege: If any thirst, let him come to me. Albeit sometime he is so called, by reason of his power to purge and cleanse, as in Ezechiell where the Lord promiseth cleane waters wherewith he will wash his people from filthinesse. And forasmuch as he restoreth and norissheth into liuely quicknes, them vpon whome he hath poured the liquore of his grace, he is therefore called by the name of oile and anointement. Againe bycause in continually seething out and burning vp the vices of our lust, he setteth our heartes on fire with the loue of God and zeale of godlines, he is also for this effect worthily called fire. Finally he is described vnto vs as a fountaine, from whence do flowe vnto vs all heauenly richesse, or the hands of God, wherewith he vseth his power: bycause by the breath of his power he so breatheth diuine life into vs, that we are not now stirred by our selues, but ruled by his stirring and mouing: so that if there be any good thinges in vs, they be the frutes of his grace: but our owne giftes without him, be darkenesse of minde and perversnesse of harte. This point is set out plainly enough, that till our mindes be benet vpon the holy Ghost, Christ lyeth in a maner idle, bycause we coldely espie him without vs, yea & farre away from vs. But we know that he profiteth none other but them whose heade he is, and the first begotten among brethren, and them which haue put on Him. This conioining onely maketh that, as concerning vs, he is come not vnprofitably with the name of Sauour. And for prooffe hereof serueth that holy marriage whereby we are made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, yea and all one with him. But by the Spirite onely be maketh him selfe one with vs: by the grace and power of the same Spirite we are made his membres, so that he containeth vs vnder him,

Gal. 4. 6
2. Cor. 1. 21

Rom. 8. 10

Esa. 33. 1.

Esa. 44. 2.

Iohn. 7. 17.

Eze. 36. 25.

I. Joh. 2. 29.

Luk. 3. 16.

Iohn. 4. 14.

Act. 1. 21.

Ephe. 4. 15.

Rom. 8. 29.

Gal. 3. 27.

Ephe. 5. 30.

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and we againe possesse him.

- 4 But forasmuch as faith is his principall worke, to it are for the most parte referred all those thinges, that we commonly finde spoken to expresse his force and working: because he bringeth vs into the light of the Gospell by nothing but by faith: as John Baptiste teacheth, that this prerogative is geuen to them the beleue in Christ, that they be the children of God which are borne not of flesh and bloude, but of God: where setting God against flesh and bloude, he affirmeth it to be a supernaturall gifte: that they receiue Christ by faith, who otherwise shoulde remaine subiect to their owne infidelitie. Like where vnto is that aunswere of Christ: Flesh and bloude hath not reueled it to thee, but my Father which is in heaven. These things I do nowe but shortly touche, bycause I haue already intreated of them at large. And like also is that saying of Paule, that the Ephesians were sealed vp with the holy Spirit of promise. For Paule sheweth that he is an inwarde teacher, by whose working the promise of saluation pearceth into our mindes, which otherwise shoulde but beate the aite or our eares. Likewise when he saith, that the Thessalonians were chosen of God in the sanctification of the spirit and beleuing of the truth: by which ioyning of them together, he briefly admonisheth that faith it selfe proceedeth from nothing els but from the holy spirit: which thing Iohn setteth out more plainly, saying: We knowe that there abideth in vs of the spirit which he hath geuen vs. Againe, By this we knowe that we dwell in him, and he in vs, because he hath geuen vs of his spirit. Therefore Christ promised to his Disciples the Spirit of truth which the worlde can not receiue, that they might be able to receiue the heavenly wisdom. And he assigneth to the same spirit this prope office, to put them in minde of those thinges that he had taught them by mouth. Because in vaine shoulde the light shewe it selfe to the blinde, vnlesse the same spirit of vnderstanding shoulde open the eyes of their minde: so as a man may rightly call the holy spirit, the keye by which the treasures of the heavenly kingdome are opened vnto vs: & may call his enlightning, the eyesight of our minde to see.
2. Cor. 3 Therefore doth Saint Paule so much commend the ministerie of the spirit: bycause teachers shoulde crie without profiting, vnlesse Christ himselfe the inwarde maister shoulde drawe them with his spirit that are geuen him by his Father. Therefore as we haue saide, that perfect saluation is founde in the person of Christ: so that we may be made partakers thereof, he doth baptize vs in the holy spirit and fire, lightning vs into the faith of his Gospell, and so newe begetting

vs, that we may be newe creatures: and purging vs from vnholly filthi-
nesse, doth dedicate vs to be holý temples to God.

The ij. Chapter.

*Of faith, wherein both is set the definition of it, and the pro-
perties that it hath, are declared.*

BVt all these things shalbe easie to vnderstand, when there
is shewed a plaine definitiõ of faith, that the readers may know
the force and nature thereof. But first it is conuenient to call
to minde againe these things that haue bene already spoken:
that sith God doth appoint vs by his lawe what we ought to do, if we
fall in any point therof, the same terrible iudgement of eternall death
that he pronounceth doth rest vpon vs. Againe, that forasmuch as it
is not onely hearde but altogether aboue our strength and beyonde
all our power to fulfill the lawe, if we onely beholde our selues, and
weye what estate is worthy for our deseruinges; there is no good
hope left, but we lie cast away from God vnder eternall destruction.
Thirdly this hath been declared, that there is but one meane of de-
liuerance to draw vs out of so wretched calamitie: wherein appeareth
Christ the Redeemer, by whose hande it pleased the heavenly father,
hauiug mercie vpon vs of his infinite goodnesse and clemencie, to
succour vs, so that we with sounde faith embrace this mercie, and with
constant hope rest vpon it. But nowe it is conuenient for vs to weye
this, what maner of faith this ought to be, by which all they that are
adopted by God to be his children, do enter vpon the possessiõ of the
heavenly kingdome, forasmuch as it is certaine that not euery opiniõ
nor yet euery perswasion is sufficient to bring to passe so great a thing.
And with so much the more care and study must we looke about for,
and search out the natural propertie of faith, by how much the more
hurtfull at this day is the error of many in this behalfe. For a great
part of the world, hearing the name of faith, conceiueth no hier thing;
but a certaine common assent to the historie of the Gospel, Yea when
they dispute of faith in the scholes, in barely callinge God the object
of faith, they do nothing but (as we haue saide in an other place) by
vaine speculation rather draw wretched soules out of the right way,
than direct them to the true marke. For whereas God dwelleth in a
light that none can attaine to, it behoueth of necessitie that Christ
become meane betwene vs & it. For which cause he calleth him selfe
the light of the world: & in an other place, The way; the Truth, & the
Life, because no man commeth to the father (which is the fountaine
of life) but by him: because he only knoweth the Father, & by him the

1. Tim.

6. 16.

Iohn. 3.

12.

Ioh. 14.

6.

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Luk. 10. faithfull to whome it pleaseth him to disclose him. According to this
 12. reason, Paule affirmeth, that he accompteth nothing excellent to be
 1. Cor. 3 knowene, but Christ: and in the xx. chapter of the Actes he saith,
 Act. 10. that he preached faith in Christ, &c. And in an other place he bring-
 17. geth in Christ speaking after this maner, I will sende thee among the
 2. Cor. Gentiles, that they may receiue forgeuenesse of sinnes, and portion
 4. 6. among holy ones, by the faith which is in me. And Paule testifieth,
 that the glorie of God is in his person visible vnto vs: or (which is all
 one in effect) that the enlightning of the knowledge of Gods glorie
 shineth in his face. It is true in deede that faith hath respect onely to
 the one God; but this also is to be added, that it acknowledge him
 whome he hath sent, euen Iesus Christ. Because God himselfe should
 haue lyen secret and hidden farre from vs, vnlesse the brightnesse of
 Christ did cast his beames vpon vs. For this entent the father left all
 that he had with his onely begotten sonne, euen by the communi-
 cating of good thinges with him to expresse the true image of his
 glorie. For as it is saide, that we must be drawene by the spirite, that
 we may be stirred to seeke Christ, so againe we ought to be admoni-
 shed, that the inuisible father is no where els to be sought but in this
 image. Of which matter Augustine speaketh excellently well, which
 Tibr. 11. intreating of the marke that faith should shoote at, saith that we must
 de ciui. know whether we must goe and which way: and then by and by after
 Dei. ca. he gathereth that the safest way against al erroures is he that is both
 2. God and man. For it is God to whome we go, and man by whome
 we go: and both these are founde no where but in Christ. Neither
 doth Paule when he speaketh of faith in God, meane to overthrow
 that which he so ofte repeteth of faith that hath her whole stay vpon
 1. Pet. 1. Christ. And Peter doth most fitly ioyne them both together, saying
 21. that by him we beleue in God.

2. Therefore this euill, euen as innumerable other, is to be imput-
 ed to the Schoolemen, which haue hidden Christ as it were with a
 veile drawene before him, to the beholding of whome vnlesse we be
 directly bent, we shall alway wander in many vncertaine mazes. But
 beside this that with their darke definition they do deface and in a
 maner bring to naught the whole force of faith, they haue forged a
 deuise of vnexpressed faith, with which name they garnishing their
 most grosse ignorance do with great hurte deceyue the silly people,
 yea (to say truly and plainely as the thing is in deede) this deuise
 doth not onely burie but vterly destroy the true faith. Is this to be-
 leue, to vnderstand nothing, so that thou obediently submit thy sense
 to the Church? Faith standeth not in ignorance but in knowledge,
 and

and that not onely of God, but of the will of God. For neither do we obtaine saluation by this that we either are ready to embrace for true whatsoeuer the Church appointeth, or that we do commit to it all the office of searching and knowing: but when we acknowledge God to be a merciful father to vs by the recōciliatiō made by Christ, and that Christ is geuen vs vnto righteousness, sanctification, and life. By this knowledge, I say, not by submitting of our sense, we attaine an entrie into the kingdome of heauen. For when the Apostle saith, that with the hearte we beleue to righteousness, and with the mouth confessiō is made to saluatiō, he sheweth that it is not enough, if a man vnexpressedly beleue that which he vnderstādeth not, nor seeketh to learne: but he requireth an expressed acknowledging of Gods goodnesse, in which consisteth our righteousness.

Rom. 10.
10.

3 In deede I denie not (such is the ignorance wherewith we are compassed) that there nowe be and hereafter shalbe many thinges wrapped and hidden from vs, till hauing put of the burden of our flesh we come neerer to the presence of God: in which very thinges that be hidden from vs, nothing is more profitable than to suspend our iudgement, but to stay our minde in determined purpose to kepe vnitie with the Church. But vnder this colour to intitle ignorance tempered with humilitie by the name of faith, is a great absurditie. For faith lieth in knowledge of God and of Christ not in reuerence of the Church. And we see what a maze they haue framed with this their hidden implication, that any thing whatsoeuer it be without any choise, so that it be thrust in vnder title of the Church, is greedily receiued of the ignorant as it were an oracle, yea sometime also most monstrous errorres. Which vnadvised lightnesse of beliefe, whereas it is a most certaine downefal to ruine, is yet excused by them, for that it beleueth nothing determinadly, but with this condition adioyned. If the faith of the Church be such. So do they faine, that truth is holden in error, light in blindnesse, true knowledge in ignorance. But because we will not tarry long in confuting them, we do onely warne the readers to compare their doctrine with ours. For the very pleanesse of the truth it selfe will of it selfe minister a confutation ready enough. For this is not the question among them, whether faith be yet wrapped with many remnauntes of ignorance, but they definitiue say that they beleue aright, which stande amased in their ignorance, yea & do flatter them selues therein, so that they do agree to the authoritie and iudgement of the Church, concerning thinges ynknowene. As though the Scripture did not euery where teach, that with faith is ioyned knowledge.

Iohn 17
3.

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Phil. 3.
15.

4 But we do graunt, that so long as we wander from home in this worlde, our faith is not fully expresse, not only because many things are yet hidde from vs, but because being compassed with many mistes of errours, we attaine not all things. For the highest wisdom of the most perfect is this, to profite more and proceede on further forward with gentill willingnesse to learne. Therefore Paule exhorteth the faithfull, if vpon any thing they differ one from an other, to abide for reuelation. And truly experience teacheth, that till we be vn-clothed of our flesh, we attaine to know lesse than were to be wisshed, and daily in reading we light vpon many darke places which do conuince vs of ignorance. And with this bridle God holdeth vs in modesty, assigning to euery one a measure of faith, that euen the very best teacher may be ready to learne. And notable examples of this vnexpressed faith, we may marke in the Disciples of Christ, before that they had obtained to be fully enlightned. We see, how they hardely tasted the very first introductions, how they did sticke euen in the smallest pointes, how they hanging at the mouth of their maister did not yet much proceede, yea when at the womens information they ranne to the graue, the Resurrection of their maister was like a dreame vnto them. Sith Christ did before beare witness of their faith, we may not say that they were vterly without faith: but rather, if they had not ben perswaded that Christ should rise againe, all care of him woulde haue perished in them. For it was not superstition that did drawe the women to embalme with spices the corpses of a dead man of whome there was no hope of life: but although they beleued his wordes whome they knew to be a speaker of trueth, yet the grossnesse that still possessed their mindes so wrapped their faith in darkenesse, that they were in a maner amased at it. Wherevpon it is saide, that they then at the last beleued when they had by triall of the thing it selfe proued the trueth of the wordes of Christ: not that they then beganne to beleue, but bycause the seede of hidden faith which was as it were dead in their hartes, then receiuing liuelinesse, did springe vp. There was therefore a true faith in them, but an vnexpressed faith, because they reuerently embraced Christ for their onely teacher, and then being taught of him, they determined that he was the author of their saluation: Finally, they beleued that he came from heauen, by the grace of his father to gather his Disciples to heauen. And we neede not so seke any more familiar prooffe hereof than this, that in all things alway vnbelefe is mingled with faith.

5 We may also call it an vnexpressed faith, which yet in deede is nothing but a preparation of faith. The Euangelistes do rehearse that

that many beleued, which onely being rauished to admiration with miracles, proceeded no further but that Christ was the Messias which had bene promised, albeit they tasted not so much as any slender learning of the Gospell. Such obedience which brought them in subiectiō willingly to submit them selues to Christ, beareth the name of faith where it was in dede but the beginning of faith. So the courtier that beleued Christes promise, cōcerning y healing of his sonne, when he came home, as the Euangelist testifieth, beleued againe: by- Iohn. 4.
 cause he receiued as an oracle that which he hearde of the mouth of 3.
 Christ, and then submitted him selfe to his authoritie to receiue his doctrine. Albeit it is to be knowen, that he was so tractable and ready to learne, that yet in the first place the worde of beleuing signifieth a particular belefe: and in the second place maketh him of the numbre of the Disciples, that professed to be the scholers of Christ. Alike example doth Iohn set forth in the Samaritanes, which so beleued Iohn. 4.
 the womans reporte, that they ranne earnestly to Christ, which yet when they had hearde him, saide thus: Now we beleue not bycause of thy report, but we haue hearde him, and we know that he is the Sauour of the worlde. Hereby appeareth that they which are not yet instructed in the first introductions, so that they be disposed to obedience, are called faithfull, in deede not proprely, but in this respect, that God of his tender kindenesse vouchsafeth to graunt so great honour to that godly affection, but this willingnesse to learne, with a desire to proceede further, differeth farre from that grosse ignorance, wherein they lie dull that are content with the vnexpressed faith, such as the Papistes haue imagined. For if Paule seuerely 2. Tim.
 condemneth them which alway learning, yet neuer come to the 3. 7.
 knowledge of trueth, how much more greuous reproche do they deserue, that of purpose studie to know nothing?

6 This therefore is the true knowledge of Christ, if we receiue him such as he is offered of his Father, that is to say, clothed with his Gospell. For as he is appointed to be the marke of our faith, so we can not go the right way to him, but by the Gospell going before to guide vs. And truely there are opened to vs the treasures of grace, which being shut vp, Christ shoulde litle profite vs. So Paule ioyneth faith an vnseparable companion to doctrine, where he saith: Ye haue not so learned Christ, for ye haue bene taught what is the trueth in Ephes. 4.
 Christ. Yet do I not so restraîne faith to the Gospell, but that I con- 20.
 fesse that there hath bene so much taught by Moses & the Prophets, as sufficed to the edification of faith, but because there hath bene deliuered in the Gospell a fuller opening of faith, therefore it is wor-

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Rom.10 4. thily called of Paule, the doctrine of faith. For which cause also he
 4. faith in an other place, that by the comming of faith the law is taken
 away, meaning by this word faith, the new and vnaccustomed maner
 of teaching, wherby Christ since he appeared our scholemaster, hath
 more plainly set forth the mercy of his father, and more certainly
 testified of our saluation. Albeit it shalbe the more easie and more
 conuenient ordre, if we descend by degrees from the generaltie to
 the specialtie. First we must be put in minde that there is a generall
 relation of faith to the worde, and that faith can no more be seuered
 from the worde, than the sunnebeames from the sunne from whom
 Esa. 55. they procede. Therefore in Esaie God crieth out: Heare me and your
 3. soule shall liue. And that the same is the fountaine of faith, Iohn
 Ioh. 10. 13. sheweth in these wordes: These things are written that ye may be-
 leue. And the Prophet meaning to exhorthe the people to beleefe,
 Psa. 95. 8. faith: This day if ye shall heare his voice. And to heare is common-
 ly taken for to Beleue. Moreouer, God doth not without cause in
 Esaie set this marke of differēce betwene the children of the Church
 and straungers, that he will instruct them all, that they may be taught
 of him. For if it were a benefit vniuersall to all, why shoulde he direct
 his wordes to a fewe? Wherewith agreeth this that the Euangelistes
 do commonly vse the wordes Faithfull, and Disciples, as severall
 Act. 6. wordes expressing one thing, and specially Luke very oft in the Actes
 1. and 9. of the Apostles. Yea and he stretcheth that name euen to a woman
 and. 26. in the ninth chapter of the Actes. Wherefore if faith do swerue
 and. 11. neuer so litle from this marke, to which it ought to be directly level-
 and. 13. led, it kepeth not her own nature, but becometh an vncertaine light-
 and. 14. nesse of beleefe and wandring error of minde. The same Worde is
 the foundation wherewith faith is vpholden and susteined, from
 which if it swarue, it falleth downe. Therefore take away the Worde,
 and then there shall remaine no faith. We do not here dispute whe-
 ther the ministerie of man be necessarie to sowe the word of God
 that faith may be conceiued therby, which question we wil els where
 intreate of: but we say that the worde it selfe, howsoever it be con-
 ueyed to vs, is like a mirrour when faith may beholde God. Whether
 God doth therein vse the seruice of man, or worke it by his owne
 only power, yet he doth alway shew him selfe by his worde to those,
 Ro. 1. 5. whome his will is to drawe vnto him: wherevpon Paule defineth
 faith to be an obedience that is geuen to the Gospell. Rom. 1. And in
 an other place he praiseth the obedience of faith in the Philippians,
 Phil. 2. 17. For this is not the onely purpose in the vnderstanding of faith, that
 we knowe that there is a God, but this also, yea this chiefly, that we
 vnder-

vnderstand what will he beareth towarde vs. For it not so much be-
houeth vs to knowe what he is in himselfe, but what a one he will be
to vs. Nowe therefore we are come to this point, that faith is a know-
ledge of the will of God, perceyued by his worde. And the foun-
dation hereof is a foreconceiued persuation of the truthe of God.
Of the assurednesse whereof so long as thy minde shall dispute with
it selfe, the worde shall be but of doubtfull and weake credit, yea ra-
ther no credit at all. But also it sufficeth not to beleue that God is a
true speaker, which can neither deceiue nor lie, vnlesse thou further
holde this for vndoubtedly determined, that whatsoever procedeth
from him, is the sacred and inuiolable truthe.

7 But because not at euery worde of God mans hearte is raised
vp to faith, we must yet further search what this faith in the worde
hath properly respect vnto. It was the saying of God to Adam: Thou Gene. 2.
shalt die the death. It was the saying of God to Cain: The bloude 17. and
of thy brother crieth to me out of the earth. Yet these are such say- 4. 10.
inges as of them selues can do nothing but shake faith, so much lesse
are they able to stablish faith. We deny not in the meane season that
it is the office of faith to agree to the truthe of God, howe ofte
soeuer, what soeuer, and in what sorte soeuer it speaketh: but nowe
our question is onely, what faith findeth in the worde of the Lorde
to leane and rest vpon. When our conscience beholdeth onely in-
dignation and vengeance, howe can it but tremble and quake for
feare? And howe shoulde it but flee God, of whome it is afraide?
But faith ought to seeke God, and not to flee from him. It is plaine
therefore, that we haue not yet a full definition of faith, bycause it
is not to be accompted for faith to knowe the will of God, of what
sorte so euer it be. But what if in the place of will, whereof many
times the message is sorrowefull and the declaration dreadfull, we
put kindenesse or mercie? Truly so we shall come nerer to the na-
ture of faith. For we are then allured to seeke God, after that we
haue learned that saluation is laied vp in store with him for vs. Which
thing is confirmed vnto vs, when he declareth that he hath care and
loue of vs. Therefore there needeth a promise of grace, whereby he
may testifie that he is our mercifull father, for that otherwise we can
not approach vnto him, and vpon that alone the hearte of man may
safely rest. For this reason commonly in the Psalmes these two things
Mercie and Truth do cleaue together, because neither shoulde it any Psal. 40
thing profite vs to know that God is true, vnlesse he did mercifully 11.
allure vs vnto him: neither were it in our power to embrace his mer- Psal. 35.
cie, vnlesse he did with his one mouth offer it. I haue reported thy 20.

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truth and thy saluation, I haue not hidden thy goodnesse and thy truth. Thy goodnesse and thy trueth keepe me. In an other place.

Psal 36.

Thy mercie to the heauens, thy trueth euen to the cloudes. Againe.

6.

All the wayes of the Lord are mercie and trueth, to them that keepe

Psal 107

his couenant. Againe. His mercie is multiplied vpon vs, and the truth

Psal 138

of the Lorde abiderh for euer. Againe. I will singe to thy name vpon

thy mercie and trueth. I omit that which is in the Prophetes to the

same meaning, that God is mercifull and faithfull in his promises,

For we shall rashly determine that God is mercifull vnto vs, vnlesse

him selfe do testifie of him selfe and preuent vs with his calling, leaste

his will shoulde be doubtfull and vnknown. But we haue already

seene, that Christ is the onely pledge of his loue, without whome

on euery side appeare the tokens of hatred and wrath. Nowe foras-

much as the knowledge of Gods goodnesse shall not much preuaile,

vnlesse he make vs to rest in it, therefore such an vnderstanding is to

be banished as is mingled with doubting, and doth not soundly agree

in it selfe, but as it were, disputeth with it selfe. But mans wit, as it

is blinde and darkened, is farre from attaining and climbing vp to

perceiue the very will of God: and also the hearte of man, as it wa-

uereth with perpetuall doubting, is farre from resting assured in that

persuasion. Therefore it behoueth both that our wit be lightned, and

our hearte strengthened by some other meane, that the worde of

God may be of full credit with vs. Nowe we shall haue a perfect de-

finition of faith, if we say, that it is a stedfast and assured knowledge

of Gods kindnesse toward vs, which being grounded vpon the trueth

of the free promise in Christ, is both reueled to our mindes, and sea-

led in our heartes by the holy Ghost.

8 But before I procede any further, it shalbe necessarie, that I

make some preambles to dissolue certaine doubtles that otherwise

might make some stoppe to the readers. And first I must confute that

distinction that flieth about in the scholes, betwene faith formed and

vnformed. For they imagine that such as are touched with no feare

of God, with no feeling of godlinesse, do beleue all that is necessarie

to saluation. As though the holy Ghost in lightening our heartes vn-

to faith, were not a witnesse to vs of our adoption. And yet pre-

sumptuously, when all the Scripture crieth out against it, they geue

the name of faith to such persuasion void of the feare of God.

We neede to striue no further with their definition, but simply to re-

hearfe the nature of faith, such as it is declared by the worde of God.

Whereby shall plainly appeare howe vnskilfully and foolishly they

rather make a noise than speake of it. I haue already touched

parte,

parte, the rest I will adde hereafter as place shall serue. At this present I say, that there can not be imagined a greater absurditie, than this inuention of theires. They wil haue faith to be an assent, whereby euery despiser of God may receiue that which is vttered out of the Scripture. But first they shoulde haue seene whether euery man of his owne power do bring faith to him selfe, or whether the holy Ghost be by it a witnesse of adoption. Therefore they do childishly plaie the fooles, in demaunding, whether faith, which qualitie addeth doth fourme, be the same faith or an other and a newe faithe. Whereby appeareth certainly, that in so babling they neuer thought of the singular gifte of the holy Ghost. For the beginning of beleuing doth already containe in it the reconciliation, whereby man approacheth to God. But if they did weye that saying of Paule: *Rom. 10.* With the hearte is beleued to righteousness, they woulde cesse to faine that same colde qualitie. If we hadde but this one reason, it shoulde be sufficient to ende this contention: that the very same assent (as I haue already touched, and will againe more largely repete) is rather of the hearte than of the braine, rather of affection than of vnderstanding. For which cause it is called the obedience of faith, *Rom. 1.* which is such as the Lorde preferreth no kinde of obedience aboue 5. it: and that worthily, forasmuch as nothing is more precious to him than his truthe, which as Iohn the Baptist witnesseth, the beleuers doe as it were subscribe and seale vnto. Sithe the matter is *Iohn. 3.* not doubtfull we doe in one worde determinately saie, that they speake fondely when they saie that faithe is fourmed by adding of godly affection vnto assent: whereas assent it selfe, at least such assent as is declared in the Scriptures, consisteth of godly affection. But yet there is an other plainer argument that offereth it selfe to be alleged. For whereas faith embraceth Christ as he is offered vs of the Father: and Christ is offered not onely for righteousness, forgeuenesse of sinnes and peace, but also for sanctification, and a fountaine of liuing water: without doubt no man can euer truely knowe him, vnlesse he doe therewithall receiue the sanctification of the Spirite. Or, if any man desire to haue it more plainly spoken, Faith consisteth in the knowledge of Christ. And Christ can not be knowene, but with sanctification of his Spirite: therefore it followeth, that faith can by no meane be seuered from godly affection.

9 Whereas they are wonte to laie this against vs, that Paule *1. Cor.* saith: If a man haue all faith, so that he remoue mountaines: if he *12. 10.* haue not charitie, he is nothing: whereby they woulde deforme

faith, in spoyling it of charitie : they consider not what the Apostle in that place meaneth by faith . For when in the chapter next before it, he had spoken of the diuerse giftes of the holy Ghost, among the which he had reckened the diuerse kindes of languages , power and prophecie , and had exhorted the Corinthians to follow the best of these giftes , that is to say , such giftes whereby more profit and comoditie might come to the whole dody of the Church: he streightway saide further , that he woulde shewe them yet a more excellent way. That all such giftes, how excellent soeuer they be of them selues, yet are nothing to be esteemed, vnlesse they serue charitie. For they were geuen to the edifying of the Church , and vnlesse they be applied therevnto, they lose their grace. For prooffe of this he particularly preherfeth them , repeting the selfe same giftes that he had spoken of before, but in other names. And he vseth the wordes Powers and Faith, for all one thing, that is for the power to do miracles. Sith therefore this, whether ye call it power or faith , is a particular gifte of God , which euery vngodly man may both haue and abuse , as the gifte of tongues, as prophecie and other giftes of grace : it is no maruell if it be seuered from charitie . But all the error of these men standeth in this , that where this worde Faith , hath diuerse significations , they not considering the diuersitie of the thing signified, dispute as though it were taken for one thinge in all places alike. The place of Iames which they allege for maintainance of the same error, shall be els where discussed . But although for teachinges sake , when we meane to shewe what manner of knoweledge of God there is in the wicked , we graunt that there are diuerse sortes of faithe: yet we acknowledge and speake of but one faithe of the godly , as the Scripture teacheth . Many in deede doe beleue that there is a God , they thinke that the Historie of the Gospell and other partes of the Scripture are true (as commonly we are wonte to iudge of such thinges , as either are reported being done long ago, or such as we our selues haue bene presente at and seene.) There be also some that goe further , for bothe they beleue the worde of God to be a moste assured oracle, and they do not altogether despise his commaundementes , and they somewhat after a sorte are moued with his threatenings and promises . It is in deede testified that such haue faith: but that is spoken out by abuse , because they do not with open vngodlinesse fight against the worde of God, or refuse or despise it : but rather pretende a certaine shew of obedience.

10 But this image or shadowe of faith , as it is of no value, so

is it not worthy of the name of faith. From the sound trueth whereof how farre it differeth, although it shall be hereafter more largely entreated, yet there is no cause to the contrary, why it shoulde not now be touched by the way. It is sayd that Simon Magus beleued, A.C. 8.
13. & 18 which yet within a litle after bewraied his owne vnbeliefe. And whereas it is said that he beleued, we do not vnderstand it as some do, that he fayned a beliefe when he had none in his heart: but we rather thinke that being ouercome with the maiesty of the Gospell, he had a certaine faith such as it was, and so acknowledged Christ to be the author of life and saluation, that he willingly professed himselfe to be one of his. After the same manner it is said in the Gospel of Luke, Luk. 8. 7
& 13. that they beleue for a time, in whom the seede of the word is cho- ked vp before it bring foorth frute, or before it take any roote at all, it by and by withereth away and perissheth: we dout not that such delited with a certaine tast of the word do greedily receiue it, and beginne to feelee the diuine force of it: so farre that with deceitful counterfayting of fayth, they beguile not onely other mens eyes, but also their owne mindes. For they perswade themselues, that that reuerence which they shew to the word of God, is most true godlinesse, because they thinke that there is no vngodlynesse but manifest and confessed reproch or contempt of his word. But what manner of assent soeuer that be, it pearceth not to the very hart to remaine there stablished: & though sometime it semeth to haue takē rootes, yet those are not luely rootes. The heart of man hath so many secret corners of vanity, is full of so many hiding holes of lying, is couered with so guilefull hypocrisie, that it oft deceiueth himselfe. But let them that glorie in such shadowes of faith vnderstande, that therein they are no better than the Deuill. But that first sorte of men are farre worse Iac. 2.
19. than the Deuill, which do senselessly heare and vnderstande those thinges for knowledge whereof the Deuils do tremble. And the other are in this point egall with the Deuill, that the feelinge such as it is wherewith they are touched, turneth onely to terrour and discouragement.

11 I knowe that some thinke it hard, that we assigne fayth to the reprobate, whereas Paule affirmeth faith to be the frute of election. Which dout yet is easily dissolued: for though none receiue the 1. Thes.
1. 4. light of faith, nor do truly feelee the effectual working of the Gospel, but they that are foreordained to saluation: yet experience sheweth that the reprobate are sometime moued with the same feelinge that the elect are, so that in their owne iudgement they nothing differ frō the elect. Wherefore it is no absurdity, that the Apostle ascribeth to

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Heb. 6. them the tast of the heavenly giftes, that Christ ascribeth to them a faith for a time: not that they soundly perceauē the spirituall force of grace and assured light of faith: but because the Lord, the more to cēdemne them and make them inexcusable, conueyeth himselfe into their mindes so farre forth, as his goodnesse may be tasted without the spirite of adoption. If any obiect, that then there remayneth nothing more to the faithfull whereby to proue certainly their adoption: I answer that though there be a great likenesse and affinity betwene the elect of God, and them that are endued with a falling faith for a time, yet there liueth in the elect only that affiance which Paul speaketh of, that they crie with full mouth, Abba, Father. Therefore as God doth regenerate onely the elect with incorruptible seede for euer, so that the seede of life planted in their hearts neuer perisheth: so soundly doth he seale in them the grace of his adoptiō, that it may be stable & sure. But this withstandeth not but that that other inferior working of the Spirite may haue his course, even in the reprobate. In the meane season the faithful are taught, carefully & humbly to examine themselues, least in steade of assurednes of faith, do creepe in carelesse confidēce of the flesh. Beside that, the reprobate do neuer conceiue but a confused feelinge of grace, so that they rather take holde of the shadow than of the sounde body, because the holy Spirite doth properly seale the remission of sinnes in the elect onely, so that they apply it by speciall faith to their vse. But yet it is truely said, that the reprobate beleue God to be mercifull vnto them, because they receiue the gift of reconciliation, although confusedly and not plainly enough: not that they are partakers of the selfe same fayth or regeneration with the children of God, but because they seeme to haue as well as they, the same beginning of faith, vnder a cloke of Hypocrisie. And I denie not, that God doth so farre giue light vnto theyr mindes, that they acknowledge his grace, but he maketh that same feelinge so different from the peculiar testimonie which he giueth to his elect, that they neuer come to the sounde effect and fruition thereof. For he doth not therefore shewe himselfe mercifull vnto them, for that he hauinge truely deliuered them from death, doth receiue them to his sauegarde, but onely he discloseth to them a present mercye. But he vouchsafeth to graunt to the onely elect the liuely roote of fayth, so that they continue to the ende. So is that obiection answered, if God do truely shewe his grace, that the same remayneth perpetually stablished, for that there is no cause to the contrarie, but that God may enlighten some with a present feelinge of his grace, which afterwarde vanisheth

sheth away.

12 Also though faith be a knowledge of Gods kindenes toward vs, and an assured perswasion of the trueth thereof: yet it is no maruell that the feelinge of Gods loue in temporall thinges doth vanish away: which although it haue an affinity with faith, yet doth it much differ from faith. I graunt, the will of God is vnchaungeable, and the trueth thereof doth alway stedfastly agree with it selfe, but I deny that the reprobate do proceede so farre as to attaine vnto that secreete reuelation, which the Scripture sayth to belonge to the elect onely. Therefore I deny that they do either conceiue the will of God as it is vnchaungeable, or do stedfastly embrace the trueth thereof, because they abide in a feeling that vanisheth away: Like as a tree that is not planted deepe enough to take liuely rootes, in proceesse of time waxeth drie, although for a fewe yeares it bringeth forth not onely blossomes and leaues, but also frute. Finally, as by the fall of the first man, the Image of God might haue bene blotted out of his minde, and soule, so it is no maruell, if God do shine vpon the reprobate with certaine beames of his grace, which afterward he suffereth to be quenched. And there is no cause to the contrary, but that he may lightly ouer wash some, and thoroughly soke other some with the knowledge of his Gospell. This is in the meane time to be holden for trueth, that how small and weake soeuer faith be in the elect, yet because it is to them a sure pledge of the Spirite of God, and a seale of their adoption, the print thereof can neuer be blotted out of their heartes: as for the reprobate, that they are ouerspred with such a light as afterwarde commeth to nought. And yet the Spirite is not deceitefull, because he geueth not life to the seede that he casteth in their heartes, to make it abide alwayes incorruptible, as he doth in the elect. I go yet further, for whereas it is euident by the teachinge of the Scripture and by dayely experience, that the reprobate are sometime touched with the feelinge of Gods grace, it must needes be that there is raised in their heartes a certaine desire of mutuall loue. So for a time there liued in Saul a godly affection to loue God, by whom he knew himselfe to be fatherly handeled, and therefore was delited with a certaine sweetenesse of his goodnesse. But as the perswasion of the fatherly loue of God is not fast rooted in the reprobate, so do they not soundely loue him agayne as his children, but are led with a certayne affection like hired seruantes. For to Christ onely was that Spirite of loue giuen, to this ende, that he shoulde poure it into his members. And truely that saying of Paule extendeth no further, but to the elect only: The Ro. 5. 5.

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loue of God is poured abroade into our heartes by the holy Spirit that is giuen vs, euen the same loue that engendreth the same confidence of calling vpon him, which I haue before touched. As on the contrary side we see God to be maruelously angry with his children, whom yet he cesseth not to loue: not that in himselfe he hateth thē, but because his will is to make them afrajd with the feelinge of his wrath, but to the entent to abate their pride of flesh, to shake of their drouinesse, and to moue them to repentance. And therefore all at one time they conceiue him to be both angry with them or with their sinnes, and also mercifull vnto them: because they not faynedly do pray to appease his wrath, to whom yet they flee with quiete assured trust. Hereby it appeareth that it is not true that some do counterfaite a shewe of faith, which yet do lacke the true faith, but while they are caried with a sodayne violent motion of Zeale, they deceiue themselues with false opinion, And it is no dout that sluggishnesse so possesseth them, that they do not well examine their heart as they ought to haue done. It is likely that they were such to whom (as Iohn witnesseth) Christ did not commit himselfe when yet they beleued in him: because he knew them all, and knew what was in man. If many did not fal from the common faith (I cal it common, because the faith that lasteth but a time hath a great likenesse and affinity with the liuely and continuinge faith) Christ would not haue sayd to his Disciples: If ye abide in my worde, then are ye truely my Disciples, and ye shall know the trueth, and the trueth shall make you free. For he speaketh to them that had embraced his doctrine, & exhorteth them to the encrease of faith, that they should not by their owne sluggishnesse quenche the light that is giuen them. Therefore doth Paul affirme, that faith peculiarly belongeth to the elect, declaring that many vanish away, because they haue not taken liuely roote. Like as Christ also saith in Matthew: euery tree y^e my father hath not planted, shalbe rooted vp. In other there is a grosser kinde of lyinge, that are not ashamed to mocke both God and men. Iames inueieth against y^e kind of men, that with deceitful pretense do wickedly abuse faith. Neither would Paule require of the children of God a faith vnfayned, but in respect that many do presumptuously challenge vnto themselues that which they haue not, and with vaine coloured deceit do beguile other or sometime themselues. Therefore he compareth a good conscience to a chest wherein fayth is kept, because many in fallinge from good conscience, haue suffered shipwrecke of their faith.

13 We must also remember the doutfull signification of the word
fayth.

faith. For oftentimes faith signifieth the sounde doctrine of religion.
 as in the place that we now alleaged, and in the same Epistle where
 Paule will haue Deacons to holde fast the mystery of faith in a pure
 conscience. Againe, where he publisheth the falling away of certaine
 from the faith. But on the other side he sayth that Timothee was
 nourished vp with the wordes of faith. Againe, where he sayth that
 prophane vanities and oppositions, falsely named sciences, are the
 cause that many departe from the faith: whom in an other place he
 calleth reprobate touchinge faith. As againe he chargeth Titus, say-
 ing, Warne them that they be sounde in the faith. By soundenesse he
 meaneth nothing else but purenesse of doctrine, which is easily cor-
 rupted and brought out of kinde by the lightnesse of men. Euen be-
 cause in Christ, whom faith possesseth, are hidden all the treasures
 of wisdom and knowledge: therefore faith is worthily extended
 to signifie the whole summe of heavenly doctrine, from which it can
 not be seuered. Contrarywise sometime it is restrayned to signifie some
 particular obiekt, as when Matthew sayth, that Christ saw the faith of
 them that did let downe the man sicke of the palsey through the tiles
 and Christ himselte crieth out that he founde not in Israell so great
 faith as the Centurion brought. But it is likely that the Centurion was
 earnestly bent to the healing of his daughter, the care whereof occu-
 pied all his minde: yet because being contented with the onely assent
 and answer of Christ, he required not Christs bodily presence, ther-
 fore in respect of this circumstance his faith was so much commen-
 ded. And a litle here before we haue shewed, that Paul taketh faith for
 the gift of working miracles, which gift they haue that neither are re-
 generate by the Spirit of God, nor do hartily worship him. Also in an
 other place he setteth faith for y^e doctrine wherby we are instructed in
 faith. For where he wryteth that faith shall be abolished, it is out of
 question that that is meant by the ministry of the Church, which at
 this time is profitable for our weakenesse. In these formes of speech
 standeth a proportionall relation. But when the name of faith is vn-
 properly remoued, to signifie a false profession, or a lyinge title of
 faith, that should seeme to be as harde a figuratiue abuse as when the
 feare of God is sette for a corrupt and wrongfull manner of worship-
 ping, as when it is oftentimes sayd in the holy History, that the
 foraine nations which hadde bin transplanted into Samaria and the
 places borderinge there about, feared the fayned Gods and the God
 of Israell: which is as much, as to mingle heauen and earth together.
 But now our question is, What is that faith which maketh the chil-
 dren of God different from the vnbeleuers, by which we call vpon

1. Tim. 3

9.

1. Tim. 4

1. & 6.

2. Tim. 2

16. & 3.

8.

Tit. 1. 13

& 2. 2.

Col. 2. 3

Mat. 9. 2

Matt. 8.

10.

1. Cor.

13. 10.

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God by the name of our Father, by which we passe from death to life, and by which Christ the eternall saluation and life dwelleth in vs. The force and nature thereof I thinke I haue shortly and plainly declared.

14 Now let vs againe go through all the partes of it, euen frō the beginning which being diligently examined, (as I thinke) there shall remaine nothing doutfull. When in defining faith we call it a knowledge, we meane not therby a cōprehending, such as men vse to haue of those things that are subiect to mans vnderstandinge. For it is so far aboue it, that mā's wit must go beyond & surmount it selfe to come vnto it, yea and when it is come vnto it, yet doth it not attayne that which it feeleth, but while it is perswaded of that which it conceiueth not, it vnderstandeth more by the very assurednesse of perswasion, than if it did with mans owne capacity throughly perceiue any thing familiar to man. Therefore Paule sayth very well, where he calleth it to comprehend what is the length, bredth, depth, & heighth, and to know the loue of Christ that farre surmounteth knowledge. For his meaninge was to signifie, that the thinge which our minde conceiueth by faith, is euery way infinite, and that this kinde of knowledge is farre hyer than all vnderstandinge. But yet because the Lord hath disclosed to his Saintes the secretes of his will which was hidden from ages and generations, therefore by good reason faith is in Scripture sometime called an acknowledginge: and Iohn calleth it a certaine knowledge, where he testifieth, that the faithfull do certaynely know that they are the children of God. And vndoubtedly they know it assuredly: but rather by being confirmed by perswasion of Gods trueth, than by beinge informed by naturall demonstration. And this, also the wordes of Paule do declare sayinge, that while we dwell in the body, we are wandering abroad from the lord, because we walke by faith and not by sight: whereby he sheweth that those things which we vnderstande by faith, are yet absent from vs and are hidden from our sight. And hereupon we determine, that the knowledge of faith standeth rather in certainty than in comprehending.

15 We further call it, a sure and stedfast knowledge, to expresse thereby a more sound constancy of perswasion. For as faith is not contented with a doubtful and rowling opinion, so is it also not contented with a darke and entangled vnderstanding: but requireth a full & fixed assurednesse, such as men are wont to haue of things founde by experience and proued. For vnbeliefe sticketh so fast and is so deepe rooted in our heartes, and we are so bent vnto it, that this which all men confesse

Eph. 3.
18.

Col. 1.
28.

1. Ioh. 3.
2.

2. Cor.
3. 6.

cōfesse with their mouth to be true, y God is faithfull, no mā is without great contention perswaded in his heart. Specially when he cōmeth to the proufe, then the wauering of all men discloseth the fault that before was hidden. And not without cause the Scripture with so notable titles of cōmendation maintaineth the authority of the word of God, but endeouureth to giue remedy for the aforesayd disease, that God may obtaine to be fully beleued of vs in his promises. The wordes of the Lord (sayth Dauid) are pure wordes, as the Siluer tried ^{Psal. 119.} in a fornace of earth, fined seuen times. Again, The word of the Lord ^{31.} is a shielde to all that trust in him. And Salomon confirminge ^{Pro. 30.} the same, and in a manner in the same wordes, sayth: Euery word of God is pure. But sith y whole 119. Psalme entreateth only in a manner vpon the same, it were superfluous to alleage any moe places. Truly so oft as God doth socōmend his word vnto vs, he doth therein by the way reproche vs with our vnbeleuingnesse: because that commendation tendeth to no other end, but to roote vp all peruerse doutings out of our hearts. There be also many which so cōceiue the mercy of God, that they take litle comfort therof. For they be euen therewithall pinched with a miserable carefullnesse, while they dout whether he will be mercifull to them or no, because they enclose within to narrow boundes the very same mercifullnesse, of which they thinke themselues, most assuredly perswaded. For thus they thinke with themselues, that his mercy is in deede great and plentifull poured out vpon many, offering it selfe and ready for all men: but that it is not certaine whether it will extend vnto them or no, or rather whether they shall attaine vnto it or no. This thought when it stayeth in the midde race, is but a halfe. Therefore it doth not so confirme the spirit with assured quietnes, as it doth trouble it with vnquiete doubtfulnesse. But there is a far other feeling of full assurednesse, which in the Scriptures is alway assigned to faith, euen such a one as plainly setting before vs the goodnes of God, doth clearly put it out of doubt. And that can not be, but that we must needs truly feele and proue ^{Ephc. 12.} in our selues the swetenesse thereof. And therefore the Apostle out of faith deriueth assured confidence, and out of it againe boldnesse. For thus he sayth, that by Christ we haue boldnesse, and an entrance with confidence, which is through faith in him. By which words truly he sheweth, that it is no right sayth, but when we are bolde with quiet mindes to shew our selues in the presence of God. Which boldnesse procedeth not but of assured confidence of Gods good will and our saluation. Which is so true, that many times this word Faith, is vsed for Confidence.

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16 But hereupon hangeth the chiefe stay of our faith, that we do not thinke the promises of mercy which the Lord offereth to be true only in other beside vs, & not at all in our selues: but rather that in inwardly embracing them, we make them our owne. From hense

Ro. 5.1. proceedeth that confidence which the same Paule in an other place calleth peace, vnles some had rather say, that peace is deriued of it. It is an assurednes that maketh the cōscience quiete & chereful before God, without which the consciēce must of necessity be vexed, & in a maner torne in peeces with troublesome trembling, vnlesse perhaps it do forget God and it selfe, and so slomber a litle while. And I may truly say, For a litle while, for it doth not longe enioy that miserable forgetfulnes, but is with oftē recourse of the remembrance of Gods iudgement sharply tormented. Briefely, there is none truly faithfull, but he that being perswaded with a sounde assurednesse that God is his mercifull and louing father, doth promise himselfe all thinges vpon trust of Gods goodnesse: and none but he that trusting vpon the promises of Gods good will toward him, conceiueth an vndouted lookinge for of saluation: as the Apostle sheweth in these wordes: if we keepe sure to the ende our confidence and gloryinge of hope.

He. 3.13 For hereby he meaneth that none hopeth well in the Lorde, but he that with confidence glorieth that he is heire of the kingedome of heauen. There is none (I say) faithfull, but he that leaning vpon the assurednesse of his owne saluation, doth confidently triumphe vpon the Deuill and death, as we are taught by that notable concludinge sentence of Paule: I am perswaded (saith he) that neither death, nor

Rom. 8. 38. life, nor Angels, nor principalties, nor powers, nor thinges present, nor things to come, shalbe able to separate vs from the loue of God, wherewith he embraceth vs in Christ Iesu. And in like manner, the same Apostle thinketh, that the eyes of our minde are by no other meane well lightened, vnlesse we see what is the hope of the eternal

Ephē 1. 28. inheritance to which we are called. And ech where his common manner of teaching is such, that he declareth that no otherwise we do not well comprehend the goodnesse of God, vnlesse we gather of it the frute of great assurednesse.

17 But (some man will say) the faithfull do finde by experience a farre other thing within themselves, which in recording the grace of God toward them, are not onely tempted with vnquietenesse, which oftentimes chaunceth vnto them, but also are sometime shaken with most grieuous terrours: so great is the vehemency of temptations to throw downe their mindes: which thing seemeth not sufficiently wel to agree with that assurednesse of faith. Therefore this dout must be

answe-

answered, if we will haue our aforesayd doctrine to stand. But truely, when we teache that sayth ought to be certaine and assured, we do not imagine such a certaintie as is touched with no doutinge, nor such an assurednesse as is assayed with no carefulnesse: but rather we say, that the faithfull haue a perpetuall strife with their owne distrustfullnesse. So farre be we from settlinge their consciences in such a peaseable quietenesse, as may be interrupted with no troubles at all. Yet on the other side we say, that in what sorte soeuer they be afflicted, they do neuer fall and departe from that assured confidence which they haue conceiued of the mercy of God. The Scripture setteth forth no example of faith more plaine, or more notable than in Dauid, specially if a man beholde the whole continuall course of his life. But yet howe he was not alway of quiete minde, himselfe declareth by innumerable complaints, of which at this time it shall be sufficient to choose out a fewe. When he reprocheth his owne soule with troublesome motions, what is it else but that he is angry with his owne vnbeleuingnesse? Why tremblest thou my soule (sayth he) and why art thou disquieted within me? trust in God. And truely that same discouragement was a playne token of destruction, euen as if he thought himselfe to be forsaken of God. And in an other place we reade a larger cōfession therof, where he saith: I sayd in my overthrow, I am cast out from the sight of thy eies. Also in an other place he disputeth with himselfe in carefull and miserable perplexity, yea & quareleth of the very nature of God, sayinge: Hath God forgotten to haue mercy? will he cast of for euer? And yet harder is that which followeth: But I haue sayd, To die is mine: charges are of the right hande of the hieft. For, as in despeare he condemneth himselfe to destruction, and not only confesseth himselfe to be tossed with douting, but as if he were vanquished in battell, he leaueth nothing to himself, because God hath forsaken him, and hath turned to destroy him, the same hande that was wont to be his helper. Wherefore not without cause he exhorteth his soule to returne to her quietenesse, because he had found by experience, that he was tossed amōg troublesome waues. And yet (which is maruellous) in all these assaultes, faith vpholdeth the heartes of the godly, and is truely like vnto a Date tree to endure and rise vpward against all burdens, howe great soeuer they be: as Dauid when he might seeme to be vtterly ouerwhelmed, yet in rebuking himselfe, cesseth not to rise vp to God. And truely he that struinge with his owne weakenesse, resorteth to faith in his troubles, is already in a manner conquerour. Which may be gathered by this sentence and other like: Waite for the Lord, be strong, he shal streng-

Psa. 42.

6 & 43-5

Psa. 31.

22.

Psa. 77.

10.

Psa. 116

7.

Psal. 27

14.

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then thy heart:waite for the Lord.He reprocheth himselfe of fearefulnes, & in repeating the same twise,cōfesseth himselfe to be sometimes subiect to many troublesome motions.And in the meane time he doth not onely become displeased with himselfe in these faultes, but earnestly endeuoureth to amendement. Truly if we will more nerely by good examination compare him with Achaz,there shalbe
Esa.7.3 founde great difference.Esay was sent to bring remedy to the carefull griefe of the wicked king and hipocrite,and spake vnto him in these wordes:Be in sauegard and be quiete:feare not, &c. But what did Achaz? As it was before sayd,that his heart was moued as the trees of the woode are shaken with winde,though he hearde the promise,yet he cessed not to quake for feare. This therefore is the propre reward & punishment of vnbeliefe,so to tremble for feare,that in temptatiō he turneth himselfe away from God,that doth not open to himselfe the gate by faith. Contrariwise the faithfull whom the weighty burden of temptations maketh to stoupe,and in a maner oppresseth,do constantly rise vp,although not without trouble and hardinesse.And because they know their owne weakenesse, they pray with the Prophet: Take not the word of trueth away from my mouth continually.By which words we are taught,that sometime they become dumme as though their faith were vtterly ouerthrowen, yet they faint not, not turne their backs,but proceede in their battel,& with praier do encourage their slouthfulnesse, least by fauoringe themselues they should grow to vn sensible dulnesse.

Psa.119
43. 18 For the vnderstanding therof,it is needefull to returne to that diuision of the flesh and the spirite, whereof we made mention in an other place, which doth in this behalfe most clearly appeare. The godly heart therefore feeleth a diuision in it selfe, which is partly delited with swetenesse by acknowledging of the goodnesse of God, and partly griued with bitternesse by feelinge of his owne miserie, partly resteth vpon the promise of the Gospell,and partly trembleth by reason of the testimony of his owne wickednesse:partly reioyseth with conceiuing of life,and partly quaketh for feare of death.Which variation commeth by imperfection of faith, forasmuch as we neuer be in so good case in the course of this present life, as beinge healed from all disease of distrustfulnesse to be altogether filled & possessed with faith. Hereupon proceede those battels, when the distrustfulnes that abideth in the remnants of the flesh,riseth vp to assaile the faith that is inwardly conceiued.But if in a faithfull minde assurednes be mixed with doubtfulnesse, come we not then alway to this point, that faith standeth not in a certaine and cleare knoweledge,but in a
darke

darke & doutfully entangled knowledge of Gods will toward vs? No, not so. For though we be diuersely drawen with sundry thoughtes, yet are we not therfore byandby seuered from faith: though we be vexed with tossing vp and downe of distrustfulnesse, yet are we not therfore drowned in the bottomlesse depth therof: and though we be shaken, yet be we not thrust downe out of our place. For this is alway the ende of this battell, that faith doth at length with wrastring ouercome those hard troubles wherewith when she is so besieged, she seemeth to be in danger.

19 Let this be the summe of all. So soone as any drop of faith, be it neuer so small, is poured into our heartes, we byandby beginne to beholde the face of God milde and pleasaunt, and louing toward vs: yet the same we see from a farre of, & farre distant from vs, but with so sure sight, that we know we are not deceiued. Fro thense forward, howe much we profit (as we ought continually to profit) as it were by proceeding further, we come vnto so much the nerer, & therfore certainer beholding of him, & by very continuance he is made more familiar vnto vs. So we see, that the minde enlightened with the knowledge of God, is first holden wrapped in much ignorance, which by litle and litle is wiped away. Yet the same minde is not so hindered by being ignorant of some things, or by darkely seing that which she seeth, but that she enioyeth a clere knowledge of Gods wil toward her, which is the first and principall point in faith. For as if a man being shut vp in prison, haue beames of the sunne shininge in, & delonge at a narrowe window, or as it were but halfe glummeringe, he wanteth in deede the free beholdinge of the sunne, yet he seeth with his eyes an vndouted brightnesse thereof, and receiueth the vse of it: so we being bounde with the fetters of an earthly body, howsoeuer we be on eche side shadowed with much darkenes, yet we are sufficiently enlightened vnto perfect assurednesse, by the light of God, extending his beames of light vpō vs, though it be but a litle, to shew forth his mercy.

20 Both these pointes the Apostle very well teacheth in diuerse places. For when he sayth, that we know vnperfectly, and prophecie 1. Cor. vnperfectly, and see by a darke speakinge as by a glasse, he sheweth 13.9. how slender a litle portion of the true godly wisdom is giuen vs in this present life. For though those words do not expressely shew that our faith is vnperfect so longe as we grone vnder this burden of the flesh, but that it happeneth vnto vs by our owne imperfection that we haue neede to be continually exercised in learning. yet he secretly declareth that that thinge which is infinite, can not be comprehended

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by our small capacity, and narrow compasse. And this Paule reporteth of the whole church, but vnto euery one of vs, his owne dullnesse is a hinderance and stay that he can not come so nere as were to be wished. But how sure and vndeceiueable a tast of it selfe, euen
2. Cor. 3
18. a small droppe of faith doth make vs feelee, the same Apostle sheweth in an other place, where he affirmeth, that by the Gospell we behold the glory of God with vncouered face, hauing no veile betwene vs and it, so effectually that we be transformed into the same image. In such entanglementes of ignorance there must needes be wrapped together both much doutinge and fearefull trembling, specially forasmuch as our heart, by a certaine naturall instinct of it selfe, is inclined to vnbeleuingnesse. Beside that, there be tentations which both infinite in number, and diuerse in kinde, do oftentimes with great soudaine violence assaile vs. But specially our owne conscience oppressed with heavy burden of sinnes lying vpon it, doth sometime lament and grone with it selfe, and sometime accuseth it selfe: sometime secretly murmureth, and sometime is openly troubled. Whether therefore aduersities do shewe an apparance of the wrath of God, or the conscience doth finde in it selfe any proufe or matter of his wrath, from thense vnbeliefe doth take weapons and engines to vanquish the faith withall: which are alway directed to this ende, that we thinking God to be our aduersarie and hatefully bent against vs, shoulde both not hope for any helpe at his hande, & also be afraid of him as of our deadly enemy.

21 To beare these assaultes, faith doth arme & fortifie her selfe with the word of God. And when such a tentation assaileth, that God is our enemy, because he is sharpe against vs: faith on the other side answereth, that euen when he punisheth he is also mercifull because his chastisement commeth rather of loue than of wrath. When faith is stricken with this thought that God is a reuenger of iniquities, against that stroke he setteth his pardon ready for all offenses, so oft as the sinner resorteth to the mercifulnesse of the Lorde. So a godly minde howsoeuer it be in maruelous wise tossed and vexed, yet at length riseth vp above all daungers, & neuer suffereth the confidence of Gods mercy to be plucked away from it: But rather whatsoeuer contentions do trouble and wery it, in the ende they turne to the assurednesse of this confidence. And hereof this is a proufe: that the holy ones, when they thinke theselues most of all pressed with the vengeance of God, yet euen then do make their complaintes to the same God: and when it seemeth that they shall not be heard at all, euen then neuertheless they call vpon him. For to what purpose were it, to make their moane

to him from whom they hoped for no comfort? truly they would neuer finde in their heartes to call vpon him, vnlesse they beleued that there were some helpe at his hande prepared for them. So the Disciples, in whom Christ blameth their smalnesse of faith, complained in deede that they perished, but yet they called to him for help. And when he rebuketh them for their small faith, yet he doth not reiect them from the number of his, nor maketh them of the number of the vnbeleuers, but stirreth them to shake of that fault. Therefore we affirme againe that which we haue aboue spoken, that the roote of faith is neuer plucked out of a godly heart, but sticketh so fast in the bottome, that howsoeuer it be shaken and seeme to bende this way or that way, the light therof is so neuer quenched or choked vp, but that it lieth at least hidden vnder some embers: and by this token is plainly shewed, that the worde which is an vncorruptible seede, bringeth forth frute like to it selfe, the spring whereof doth neuer wither & vtterly perish. For whereas this is the extremest matter of despeire to the holy ones, to feele according to the cōsidertaion of present thinges, the hande of God bent to their destruction: yet Iob affirmeth that his hope shal proceede so farre, that though God do kill him, yet he will not therfore cesse to trust in him. This is the trueth therefore: Vnbeliefe reigneth not within the heartes of the godly, but outwardly assaileth them: neither doth she deadly wounde them with her wepons, but only troubleth them, or so hurte the, that yet the wound is curable. For faith, as Paul teacheth, serueth vs for a shield that beinge holden vp against weapons, doth so receiue the force of them, that it either vtterly driueth the backe, or at least so breaketh their violēce, that they can not pearce them to danger of life. Therefore when faith is shaken, it is like as if a stronge souldiour with the violent stroke of a dart be compelled to remoue his foote, and geue grounde a litle: and when faith it selfe is wounded, that is like as if his buckler by some stroke be in some parte broken, but yet so that it is not stricken through. For alway the godly minde will attaine to rise thus hie as to say with Dauid, If I walke in the middest of the shadow of death, I will feare none euill, because thou art with me. It is in deede terrible to walke in the darkenes of death, and it can not be but that the faithful, how much strength soeuer they haue, must be afraid of it. Yet because this thought surmounteth it, that they haue God present with them, and providing for their safety, that feare is overcome with assurednesse. For (as Augustine sayth) how great engines soeuer the deuil raiseth vp against vs, so long as he possesseth not the place of the heart, where faith dwelleth, he is cast out of the dores.

Mat. 8.
25.Iob. 13.
15.Eph. 6.
18.Psa. 13.
4.

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And so if we may iudge by the successe, the faithfull not only escape safe from euery battell, so that by and by receiuing fresh courage they are ready to come againe into the field: but also that is fulfilled which

1. ⁷oh. 5
4.

John saith in his canonical Epistle: This is the victory that ouercometh the world, even your faith. For he affirmeth that it shal not only winne the victory in one or few battels, or against some one assault, but also that it shall get the ouerhande of the whole world, although it be a thousand times assailed.

22 There is an other kinde of feare and trembling, but such a one as by it the assurednesse of faith is so nothing at all diminished, that thereby it is the more soundly stablished. That is, when the faithfull either in thinking that the examples of Gods vengeance against the wicked are shewed for lessons for them to learne by, do carefully beware that they happen not to prouoke Gods wrath against themselves with the same offenses: or recordinge with themselves their owne misery, do learne to hang altogether vpon the Lord without whom they see themselves to be more fickle and sooner vanishinge than any blast of winde. For when the Apostle, in settinge foorth the scourges wherewith the Lord in olde time had punished the people of Israell, putteth the Corinthians in feare that they entangle not themselves with like euils: he doth not thereby abate their affiance, but only shakerh away the dulnes of the flesh by which faith is wont more to be oppressed than strengthened And when he taketh occasion of y^e Iewes fall to exhort him that standeth, to take heede that he fall not, he doth not thereby bid vs to wauer, as though we were not fully assured of our stedfastnesse, but only he taketh away arrogant presumption and rash trusting to much in our owne strength, that after the thrusting out of the Iewes, the Gentiles being receiued into their place, should not to much outrageously triumphe against the. Albeit he speaketh there not only to the faithfull, but also in the same saying comprehendeth the Hypocrites that gloried onely in outward shew. For neither doth he admonish euery man particularly, but makinge a comparison betwene the Iewes & the Gentiles, after y^e he had shewed that the Iewes in this that they were reiecte, did suffer iust punishment for their vn-beliefe and vnthankfulness, he also exhorted the Gentiles that they should not, by being proud and extolling themselves, loose the grace of adoption lately conueyed into them. But as in that generall reiecting of the Iewes, there remained yet some that were not fallen from the couenant of adoption, so out of the Gentiles there might arise some, which without true faith, should be puffed vp onely with foolish confidence of the flesh, and so abuse Gods louing knidenesse to their

1. Cor.
10. 11.

Rom. 11
22.

owne

owne destruction. But although you take this as spoken to the elect & faithfull, yet thereupon shall folow no inconuenience. For it is one thinge to holde downe the rash presumption which out of the remnantes of the flesh creepeth sometime euen into the holy ones, that with vaine confidence it waxe not outrageously wanton: and an other thing to strike the cōscience with feare, that it rest not with full assurednesse in the mercy of God.

23 The, when he teacheth, that with feare & trembling we should worke our owne saluation, he requireth nothinge else, but that we should accustome vs with much abacing of our selues, reuerently to looke vp vnto the mightinesse of God. For truely nothing doth so much awake vs to cast all our confidence & assurance of minde vpon the Lord as doth the distrust of our selues and carefulnes conceived by knowledge in cōscience of our own wretchednes. And according to this meaning is that saying in the Prophet to be taken: In the multitude of thy goodnesse I will entre into thy temple: I will worship in feare. Where he comely cōioyneth the boldnes of faith that leaneth vpon Gods mercy with a reuerent feare, wiche we must needes feelee so oft as comming into the sight of Gods maiesty, we perceiue by the glorious brightnesse thereof, how great is our owne filthinesse. And Salomon sayth truely, where he pronounceth the man blessed, that continually maketh his owne heart afraid, for by hardninge thereof men fall hedlong into euill. But such feare he meaneth as may make vs more heedefull, not such wherby we should be troubled & vtterly fall: euen such a feare as when the minde confounded in it selfe, doth recouer it selfe againe in God: when despeiring it selfe, it reuiueeth by trust in him. Therefore there is no cause to the contrary, but that the faithfull may at one time both be in feare, and also enioy most assured cōfort, in respect that sometime they turne their eyes to behold their owne vanity, & sometime they cast the thought of their minde vpon the trueth of God. But how (will some man say) shall feare and faith dwell both in one minde? euen thus, as contrarily vn sensible dulnesse, and carefulnesse. For wheras the wicked trauaile to procure to themselves a want of griefe, that no feare of God might trouble them, yet, the iudgement of God so presseth them, that they can not attaine that which they desire. So there is nothing to withstande, but that God may exercise them that be his to humility, that in fighting valiantly, they may restraints themselves vnder the bridle of modesty. And by the processe of the text it appeareth, that this was the entent of the Apostle, where he assigneth the cause of feare, and trembling to be the good pleasure of God, whereby he giueth to them that be

Phil. 2.
12.

Psa. 5. 8

Pro. 28.
14.

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Ofc. 3 5 his both to will well, and valiantly to go through with it. According to this meaning ought we to take that sayinge of the Prophet: The children of Israel shall feare God and his goodnesse: because not onely, godlines engēdreth the reuerence of God, but the very swetenesse and pleasant tast of grace, filleth man beinge discouraged in himselfe with feare & admiration, to make him hang vpon God, and humbly yeelede himselfe subiect to his power.

24 Yet we do not hereby make roome to that most pestilent Philosophie, which many halfe papistes at this day beginne to coyne in corners. For, because they can not defende that grosse doutfulnesse which hath bin taught in Schooles, they flie to an other deuise, to make a confidence mingled with distrustfulnes. They confesse, that so oft as we looke vnto Christ, we finde in him full matter to hope well: but because we are alwayes vnworthy of those good things that are offred vs in Christ, they would haue vs to wauer & stagger in beholdinge of our owne vnworthinesse. Briefely, they place conscience so betwene hope & feare, that it altereth from the one to the other, by enterchangeable times & courses: and they so compare faith & hope together, that when the one springeth vp, the other is pressed downe, when the one ariseth, the other againe falleth. So when Satan seeth that those open engines wherewith before time he was wont to destroy the assurednesse of faith, do now nothinge preuaile, he endeuoreth by crooked vndermininges to ouerthrow it. But what maner of confidence shall that be, which shall now and then yeele to desperation? If (say they) thou consider Christ, there is assured saluation: but if thou returne to thy selfe, there is assured damnation. Therefore of necessity distrust and good hope must by enterchaungeable courses reigne in thy minde: As though we ought to imagine Christ standing a farre of, and not rather dwellinge within vs. For therefore we looke for saluation at his hande, not because he appeareth a farre of vnto vs, but because he hath graffed vs into his body, & so maketh vs partakers not onely of all his good things, but also of himselfe. Therefore I thus turne this their argument against themselues: If thou consider thy selfe, there is certaine damnation. But because Christ with all his good things is by way of communicinge so giuen vnto thee that all his things are made thine, and thou art made a member of him, yea & all one with him: his righteousnesse drowne thy sinnes, his saluation taketh away thy damnation: he by his worthinesse cometh betwene thee and God, that thy vnworthinesse come not in the sight of God. Briefely, this is the trueth: we ought neither to separate Christ from vs, nor vs from him, but with both handes to holde fast that

that fellowship whereby he hath coupled himselfe vnto vs. So the Apostle teacheth vs: The body in dede (saith he) is dead by reason of sinne: but the Spirite of Christ that dwelleth in you, is life for righteousness. According to these mens trifeling deuise he shoulde haue saide, Christ in dede hath life with himselfe: but you, as you be sinners, remaine subiect to death & damnation. But he saith farre otherwise. For he teacheth that that damnation which we deserue of our selues, is swallowed vp by the saluation of Christ, and to proue it, he vseth the same reason that I haue alledged, because Christ is not without vs, but dwelleth within vs, and cleaueth vnto vs not onely with vndiuidable knot of fellowship, but with a certaine marvellous communion daily more and more groweth with vs into one body, till he be made altogether one with vs. And yet I denie not, as I haue said a litle before, that sometime there happen certaine interruptions of faith, as the weakenesse thereof is amonge violent fodeine motions bowed hether or thether. So in the thicke miste of tētations the light thereof is choked, but what so euer happeneth, it cesseth not from endeuour to seeke God.

25 And no otherwise doth Bernarde argue, when he purposely intreateth of this question in his fift Homelie in the Dedication of the temple. Oftentimes (I say) by the benefite of God studying vpō the soule, me thinkes I finde in it two thinges as it were contrarie. If I beholde the soule it selfe, as it is in it selfe and of it selfe, I can say nothing more truely of it, than that it is viterly brought to nought. What neede I now to reckon vp particularly all the miseries of the soule, how it is loaden with sinnes, couered with darknesse, entangled with deceitfull enticementes, itching with lustes, subiect to passions, filled with illusions, alway enclined to euill, bent to all kindes of vice, finally ful of shame and confusion? Now if all the very righteousnesses of it being looked vpō by the light of trueth be found like a clothe stained with floures, then what shall the vnrighteousnesses thereof be accompted? If the light that is in vs be darkenesse, how great shall the very darkenesse be? What then? without doubt man is made like vnto vanitie: man is brought to naught: man is nothing. But how then is he viterly nothing, whome God doth magnifie? How then is he nothing, towarde whome Gods hearte is set? Brethren, let vs take hearte againe. Though we be nothing in our owne heartes, peraduenture there may somewhat of vs lie hidden in the hearte of God. O father of mercies? O father of the miserable, how doest thou set thy hearte towarde vs? For thy hearte is where thy treasure is. But how be we thy treasure, if we be nothing? All nations are so be-

Esa. 64.

6

Matt. 6.

13.

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fore thee as if they were not, they shalbe reputed as nothing. Euen before thee, not within thee: so in the iudgement of thy truth, but not in the affection of thy pitie. Thou callest those things that are not, as though they were. Therefore both they are not, because thou callest those things that are not, & also they are bycause thou callest them. For though they are not, in respect of them selues, yet with thee they are, according to that saying of Paule, not of the workes of righteousnesse, but of him that calleth. And then he saith, that this coupling together of both cōsideracions is maruellous. Truly those things that are knit together, doe not the one destroy the other. Which also in the conclusion he more plainly declareth in these wordes. Now if with both these considerations we diligently looke vpon our selues what we be, yea in the one consideration how we be nothing, and in the other how much we be magnified, I thinke our glorying semeth to be tempered, but peraduenture it is more encreased. Truly it is perfectly stablished, that we glorie not in our selues but in the Lorde. If we thinke thus: if he hath determined to saue vs, we shall by and by be deliuered: now in this we may take courage. But let vs climbe vp into a hier watche toure, and seeke for the citie of God, seeke for the temple, seeke for the house, seeke for the spouse. I haue not forgotten, but I say it with feare and reuerence, we I say be, but in the harte of God. We be, but by his allowing as worthy, not by our owne worthinesse.

26 Now, the feare of the Lorde, whereof commonly in euery place witnesse is borne to all the holy ones, and which is in some places called the beginning of wisdome, and in some places wisdome it selfe, although it be but one, yet it procedeth from a double vnderstanding. For God hath in himselfe the reuerence both of a Father and of a Lorde. Therefore he that will truly worship him, will endeuor to shewe himselfe both an obedient sonne and a seruifable seruant vnto him. The obedience that is geuen to him as to a father, the Lorde by his Prophet calleth honor: the seruice that is done to him as to a lorde, he calleth feare. The sonne (saith he) honoreth the father, and the seruant the lorde. If I be a father, where is my honor? If I be a lorde, where is my feare? But how soeuer he putteth difference betwene them, thou seest how he confoundeth them both together. Therefore let the feare of the lorde be vnto vs a reuerence, mingled with that same honor and feare. Neither is it any maruell, if one minde receiue both those affections. For he that considereth with himselfe what a father God is vnto vs, hath cause enough, although there were no helles at all, why he shoulde drede his displeasure

Rom. 9.

12.

Prou. 1.

7.

Pla. 100

11.

Pro. 15.

14.

Mala. 1.

7.

Iob 8.

28.

sure more greuouſely than any death. But alſo (ſuch is the wantonneſſe of our fleſh to runne to licentiousneſſe of ſinning) to reſtraine the ſame by all meanes, we ought therewithall to take holde of this thought, that the Lorde vnder whoſe power we liue, abhorreth all iniquitie, whoſe vengeance they ſhall not eſcape, that in liuing wickedly doe prouoke his wrath againſt themſelues.

27 But that which Iohn ſaith, that feare is not in charitie, but perfect charitie caſteth out feare, becauſe feare containeth puniſhment, diſagreeeth not with this that we ſay. For the wicked feare not God in this reſpect that they drede to incurre his diſpleaſure, if they might do it without puniſhment: but becauſe they know him to be armed with power to reuenge: therefore they ſhake for feare at the hearing of his wrath. And alſo they ſo feare his wrath, becauſe they thinke that it hangeth ouer them, for that they looke euery moment when it ſhall fall vpon their heades. As for the faithfull; they (as is aboue ſaid) both feare his diſpleaſure more than puniſhment, and are not troubled with feare of puniſhment as if it did hang ouer their neckes, but they are made the more ware not to procure it. So ſaith the Apoſtle, when he ſpeaketh to the faithfull: Be ye not deceived: for this commeth the wrath of God vpon the children of vnbeleefe. He threateneth not that Gods wrath will come vpon them, but putteth them in minde to thinke vpon this, that the wrath of God is prepared for ſuch wicked doings as he had recited, that they themſelues ſhoulde not be willing alſo to proue it. Albeit it ſeldome happeneth that the reprobate be awakened with only and bare threatenings, but rather being already groſſe and vnſenſibly dull with their owne hardneſſe, ſo oft as God thundreth from heauen they harden themſelues to obſtinacie, but when they are ones ſtriken with his hande, then whether they will or no, they be enforced to feare. This feare they commonly call a ſeruile feare: and in compariſon ſet it for contrarie to free natured and willing feare which becommeth children. Some other do ſuttelily thruſt in a middle kinde, becauſe that ſame ſeruile and conſtrained affection ſometime ſo ſubdueth mens mindes, that they come willingly to the feare of God.

28 Now we vnderſtand, that in the good will of God, wherunto faith is ſaide to haue reſpect, the poſſeſſion of ſaluation and eternall life is obtained. For if we can wante no good thing while God is favourable vnto vs, it abundantly ſufficeth vs to the aſſuredneſſe of ſaluation, when he himſelfe doth aſſure vs of his loue. Let him ſhewe his face (ſaith the Prophet) and we ſhalbe ſafe. Whereupon the Scriptures determine this to be the ſumme of our ſaluation, that God putting

1. Ioh. 4.

18.

Ephe. 5.

6.

Col 3.6

Pſal. 30

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Eph. 3. away all enmities, hath receiued vs into fauour. Whereby they shew,
14. that when God is reconciled vnto vs, there remaineth no perill, but
 that all thinges shall prosper well with vs. Therefore faith, hauing
 taken holde of the loue of God, hath promises of the present life and
 of the life to come, and perfect assurednesse of all good thinges: but
 that same such as may be gathered out of the word of God. For faith
 doth not certainly promise to it selfe either the length or honor or
 wealth of this life, for asmuch as God willed none of these thinges
 to be appointed vnto vs, but is contented with this assurednesse, that
 God will neuer faile how so euer many thinges faile vs that pertaine
 to the maintenance of this present life. But the chiefe assurednesse
 of faith resteth in expectation of the life to come, which is set out of
 doubt by the worde of God. But what so euer miseries and calamities
 betide vnto them whome God loueth, they can not worke the
 contrarie, but that his good will is perfect felicitie. Therefore when
 we did meane to expresse the summe of blessednesse, we named the
 fauor of God, out of which spring do flow vnto vs al kindes of good
 thinges. And this we may comonly note throughout the Scriptures,
 that when so euer mention is made not onely of eternall saluation,
 but also of any good thing in vs, we be alway called backe to the loue
Psa. 63. of God. For which cause Dauid saith, that the goodnesse of God
4. when it is felt in a godly heart, is sweter and more to be desired than
 life it selfe. Finally, if all thinges els do flow vnto vs according to our
 owne wishing, and we be vncertaine of Gods loue or hatred, our felicitie
 shalbe accursed, and therefore miserable. But if the fauorable
 face of God do shine vnto vs, euen our very miseries shalbe blessed,
Rom. 8. because they are turned to helpees of our saluation. As Paule, when
35. he heaped vp a rehearfall of all aduersities, yet he glorieth that he
 was not by them seuered from the loue of God: and in his prayers he
 alway beginneth at the fauour of God, from whence floweth all prosperitie.
Psa. 23. Likewise Dauid setteth the onely fauour of God against all
4. the terrors that trouble vs. If (saith he) I shall walke in the midst
 of the shadowe of death, I will feare no euils, because thou art with
 me. And we alway feele that our mindes do wauer, vnlesse being contented
 with the fauour of God, they seeke their peace in it, and haue
 this inwardely fixed in them that is said in the Psalm, Blessed is the
Psa. 33. people whose God is the Lord, and the nation whome he hath chosen
12. to him for his inheritance.

29 We make the fundation of faith to be the free promise of
 God, bycause faith properly stayeth vpon it. For though faith doe
 beleue God to be true in all thinges, whether he commaunde or
 for-

forbidde, whether he promise or threaten, and also obediently recei-
ueth his commaundementes, and bewareth of thinges that he pro-
hibiteth, and hath regard to his threatenings, yet properly it be-
ginneeth at the promise, and therein continueth, and therevpon en-
deth. For faith seeketh for life in God, which is not founde in com-
maundemētes or declarations of penalties, but in promise of mercie,
and in no other promise; but such as is freely geuen. For the condi-
tionall promise, by which we are sente to our owne workes, doth no
otherwise promise life, but if we perceiue it to stande in our selues.
Therefore if we will not haue our faith to tremble and wauer, we must
stay it with that promise of saluation, which is willingly and liberally
offred vs of the Lorde, rather in respect of our miserie, than of our
worthinesse. Wherefore the Apostle beareth this witnesse of the Rom. 10
Gospell, that it is the word of faith: which name he taketh both from 8.
the commaundementes and also from the promises of the lawe, be-
cause there is nothing that can stablish faith, but that liberall embas-
sage, by which God reconcileth the worlde to himselfe. Therefore
the same Apostle oftentimes maketh a relatiō of faith and the Gos- Rom. 1.
pell together, when he teacheth that the ministerie of the Gospell 6. and
was committed to him vnto the obedience of faith. that the same is 16. 17.
the power of God, to saluation to euery one that beleueth: that in it
is reueled the righteousness of God from faith to faith. And no mar-
uell. For sith the Gospell is the ministerie of reconciliation, there is 2. Cor. 5
no other testimonie sure enough of Gods good will towarde vs, the 18.
knowledge wherof faith requireth. Therefore when we say that faith
must rest vpon free promise, we do not denie but that the faithful do
euery way embrace and receiue the word of God, but we apoint the
promise of mercie to be the propre marke of faith. Euen as the faith-
full ought in deede to acknowledge God to be the iudge and pun-
isher of wicked doinges, and yet they properly haue regard vnto
his mercifull kindenesse: for asmuch as he is described to them to
be cōsidered such a one as is louing and mercifull, farre from wrath, Psa. 86.
of much goodnesse, gentle vnto all, pouring forth his mercie vpon 5. & 108
all his workes. 81. 5.

30 Neither yet do I regarde the barkinges of Pighius, or such
other dogges, when they finde faulte with this restraint, as though in
diuiding faith, it did take holde but of one peece thereof. I graunt
(as I haue already saide) that the generall obiect of faith (as they
terme it) is the trueth of God, whether he threaten or put vs in hope
of fauour. Wherefore the Apostle ascribeth this to faith, that Noe Heb. 11.
feared the destruction of the worlde, when it was not yet seene. If the 7.

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fear of a punishment shortly to come, was the worke of faith, then ought not the threatenings to be excluded out of the definition of faith. This is in deede true. But the cauillers do vniustly accuse vs, as though we denied that faith hath respect to all the partes of the worde of God. For our meaning is onely to shew those two thinges, first, that faith neuer stedfastly standeth vntill it come to the free promise: and than that we are no otherwise by it to be reconciled to God, but because it coupleth vs to Christ. Both those pointes are worthily to be noted. We seeke such a faith, which may make difference betwene the children of God and the reprobate, betwene the faithfull and the vnbeleuing. If a man do beleue that God both iustly commaundeth all that he commaundeth, and truely threatneth, shall he be therefore called faithfull? Nothing lesse. Therefore there can be no stedfast stay of faith, vnlesse it be grounded vpon the mercie of God. But now to what ende do we dispute of faith? Is it not that we may learne the way of saluation? But how doth faith bringe saluation but in respect that it graffeth vs into the body of Christ? Therefore there is no inconuenience, if in the definition we do enforce the principall effect therof, & do ioine vnto the general name, in stede of a difference that marke that seuereth the faithfull frō the vnbeleuing. Finally, the malicious haue nothing to finde fault withall in this doctrine, but they must wrappe vp Paule with vs in the same blame, which calleth the Gospell properly the word of faith.

31 But hereupon againe we gather that which we haue before declared, that faith doth no lesse neede the worde than the frute doth neede the liuely roote of the tree, because none other (as Dauid testifieth) can trust in the Lorde, but they that know his name. But this knowledge is not according to euery mans imagination, but so farre as God himselfe is witnesse of his owne goodnesse. Which the same Prophet confirmeth in an other place, saying: Thy saluation is according to thy worde. Againe. I haue trusted in thy worde, saue me, Where is to be noted the relation of faith to the worde, and then how saluation followeth. And yet in the meane time we do not exclude the power of God, with beholding whereof, vnlesse faith susteine it selfe, it can neuer geue vnto God his due honour. Paule seemeth to reherse a certaine sclender and cōmon thing of Abraham, that he beleued that God which had promised him the blessed sede, was able to performe it. Againe in an other place, speaking of him, selfe: I knowe whome I haue beleued, and I am sure that he is able to keepe that which I haue left with him vntill that day. But if a man weye with himselfe how many doutinges of the power of God do

often-

Rom. 10
8.

Psa. 9.
11.

Psa. 109
43.

Rom. 4.
21.

2. Tim. 1
18.

oftentimes creepe into mans minde, he shall well perceiue that they which do highly esteeme it as it is worthy, haue not a litle profited in faith. We all will confesse that God is able to do whatsoeuer he will, but when euen the least tentatiō throweth vs downe with feare, and amaseth vs with horroure, thereby appeareth plainly, that we diminish the estimation of Gods power, when we preferre about it those thinges, that Satan threatneth against Gods promises. This is the reason why Esaie, meaning to print into the hartes of the people the assurednesse of saluation, doth so honorably entreate of the infinite power of God. It seemeth oft that so sone as he hath begonne to speake of the hope of pardon and reconciliation, he by and by tourneth to an other thing, and wandereth about in long and superfluous circumstances, reherfing how maruelously the Lorde gouerneweth the frame of heauen and earth and the whole ordre of nature: yet is there nothing that serueth not fitly for the circumstance of the matter that he speaketh of. For vnlesse the power of God whereby he is able to do all thinges be presently set before our eyes, our cares will hardely heare the worde, or will not esteeme it so much as it is worth. Beside that, here is declared his effectuall power, because godlinesse (as we haue already shewed in an other place) doth alway applie the power of God to vse and worke, specially it setteth before it selfe those workes of God, whereby he hath testified himselfe to be a father. Herevpon commeth that in the Scriptures is so often mention made of the redemption, whereby the Israelites might haue learned that God which was ones the author of saluation, will be an euerlasting preseruer thereof. And Dauid putteth vs in minde by his owne example, that those benefites which God hath particularly bestowed vpon euery man, do afterwarde auaille to the confirmation of his faith. Yea when God seemeth to haue forsaken vs, it behoueth vs to stretch our wittes further, that his auncient benefites may recomforte vs, as it is saide in an other Psalme: I haue bene mindefull of olde dayes, I haue studied vpon all thy workes. &c. Againe. I will remembre the workes of the Lorde, and his meruelles from the beginning. But because without the worde all quickly vanisheth away that we conceiue of the power of God and of his workes, therefore we do not without cause affirme that there is no faith, vnlesse God geue light vnto it with testimonie of his grace. But here a question might be moued, what is to be thought of Sara and Rebecca, both which being moued as it seemeth with zeale of faith, passed beyonde the bondes of the worde. Sara, when she feruently desired the promised issue, gaue her bondemaide to her housbande. It can not be

psa.100

43.

psal.77.

11.

Gen.16.

Gen.26

denied but that she many wayes sinned: but nowe I touch onely this faulte, that being carried away with her zeale, she did not restraine herselfe within the boundes of Gods word, yet it is certaine that that desire proceeded of faith. Rebecca being certified by the oracle of God of the electiō of her sonne Iacob, procured his blessing by euill crafty meanes: she deceiued her housbande the witnesse and minister of the grace of God: she compelled her sonne to lie: she by diuerse guiles and deceites corrupted the trueth of God. Finally in making a scorne of his promise, she did as much as in her laie, destroe it. And yet this act, how much soeuer it was euill, and worthy of blame, was not without faith, for it was necessarie that she shoulde ouercome many offenses, that she might so earnestly endeouour to attaine that which without hope of earthly profite was full of great troubles and daungers. As we may not say that the holy Patriarche Isaac was altogether without faith, because he being by the same oracle of God admonished of the honour transferred to the yonger sonne, yet cessed not to be more fauourably bente to his first begotten sonne Esau. Truly these examples do teach, that oftentimes erroures are mingled with faith: but yet so that faith if it be a true faith, hath alwaye the vpper hande. For as the particular error of Rebecca did not make voide the effect of the blessing, so neither did it make voide her faith which generally reigned in her minde, and was the beginning and cause of that doinge. Neuerthelesse therein Rebecca vttered how ready mans minde is to fall so sone as he geueth him selfe neuer so litle libertie. But though mans default and weakenesse doth darken faith, yet it doth not quenche it: in the meane time it putteth vs in minde, how carefully we ought to hange vpon the mouth of God, and also confirmeth that which we haue taught, that faith vanisheth awaye, vnlesse it be vpholden by the worde: as the mindes both of Sara, and Isaac and Rebecca had become vaine in their crooked wanderings out of the way, vnlesse they had bene by Gods secret bridle holden in obedience of the worde.

32 Againe, not without cause we include all the promises in Christ, forasmuch as in the knowledge of him the Apostle includeth all the Gospell: and in an other place he teacheth, that all the promises of God are in him, yea and Amen. The reason whereof is ready to be shewed. For if God promise any thing, he therein sheweth his good will: so that there is no promise of his, that is not a testimonie of his loue. Neither maketh it any matter that the wicked when they haue great and continual benefites of Gods liberalitie heaped vpon them, do therby wrap themselues in so much the more greuous iudgemēt.

For

Rom. 1.
17.
2. Cor. 1
30.

For sith they do neither thinke nor acknowledge that those things come vnto them from the hand of God, for if they acknowledge it, they do not with them selues consider his goodnesse, therefore they can not thereby be better taught of his mercie than brute beastes, which according to the measure of their estate, do receiue the same frute of Gods liberalitie, and yet they perceiue it not. Neither doth it any more make against vs, that many times in refusing the promises apointed for them, they do by that occasion procure to them selues the greater vengeance. For although the effectuall working of the promises do then onely appeare, when they haue founde faith with vs, yet the force and naturall propertie of them is neuer extinguished by our vnbeleefe or vnthankfulnesse. Therefore when the Lorde by his promises doth prouoke man not onely to receiue, but also to thinke vpon the frutes of his bountifulnesse, he doth therewithall declare vnto him his loue. Wherevpon we must returne to this point, that euery promise is a testifying of Gods loue toward vs. But it is out of questiō, that no man is loued of God but in Christ, Mar. 3. he is the beloued Sonne, in whome the loue of the Father abiderh 17. and resteth, and then from him poureth it selfe abroade vnto vs: as Paule teacherh, that we haue obtained fauour in the beloued one. Ephe. 1. Therefore it must needes be deriued and come vnto vs by meane of 7. him. For this cause the Apostle in an other place calleth him oure Ephe. 2. peace: in an other place he setteth him oute as a bonde, whereby 14. God is with fatherly naturall kindenes bounde vnto vs. It followeth then that we must caste our eyes vpon him, so oft as any promise is offered vs. And that Paule teacherh no absurditie, that all Gods promises whatsoeuer they be, are confirmed and fulfilled in him. There Rom. 8. be certaine examples that make for the contrarie, For it is not likely 3. and. 15. 8. that Naaman the Syrian, when he required of the Prophet the manner how to worship God aright, was instructed concerning the Mediator: yet his godlinesse is praised. Cornelius a Gentile and a Ro- A.C. 10. 8. maine, could scarcely vnderstande that which was knowen not to A.C. 8. all the Iewes, yea and that very darkely: yet his almes and prayers 2 Kin. 5. 17. were acceptable to God. And the sacrifice of Naaman, by the Prophetes aunswere allowed. Which thing neither of them could ob- 2. Re. 5. 17. teine but by faith. Likewise it may be said of the Eunuche to whome A.C. 8. Philippe was carried, which if he had not had some faith, would not 13. haue taken vpon him the trauaile and expenses of so long a iourney, to worshippe. Yet we see, when Philippe examined him, how he bewrayed his ignorace of the Mediator. And truly I graunt that their faith was partly vnexpressed, not onely concerning Christes person,

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but alio concerning his power and the office committed vnto him of the Father. Yet in the meane time it is certaine, that they were instructed in such principles, as gaue then some tast of Christ, although but very small. Neither ought this to seeme strâge. For neither would the Eunuche haue come in hast to Ierusalem from a farre country to worship an vnknowene God, neither did Cornelius whē he had once embraced the Iewish religion spende so much time, without being acquainted with the first groundes of true doctrine. As for Naaman, it had bene to sonde an absurditie for Elizeus when he taught him of small things, to haue saide nothing of the principall point. Therefore although there were among them a darke knowledge of Christ, yet it is not likely y there was no knoweledge because they did vse them selues in the sacrifices of the lawe, which must haue bene discerned by the very ende of them, that is Christ, from the false sacrifices of the Gentiles.

33 But this bare and outward declaration of the worde of God, ought to haue largely sufficed to make it be beleued, if our owne blindenesse and stubbournesse did not withstande it. But oure minde hath such an inclination to vanitie, that it can neuer cleaue fast vnto the trueth of God, and hath such a dulnesse, that it is alwaie blinde and can not see the light thereof. Therefore there is nothing auailably done by the worde without the enlightning of the holy Ghost. Whereby also appeareth, that faith is farre aboue mans vnderstanding. Neither shall it be sufficient that the minde be lightned with the spirit of God, vnlesse the hearte be also strengthened & stablished with his power. Wherein the Schoolemen do altogether erre, which in considering of faith, do onely take holde of a bare and simple assent by knowledge, leauing out the confidence and assurednesse of the hearte. Therefore faith is both waies a singular gift of God, both that the minde of man is censed to tast the trueth of God, and that his hearte is stablished therein. For the holy Ghost not onely is the beginner of faith, but also by degrees encreaseth it, vntill by it he bring vs to the heauenly kingdome. That good thing (saith Paule) which was committed to thy keping, kepe in the holy Ghost which dwelleth in vs. But how Paule saith that the holy Ghost is geuen by the hearing of faith, we may easily dissolue it. If there had bene but one onely giste of the holy Ghost, then it had bene an absurditie for him to call the holy Ghost the effect of faith, which is the author and cause of faith. But when he maketh report of the giftes wherewith God garnisheth his Church, and by encieasinges of faith bringeth it to perfection, it is no meruell if he ascribe those thinges to faith which

which maketh vs fit to receiue them. This is reckened a most strāge conclusion, when it is said, that no man but he to whome it is geuen, can beleue in Christ. But that is partely bycause they do not consider either how secret and hie the heauenly wisdom is, or how great mans dulnesse is in conceiuing the misteries of God: and partely bycause they looke not vnto that assured and stedfast constantnesse of heart, that is to say, the chiefe parte of faith.

34 But if (as Paule preacheth) no man is witnesse of the will of man, but the spirit of man that is within him, then how shoulde man be sure of the will of God? And if the trueth of God be vncertaine among vs, in those things that we presently beholde with our eye, howe shoulde it be assured and steadfast among vs there where the Lord promiseth such thing as neither eye seeth, nor wit comprehendeth? But herein mans sharpnesse of vnderstanding is so ouerthrowne and faileth, that the first degree of profiting in Gods schoole, is to forsake his owne wit. For by it as by a veile cast before vs, we are hindered that we can not attaine the misteries of God, which are not disclosed but to litle ones. For neither doth flesh and bloude disclose, nor naturall man perceiue those things that are of the Spirite, but rather to him the learning of God is foolishnesse, because it is spiritually to be iudged. Therefore herein the helpe of the holy Ghost is necessarie, or rather herein his force only reigneth. There is no man that knoweth the minde of God, or hath bene his counsellor: but the holy Spirit searcheth out all things, even the depe secretes of God, by whome it is brought to passe, that we knowe the minde of Christ. No man (saith he) can come to me, vnlesse my father that sent me, drawe him. Every one therefore that hath hearde and learned of my father, commeth. Not that any man hath seene the father, but he that is sent of God. Euen as therefore we can not come vnto Christ, but being drawene by the Spirite of God: so when we be drawene, we are lifted vp in wit and minde aboue our owne vnderstanding. For the soule enlightened by him, taketh as it were a new sharpnesse of vnderstanding, wherewith it may beholde heauenly misteries, with brightnesse whereof it was before daseled in it selfe. And so mans vnderstanding receiuing brightnes by the light of the holy Ghost, doth neuer till then truely beginne to tast of those things that belong to the kingdome of God, being before altogether vnfaourie and without iudgement of tast to take assay of them. Therefore when Christ did notably set our vnto two of his Disciples y misteries of his kingdome, yet he nothing preuailed, vntill he opened their senses that they might vnderstand the Scriptures. When the Apostles were so

1. Cor. 2

11.

Mat. 11.

15.

Luc. 10.

21.

Mat. 16.

17.

1. Cor. 2

14.

Rom. 11.

34.

1. Cor. 2

10.

Iohn. 6.

43.

Luc. 24.

27. and

45.

Ioh 16.

15.

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taught by his Godly mouth, yet the Spirit of trueth must be sent vnto them, to poure into their mindes the same doctrine which they had hearde with their eares. The worde of God is like vnto the sunne that shineth vnto all them to whome it is preached, but to no profit among blinde men. But we are all in this behalfe blinde by nature, therefore it can not pearce into our minde but by the inward master the holy Ghost, making by his enlightning an entrie for it.

35 In an other place, when we had to entreat of the corruption of nature, we haue more largely shewed how vnfit men are to beleue. Therefore I will not wery the readers with repeting the same againe.

2. Cor. Let this be sufficient that the spirit of faith, is called of Paule faith it
4. 13. selfe, which the spirit geueth vs, but not which we haue naturally.

2. Thes. Therefore he prayeth that God fulfill in the Theſſalonians all his
1. 11. good pleasure, and the worke of faith in power. Wherin calling faith the worke, of God, and geuing it that title for a name of addition, and calling it by figure of apposition Gods good pleasure, he denieth that it is of mans owne motion: and not contented therewith he addeth further, that it is a declaration of Gods power: writing to the Corinthians, where he saith, that faith hangeth not vpon the wisdom of men, but is grounded vpon the power of the holy Ghost. He speaketh in deede of outwarde miracles: but because the reprobate are blinde at the beholding of them, he comprehendeth also that inward seale, whereof he maketh mention in an other place. And God, the more gloriously to set forth his liberalitie in so noble a gifte, vouchesafueth not to graunt it to all vniuersally without difference, but by singular priuilege geueth it to whome he will. For prooffe whereof we haue alleged testimonies before. Of which Augustine being a faithfull expositor, crieth out that it woulde please the Saviour to teache him, and that the very beleuing it selfe, is of gift and not of deseruing. No man (saith he) commeth to me, vnlesse my father drawe him, and to whome it is geuen of my father. It is maruellous that two do heare, the one despiseth, the other ascendeth vp. Let him that despiseth, impute it to himselfe: let him that ascende not, it arrogantly assigne to himselfe. In an other place. Why is it geuen to one and not to an other? It greueth me not to say it, this is the depth of the crosse. Out of I wote not what depth of the iudgements of God which we may not searche, procedeth all that we can. What I can, I see: whereby I can, I see not, sauing that I see thus farre, that it is of God. But why him, and not him? That is much to me. It is a bottomelesse depth, it is the depth of the crosse. I may crie out with wonderinge, but not shewe it in disputing. Finally the summe commeth to this, that

that Christ when he enlightneth vs vnto faith by the power of his spirit, doth there withall graffe vs into his body, that we may be made partakers of all good things.

36 Nowe remaineth that that which the minde hath receiued, may be further conueyed into the heart. For the word of God is not thoroughly receiued by faith, if it swimme in the toppe of the braine, but when it hath taken roote in the bottome of the heart that it may be an inuincible defense to beare and repulse all the engines of tēations. Nowe if it be true, that the true vnderstanding of the minde is the enlightning thereof, then in such confirmation of the hearte, his power much more euidently appereth, euen by so much as the distrustfulnesse of the hearte is greater than the blindnesse of the wit: and as it is harder to haue the minde furnished with assurednesse, than the wit to be instructed with thinking. Therefore the Spirite performeth the office of a seale, to seale vp in our heartes those same promises, the assurance whereof it first emprinted in oure wits, and serueth for an earnest to confirme and stablish them. Sith ye beleued (saith the Apostle) ye are sealed vp with the holy Spirite of promise, which is Eph. 1. the earnest of oure inheritance. See you not how he teacheth that 13. by the spirit the heartes of the faithfull are grauen as with a seale? and how for the same reason he calleth him the Spirit of promise, because he ratifieth the Gospell vnto vs? Likewise to the Corinthians he 2. Cor. 1. saith: God which annointed vs, which hath also sealed vs, and geuen 21. and the earnest of his Spirit in oure heartes. And in an other place when 5. 5. he speaketh of confidence and boldnesse of hoping well, he maketh the pledge of the Spirit the foundation thereof.

37 Neither yet haue I forgotten that which I saide before, the remembrance whereof experience continually reneweth, that is, that faith is tossed with diuerse doubtings, so that the mindes of the godly are seldome quiet, or at least do not alway enioy a peasable state: but with what soeuer engine they be shaken, either they rise vp out of the very gulfes of temptations, or do abide fast in their standing. Truly this assurednesse onely nourisheth and defendeth faith, when we holde fast that which is saide in the Psalme: The Lorde is oure protection, oure helpe in trouble, therefore we will not feare, when the Psal. 46. earth shall tremble, and the mountaines shall leape into the heart of the sea. Also this most swete quietnesse is spoken of in an other place: I lay downe and slepte, and rose againe, because the Lorde hath Psal. 3. sustained me. It is not meante thereby that Dauid was alway with one 6. vndisturbed course framed to a merry cheerefulnesse: but in respect that he tasted the grace of God, according to his proportion of faith.

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therefore he glorieth that he without feare despiseth all that euer might disquiet the peace of his minde. Therefore the Scripture meaning to exhort vs to faith, biddeth vs to be quiet. In Esaie it is saide: In hope and silence shall be your strength. In the Psalmes: Holde thee still in the Lorde, and waite for him. Wherewith agreeth that saying of the Apostle to the Hebrues: Patience is needefull. &c.

38 Hereby we may iudge how pestilent is that doctrine of the Scholemen, that we can no otherwise determine of the grace of God towarde vs, than by morall coniecture as euery man thinketh himselfe worthy of it. Truly if we shall wey by oure workes how God is minded towarde vs, I graunt that we can atteine it with any coniecture, be it neuer so slender: but sith faith ought to haue relation to a simple and free promise, there is leste no cause of doubting. For with what confidence (I beseeche you) shall we be armed, if we say that God is fauourable vnto vs vpon this condition, so that the purenesse of oure life do deserue it? But bycause I haue appointed one place properly for the discussing hereof, therefore I will speake no more of them at this present, specially for asmuch as it is plaine enoughe, that there is nothing more contrary to faith, than either coniecture or any thing neere vnto doubting. And they do very ill wryth to this purpose that testimonie of the Preacher which they haue oit in their

mouthe: No man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or loue. For (to speake nothing how this place is in the common translation corruptly turned) yet very children can not be ignorant what Salomon meaneth by such wordes: that is, that if any man will iudge by the present state of thinges, whome God hateth, or whome God loueth, he laboreth in vaine, & troubleth himselfe to no profite for his paines: sith all thinges happen alike, both to the righteous and the wicked, to him that offreth sacrifices and him that offreth none. Wherevpon followeth, that God doth not alway witnesse his loue to them to whome he maketh all things happen prosperously, nor doth alwaies vtter the hatred to them whome he punisheth. And that he doth to condemne the vanitie of mans witte, sith it is so dull in thinges most needefull to be knowen. As he hadde written a little before, that it can not be discerned what the soule of a man differeth from y^e soule of a beast, because it seemeth to dy in like manner. If any manne will gather thereof, that the opinion that we holde of the immortalitie of soules, standeth vpon cōiecture: may he not worthily be compted a madde manne? Are they then in their right wittes which gather that there is no certaintie of Gods grace, bycause we can conceiue none by the carnall beholding of present thinges?

39 But they alleage that it is a point of rash presumption, to take vpon vs an vndoubted knoweledge of Gods will. I would in deede graunt it vnto them, if we did take so much vpon vs, that we would make the incomprehensible secrete purpose of God subiect to the sclendernesse of oure witte. But when we simply say with Paule, ^{1. Cor. 2} that we haue receiued not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit that is of God, by whose teaching we may know those thinges that are geuen vs of God, what can they barke against it, but they must slaundersouly speake against the Spirit of God? But if it be a horrible roberie of God to accuse the reuelatiō that commerth from him, either to be lying, or vnassured or doubtfull, what do we offend in affirming that it is assured? But they say, that this also is not without greate presumptuousnesse, that we dare so glorie of the Spirite of Christ. Who would thinke that their dulnesse were so greate that would be compted maisters of the world, that they so fowly stumble in the first principles of religion? Surely I would not thinke it credible, vnlesse their owne writings that are abroade did testifie it. Paule pronounceth that they onely are the children of God, that are moued with his spirit: and these men would haue them that be the children of God, to be moued with their own spirit, and to be without the Spirit of God. Paule teacheth that we call God oure Father, as the holy Ghost ministreth that word vnto vs, which onely can beare witnesse to our spirite that we are the children of God: These men, although they forbidde vs not to call vpon God, yet do take away his Spirit, by whose guiding he should haue bene rightly called vpon. Paule denieth that they are the seruantes of Christ, that are not moued with the Spirit of Christ: these men faine a Christianitie that needeth not the Spirit of Christ. Paule maketh no hope of the blessed resurrection, vnlesse we feele the holy Ghost abiding in vs: they forge a hope without any such feling. But peraduēture they will answer, that they do not deny that we ought to be endued with it, but that it is a point of modesty & humility not to acknowledge it. What meaneth he the, when he biddeth the Corinthians to trie whether they be in the faith, to proue themselues whether they haue Christ, whom vnlesse a man do acknowledge to be dwelling in him, he is a reprobate? But by the Spirit that God hath geuen vs (saith Iohn) we know that he abideth in vs. And what do we els but call y promises of Christ in doubt, when we will be compted the seruantes of God without his Spirit, which he hath openly declared, that he would poure out vpon all his? Biside that, we do wrong to the holy Ghost, which do separate from him faith that is his peculiar worke. Sithe these are the first.

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lessons of godlie religion, it is a token of miserable blindenesse, to haue Christians noted of arrogancie, that dare glorie of the presence of the holy Ghost, without which glorieng Christianitie it selfe doth not stand. But they declare by their example how truly Christ saide,

Ioh. 14. that his Spirit is vnknown to the worlde, and is onely known of
17. them with whome he abideth.

40 And bycause they will not go about to overthrowe the stedfastnesse of faith with digging onely of one mine, they assayle it also otherwise. For they say, that although according to our present state of righteousnes, we may gather a iudgment of the grace of God, yet the knowledge of perseuerance to the ende abideth in suspense. A goodly confidence of saluation forsooth is left vnto vs, if we iudge by morall coniecture, that for a present moment we be in fauoure, and

Rom. 8. what shall become of vs to morrow we can not tell. The Apostle teacheth farre otherwise: I am surely perswaded (saith he) that neither
38. Angels, nor powers, nor principalities, neither death, nor life, neither present thinges nor thinges to come, shall seuer vs from the loue wherewith the Lorde embraceth vs in Christ. They seeke to escape with a trifling solution, pratinge that the Apostle had that by speciall reuelation. But they are holdē to hard to slippe away so. For there he entreateth of those good thinges that commonly come by faith to the faithfull, not those that he himselfe specially feleth. But the same

1. Cor. Paul in an other place putteth vs in feare with mentiō of our weakenesse and vnstedfastnes: Let him that standeth (saith he) beware that
10. 12. he fall not. It is true, but not such a feare wherby we shoulde be overthrown, but whereby we may learne to humble our selues vnder
1. Pet. 5. the mighty hand of God, as Peter expoundeth it. Then how against
6. ordre and truth is it to limite the assurednes of faith to a moment of time, whose propertie is to passe beyond the spaces of this life, and extend further to immortalitie to come? Sith therefore the faithfull do impute it to the grace of God, that being lightned with his spirit they do by faith enioy the beholding of y^e heauenly life: so far is such glorying from presumptuousnesse, that if any man be ashamed to confesse it, he doth therein more bewray his extreme vnthankfulness, in vnkindely hiding Gods goodnes, than he doth declare his modestie or submission.

41 Because it semed y^e the nature of faith could not otherwise better or more plainly be declared than by the substance of the promise vpon which it resteth as vpon her propre foundation, so that if the promise be taken away, faith by and by falleth downe or rather vanisheth away: therefore we toke our definition from thence, which yet
varieth

varieth not from that definition, or rather description of the Apostle, that he applieth to his discourse, where he sayth that sayth is a substance of things to be hoped for, & a certainty of things that are not seene. For by this worde Hypostasis substance (for that terme he vseth) he meaneth as it were, an vpholding stay, whereupon the godly minde leaneth & resteth. As if he should say y^e faith is a certaine & assured possession of those things that are promised vs of God, vnlesse a man had rather to take Hypostasis for affiance, which I mislike not, albeit I follow that which is more commonly receiued. Againe, to signifye that euen to the last day when the bookes shalbe opened, they are hier than those things that may be perceiued with our senses, or seene with our eyes, or handeled with our handes, and that the same are no otherwise possessed by vs, but if we go beyonde the capacity of our owne wit, and bende our vnderstanding aboue all things that are in the world, yea and climbe aboue our selues, he hath therefore added that this assurednes of possessiō, is of things that lie in hope, & therefore are not seene. For plaine appearance (as Paule wryteth) is not hope, neither hope we for those things that we see. And when he calleth it a certainty or proufe (or as Augustine hath oft translated it) a coniunction of things not present: for in Greeke it is Elenchos, he sayth asmuch as if he did say, that it is an euident shewing of things not appearing, a seeing of things not seene, a plainnesse of darke things, a presence of things absent, an open shewing of hidden things. For the mysteries of God, such as they be that pertaine to our saluation, can not be seene in themselves and in their owne nature as they call it: but we behold them only in his word, of whose trueth we ought to be so fully perswaded, that we ought to hold all that he speaketh as it were already done and fulfilled. But how can the minde lift vp it selfe to receiue such a tast of Gods goodnesse, but that it must needes be therewith wholly kindled to loue God againe? For that flowing plenty of sweetenes which God hath layed vp in store for them that feare him, can not be truely knowen, but that it must therewithall vehemently moue affection: and whose affection it once moueth, it vterly rauisheth and carieth him beyonde himselfe. Therefore it is no maruell, if into a peruerse & crooked heart neuer entreth this affection, by which being conueyed vp into the very heaven, we are suffred to come to the most secretly hidden treasures of God, and the most sacred priue places of his kingdom, which may not be defiled with the entrance of an vncleane heart. For that which the Schoolemen teach, that charity is before faith and hope, is a meere madnes. For it is faith onely that first engendreth charity in vs. Howe much

He. 11. 1.

Dan. 7.

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Rom. 8

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August.

Hom. in

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Libr. 3.

Sē. dist.

25. &

scipius.

Ser. 1. in
Annu-
tiation-
ne.
2. Cor. 1
13.

more rightly doth Bernard teach: I beleue (saith he) that y^e testimony of conscience, which Paul calleth the glory of y^e godly, consisteth in three things. For first of all it is necessary to beleue y^e thou canst not haue forgiveness of sinnes, but by y^e pardon of God: then y^e thou canst haue no good worke at all, vnles he also giue it: last of all y^e thou canst by no works deserue eternal life, vnles it also be giuen freely. A litle after he addeth y^e these things suffice not, but that there is a certaine beginning of faith, because in beleuing y^e sinnes can not be forgiven but of God, we ought also to beleue y^e they are not forgiven vs, til also we be perswaded by y^e testimony of the holy Ghost, y^e saluation is layd vp in store for vs: because God forgiveth sinnes, he himselfe giueth merites, & he himselfe also giueth rewards, that we may not stay stil in this beginning. But these & other things shalbe to be entreated of in places fit for them. Now let it only suffice to know what faith is.

42 Now whersoever this liuely faith shalbe, it can not be possible but that it hath with it y^e hope of eternall saluation, as an vndiuidable cōpanion: or rather that it engendreth or bringeth it forth out of it selfe, which hope being taken away, how eloquently, gloriously sooner we talke of faith, yet we are conuicted to haue no faith at all, for if faith (as is aboue said) be an assured perswasion of Gods trueth, that it can not lye vnto vs nor deceiue vs, nor become voide, then they that haue conceiued this assurednesse, truely do therewithal looke for a time to come that God shall performe his promises, which in their perswasion can not be but true: so that briefly, hope is nothing else, but a looking for those things which faith hath beleued to be truely promised of God. So faith beleueth that God is true, hope loketh for the performāce of his trueth in conuenient time. Faith beleueth that he is our Father, hope looketh for him to shew himselfe such a one towards vs. Faith beleueth that eternall life is giuen vs, hope looketh that it be one day reuealed. Faith is the foundation whereupon hope resteth, hope nourisheth & sustaineth faith. For as no man can looke for any thing at Gods hand, but he that hath first beleued his promises: so againe the weakenesse of our faith must with patient hope and expectation be sustained and cherished, that it fall not as fainting for wearinesse. For which reason Paul doth well place our saluation in hope. For hope, while it in silence looketh for the Lord, restrayneth faith that it fall not headlonge with too much hast: hope strengthneth faith, that it wauer not in Gods promises, nor beginne to dout of the trueth of them: hope refresheth faith that it waxe not weary: Hope stretcheth faith to the vttermost bounde, that it faint not in the midde course nor in the very beginning. Finally, hope by continually

Rom. 8.
24.

tinually reuuinge and restoringe, it maketh it now and then to rise vp fresher than it selfe to continuance. But howe many wayes the helpes of hope are necessary to the strengthening of faith, shall better appeare, if we consider with how many sortes of temptations they are assailed and shaken, that haue embraced the word of God. First the Lord in differring his promises doth oftentimes hold our mindes longer in suspense than we woulde wish: here it is the office of hope to performe, that which the Prophet commaundeth, that though his promises do tary, yet we should waite still for them. Sometime he suffereth vs not only to faint, but also seemeth to be highly displeased: here it is much more necessary to haue hope to helpe vs, that according to the saying of an other Prophet, we may still looke for the Lord that hath hidden his face from Iacob. There rise vp all scornors (as Peter sayth) that aske: where is his promise or his comming? forasmuch as since the fathers slept, all thinges so continue from the beginninge of the creation. Yea the flesh and the world do whisper the same thing in our eares. Here must faith staied with sufferance of hope be holden fast fixed in beholdinge of eternitie that it may accompt a thousand yeares like as one day.

Heb. 2.3

Esa. 8.

17.

2. Pe. 3.

4.

Psa. 90.

43 For this conioyning and alliance the Scripture somtimes foundeth the names of Faith and Hope. For when Peter teacheth that we are by the power of God preferued through faith, vnto the disclosing of saluation, he giueth that vnto faith which did more fitly agree with hope, and not without cause, forasmuch as we haue already taught, that hope is nothing else but the nourishment and strength of faith. Sometimes they are ioyned together: as in the same epistle. That your faith and hope should be in God. But Paule to the Philippians out of faith deriueth expectation, because in patiently hoping, we holde our desires in suspense, til Gods conuenient oportunitie be opened. All which matter we may better vnderstande by the tenth chapter to the Hebrues, which I haue already alleaged. Paule in another place, although he speake vnproperly, yet meaneth the same thing in these wordes: We looke in the spirit through faith for hope of righteousness, euen because we embracing the testimonie of the Gospell concerninge his free loue, do looke for the time when God shal openly shew that which is now hidden vnder hope. And now it is plaine how foolishly Peter Lombard laieth two foundations of hope that is the grace of God, & the deseruinge of workes. Hope can haue no other marke to be directed vnto, but faith: and we haue already declared that faith hath one only marke the mercy of God, to which it ought to looke (as I may so speake) with both eyes. But it is good to

2. Pe. 3.

8.

1. Pe. 1. 3

Phil. 1.

10.

Ga. 5. 5.

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heare what a liuely reason he bringeth. If (sayth he) thou darst hope for any thing without deseruings, y^e shall not be worthy to be called hope, but presumptiō. Who (gentle reader) wil not worthily abhorre such beastes, that say, it is a rash and presumptuous deede, if a man haue confidence that God is true of his worde? For where the Lorde willeth vs to looke for all things at his goodnesse, they say it is presumption to leane and rest vpon it. A maister meete for such scholers as he founde in the mad schoole of filthy bablers. But as for vs, when we see that we are commaunded by the oracles of God to conceiue a hope of saluation, let vs gladly presume so much vpon his trueth, as trusting vpon his only mercy, casting away the confidence of works, to be bold to hope well. He will not deceiue that said: Be it vnto you according to your faith.

Matt. 9.
19.

The iij. Chapter.

That we are regenerate by faith. VVherein is entreated of Repentance.

ALbeit we haue already partely taught howe faith possesseth Christ, and howe by it we enioy his benefites: neuerthelesse this were yet darke, vnlesse we did also make declaration of the effectes that we feele therby. Not without cause it is said, that the sum of the Gospell standeth in repentance and in forgiveness of sinnes. Therefore leauinge out these two pointes, whatsoever we shall say of faith, shalbe but a hungry & vnperfect, yea and in manner vnprofitable disputation of faith. Now forasmuch as Christ doth giue both vnto vs, and we obtaine both by faith, that is to say, both newnesse of life and free reconciliation, reason and order of teaching requireth, that in this place I begin to speake of both. Our next passage from faith shalbe to Repentance, because whē this article is well perceiued, it shall the better appeare how man is iustified by only faith and mere pardon, & yet how reall holinesse of life (as I may so call it) is not seuered from free imputation of righteousness. Now it ought to be out of question, that Repentance doth not onely immediatly follow faith, but also spring out of it. For whereas pardon and forgiveness is therefore offered by the preaching of the Gospell, that the sinner beinge deliuered from the tyranny of Satan, from the yoke of sinne, and from miserable bondage of vices, may passe into the kingdom of God, truely no man can embrace the grace of the Gospell, but he must returne from the errors of his former life into the right way, and apply all his study to the meditation of repentance. As for them that thinke that repentance doth rather go before

fore faith than flow or spring forth of it, as a frute out of a tree, they neuer knewe the force therof, and are moued with too weake an argument to thinke so.

2 Christ (say they) and Iohn in their preachings do first exhorte the people to repentance, & then they afterward say that the kingdom of heauen is at hande. Such commaundement to preach, the Apostles receiued, such order Paule followed, as Luke reporteth. But while they superstitiously sticke vpon the ioyninge together of syllables, they marke not in what meaning the wordes hang together. For when the Lorde Christ and Iohn do preach in this manner: Repent ye, for the kingdome of heauen is come neare at hande: do they not fetch the cause of repentance from very grace and promise of saluation? Therefore their wordes are asmuch in effect as if they had said: because the kingdome of heauen is come nere at hand, therefore repent ye. For Matthew, when he hath shewed that Iohn so preached, faith that in him was fulfilled the prophecie of Esay, concerning the voice crying in the wildernesse, Prepare the way of the Lorde, make streight the pathes of our God. But in the Prophet that voice is commaunded to beginne at comfort and glad tidings. Yet when we referre the beginninge of repentance to faith, we do not dreame a certaine meane space of time, wherein it bringeth it out: but we meane to shewe that a man can not earnestly apply himselfe to repentance, vnlesse he know himselfe to be of God. But no man is truly perswaded that he is of God, but he that hath first receiued his grace. But these thinges shalbe more plainly discussed in the proceffe following. Paraduventure this deceiued them, that many are first by terroures of conscience tamed, or framed to obedience, before that they haue thoroughly digested, yea before they haue tasted the knowledge of grace. And this is the feare at the beginning, which some accompt among vertues, because they see that it is nere to true and iust obedience. But our question is not here how diuersely Christ draweth vs vnto him, or prepareth vs to the endeouour of godlinesse: only this I say, that there can be no vprightnesse founde where reigneth not that Spirit which Christ receiued to communicate the same to his members. Then according to that saying of the Psalme: With thee is mercifulnesse, that thou mayest be feared. No man shall ever reuerently feare God, but he that trusteth that God is mercifull vnto him: no man will willingly prepare himselfe to the keeping of the law, but he that is perswaded that his seruices please him: which tenderesse in pardoninge and bearinge with faultes, is a signe of fatherly fauour. Which is also shewed by that exhortation of Osee, Come, let vs re-

Mat. 3.

2.

Mat. 3 7

A. 20.

21.

Esa. 40.

3.

Psa. 130

4.

Ose. 6. 2

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turne to the Lord, because he hath plucked vs, and he will heale vs: he hath stricken vs, and he will cure vs, because the hope of pardon is vsed as a pricke to make them not to lie dull in their sinnes. But their dotinge error is without all colour of reason, which to beginne at repentance do appoint certaine dayes to their newe conuertes, during the which they must exercise themselues in penance: & when those dayes are once past, they admit them to the communiō of the grace of the Gospel. I speake of many of the Anabaptistes, specially those that maruelously reioyce to be compted spirituall, & their companions the Iesuites, & such other dregges. Such frutes forsooth that spirit of giddinesse bringeth forth, to determine repentance within compasse of a few daies, which a Christian man ought to extend in continuance throughout his whole life.

3 But certaine learned men, even long before these times, meaning to speake simply and sincerely of repentance, according to the trueth of Scripture, haue said that it consisteth of two partes, mortification, & viuification, Mortification they expounde to be a sorrow of the soule & feare conceiued of the acknowledging of sinne, and of the feelinge of the iudgement of God. For when a man is once brought into true knowledge of sinne, then he truely beginneth to hate & abhorre sinne: then he heartily misliketh himselfe, confesseth himselfe to be miserable and lost, & wisheth himselfe to be an other man. Further, when he is touched with some feling of the iudgemēt of God (for the one immediatly foloweth vpon the other) then he lieth stricken and ouerthrowen, then he trembleth, humbled and cast downe, the he is discouraged & despeireth. This is the first part of repentance, which they haue commonly called Contritiō. Viuification they expounde to be the comfort that groweth of faith, when a man ouerthrowen with conscience of sinne, & stricken with feare of God, looking afterwarde vnto the goodnes of God, vnto the mercy, fauour & saluation that is through Christ, raiseth vp himselfe, taketh breath againe, recouereth courage, and returneth as it were from death to life. And these words, if they haue a right expositiō, do aptly enough expresse the nature of repentance. But where they take Viuification for the cherefulness, which the minde receiueth being brought into quietnesse from trouble & feare, therein I agree not with them: forasmuch it rather signifieth a desire to liue holily and godly which groweth of regeneration, as if it were said, that man dieth to himselfe, to beginne to liue to God.

4 Some other, because they saw this word diuersly takē in Scripture, haue made two sortes of Repentance: and because they would
make

make them differently known by some marke, they haue called the one Repentāce of the Law, by which the sinner wounded with the searing iron of sinne, & worne away with feare of the wrath of God, sticketh fast in that trouble and can not winde himselfe out of it. The other Repentance they call of the Gospell, by which the sinner is in deede grievously vexed with himselfe, but he riseth vp higher & taketh holde of Christ, the salue of his sore, the comfort of his feare, the heauen of his miserie. Of the repentance of y^e law they put those examples: Cain, Saul, and Iudas. Whose repentance when the Scripture rehearseth vnto vs, it meaneth that they acknowledging the grievousnesse of their sinne, were afraid of the wrath of God, but in thinking vpon God only as a reuenger and iudge, they fainted in that feeling. Therefore their repentance was nothinge else but a certaine entrie of hel, whereinto they being entred in this present life began already to suffer punishmēt, from the face of the wrath of Gods maiesty. The repentance of the Gospell, we see in all them, that beinge galled with the spurre of sinne in themselves, but recomforted and refreshed with confidence of the mercy of God, are turned vnto the lorde. Ezechias was stricken with feare, when he receiued the message of death: but he praied weping, & looking vnto the goodnesse of God, he tooke againe good confidēce vnto him. The Niniuites were troubled with the horrible threatninge of destruction. But they clothed themselves in sackcloth and ashes and praied, hopinge that the Lord might be turned to them, & turned from the furor of his wrath. Dauid confessed that he had too much sinned in numbringe the people: but he said further, Lord take away the wickednes of thy seruant. He acknowledged his offense of adultery, when Nathan rebuked him, & did cast himselfe downe before the Lord, but therewithall he also looked for pardon. Such was the repentance of them that at the preaching of Peter were pricked in their heart: but trusting vpon y^e goodnes of God, they said furthermore: Ye men & brethren, what shall we do? And such was the repentance of Peter himselfe, which wept in deede bitterly, but he cessed not to hope well.

5 Although all these things be true, yet the very name of repentance (so farre as I can learne by the Scriptures) is otherwise to be taken. For where they cōprehend faith vnder repentāce, it disagreeth with that which Paule sayth in the Actes, that he testified to the Iewes & Gentiles repentance vnto God & faith in Iesus Christ. Where he reckoneth repentance and faith as two diuerse thinges. What then? Can true repentance stande without faith? No. But though they can not be seuered, yet they must be distinguished. As faith is

Ge. 4. 13

1. Kings

15. 30.

Mat. 17.

4.

4 Re.

20.

Ef. 38.

Ion. 3. 5

2. Re. 2.

3 Reg.

12. 13.

& 6.

Act. 2.

37.

Act. 22.

21.

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not without hope, and yet faith and hope are diuerſe thinges: ſo repentance and faith, although they hang together with one perpetual bond, yet they rather would be conioyned than confounded. And truly I am not ignorant, that vnder the name of repentance is comprehended the whole turning vnto God, whereof faith is not the leaſt parte: but in what meaninge it is ſo comprehended, ſhall moſt eaſily appeare when the force and nature therof ſhalbe declared. The name of repentance in Hebrue is deriued of conuertinge or returninge, in Greke of chaunging of the minde or purpoſe, & the thing it ſelfe doth not ill agree with either deriuations, whereof the ſumme is, that we departing from our ſelues ſhould turne vnto God, & puttinge of our old minde, ſhould put on a new. Wherefore in my iudgement, repentance may thus not amiſſe be defined: that it is a true turninge of our life vnto God, proceeding from a pure & earneſt feare of God, which conſiſteth in the mortifyinge of the fleſh and of the olde man, and in the quickening of the ſpirite. In this ſenſe are to be taken all the preachings wherein either the Prophets in olde time, or the Apoſtles afterward exhorted the men of their time to repentance. For this onely thinge they trauailed to perſwade, that confounded with their owne finnes, and pricked with feare of the Lordes iudgement, they ſhoulde fall downe and be humbled before him, againſt whom they had offended, and with true amendement returne into his right way. Therefore theſe wordes, To be turned or returne vnto the lord, To repent, or do penance, are among them vſed without difference in all one ſignification. And therefore alſo the holy hiſtory ſaith, that men repent after the Lorde, when they that liued wantonly in their owne luſtes, not regarding him, do beginne to follow his worde, and are ready at their captaines commaundement to go whether he calleth them. And

Mat. 3.
2.
1. Sa. 7.

Luc. 3. 8
Ro. 6. 4.
Aa. 16.
20.

Iohn and Paule vſed theſe wordes, to bring forth frutes worthy of repentance, for, to leade ſuch a life as may repreſent and teſtifie ſuch an amendement in all their doings.

6 But before we go any further, it ſhalbe profitable that we do more plainly ſet out at large the definiſiō that we haue made. Wherein there be chiefly three pointes to be conſidered. Firſt when we call it a turning of life vnto God, we require a transforming, not onely in outward workes, but alſo in the ſoule it ſelfe, which when it hath put of her oldneſſe, then beginneth to bring forth the frutes of workes agreeable to her renuinge. Which when the Prophet goeth about to expreſſe, he commaundeth them whome he calleth to repentance, to make them a newe heart. Therefore Moſes oftentimes meaninge to ſhew how the Iſraelites might repent, and ſo be rightly turned vnto the

Ize. 18.
31.

the Lorde, teacheth that it be done with all their heart, and with all their soule (which maner of speakinge we see often repeated of the Prophets) and naming it the circumcising of the heart, he shaketh away all inward affections. But there is no place whereby a man may better perceiue what is the naturall propriety of repentance thā the fourth Chapter of Ieremie. If thou returne to me, O Israel, (saith the Lord) returne to me, plowe vp your arable lande and sow not vpon thornes. Be circumcised to the Lord, and take away the vncircumcised skinnies of your heartes. See how he pronounceth that they shall nothing preuaile in taking vpō thē the following of righteousnes, vnlesse wickednes be first plucked out of the bottome of their heartes. And to moue them thoroughly, he warneth them that they haue to do with God, with whom there is nothing gotten by dalyng, because he hateth a double heart. Therefore Esay laugheth to scorne y^e foolish endeouours of hipocrites, which did in deede busily go about an outward repentance in ceremonies, but in the meane time they had no care to loose the bundles of wickednes wherewith they helde poore men fast tied. Where also he very well sheweth in what ducties vnfaigned repentance properly standeth.

7 The second point was, that we taught that repentance proceedeth of an earnest feare of God. For, before that the mind of a sinner be enclined to repentance, it must be stirred vp with thinkinge vpon the iudgement of God. But when this thought is once thoroughly settled, that God will one day go vp into his iudgement seate, to require an accompt of all sayings & doings: it will not suffer the sily mā to rest, nor to take breath one minute of time, but cōtinually stirreth him vp to thinke vpon a new trade of life, whereby he may safely appeare at that iudgement. Therefore oftentimes the Scripture, when it exhorteth to repentance, maketh mention of the iudgement: as in Ieremie: least paraduenture my wrath go out as fire, & there be none to quench it, because of the naughtines of your works. In Paules sermon to the Athenians: And whereas hitherto God hath borne with the times of this ignorance, now he giueth warninge to men, that all mē euery where may repent them, because he hath apointed the day wherein he will iudge the world in equity. And in many other places. Sometime it declareth by the punishmentes already extended that God is a iudge, that sinners should thinke with thēselues, that worse thinges hang ouer them if they do not repent in time. You haue an example therof in the 29. of Exodus. But because the turning beginneth at the abhorring and hatred of sinne, therfore the Apostle maketh sorowfulness, such as is according to God, the cause of repen-

Ier. 4. 3

Esa. 65.
2. 6.Ier. 4. 3.
Act. 17.
30.1. Cor. 7.
10.

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tance. And he calleth sorrowfulnes according to God, when we are not only afraid of punishment, but do hate and abhorre sinne it selfe, forasmuch as we vnderstand that it displeaseth God. And no maruel. For vnlesse we be sharply pricked, the slouthfulnes of our flesh could not be corrected, yea prickings would not suffice for the dulnes & slouthfulnes therof, vnlesse God in stretching out his rodde should pearce more depely. This is also an obstinacy which must be beaten downe as it were with beetles. Therefore the peruersenesse of our nature enforceth God to the seuerity that he vseth in threateninge, because he shoulde in vaine call vs alluringly with faire speach while we lie a sleepe. I recite not the testimonies that comonly offer theselues to be founde. The feare of God is in an other manner also the beginninge of repentance. For though mans life were absolutely furnished with all pointes of vertues, if it be not applied to the worshiping of God, it may in deede be praised of the world, but in heaven it shalbe meere abomination, forasmuch as the chiefe parte of our righteousness is to giue God his due right and honor, wherof he is wickedly robbed, when we bend not our selues to yeelde vs subiect to his gouernment.

8 Thirdly, it remaineth that we declare what is meant by this that we say, that Repentance consisteth in two partes, that is to say, mortifying of the flesh, and quickening of the spirit. The Prophetes do plainely expresse it, although somewhat simply and grossly, according to the capacity of the carnall people, when they say: Cesse from euill and do goodnes. Againe. Be washed, be cleane, take away the euill of your workes from mine eyes: Cesse to do peruersly, learne to do well, seeke iudgement, help the oppressed, &c. For when they call men away from wickednes, they require the death of the whole flesh, which is stuffed full of wickednes and peruersenes. It is in deede an vneasie & hard thing to put of our selues, & to depart from our natural dispositiō. Neither can it be thought that the flesh is thoroughly deade, vnlesse all that we haue of our selues be abolished. But forasmuch as all the affection of the flesh is enemy against God, the first entree to the obeying of his law, is the forsaking of our owne nature. Afterward they expresse the renuing by the frutes that folow therof, as righteousness, iudgement & mercy. For it were not enough to do those dueties rightly, vnlesse the minde it selfe & the heart haue first put on the affection of righteousness, iudgement and mercy. That is done when the spirit of God hath so soked in new thoughtes & affections, our soules first washed with his holines, that they may rightly be compted new. And truely as we are naturally turned away from God,

Psa. 34.

15.

Psa. 1.

16.

Rom. 8.

4.

God, so vnlesse the forsaking of our selues do go before, we can neuer go toward that which is right. Therefore we are so oft commaunded to put of the old man, to forsake the world & flesh, to bid our lustes farewell, and to be renued in the spirite of our minde. Moreouer the very name of mortification doth put vs in minde how hard it is to forget our former nature: because we thereby gather that we are not otherwise framed to the feare of God, nor do learne the principles of godlinesse, but when we are violently slaine with the worde of the Spirit, and so brought to nought: euen as though God should pronouce, that to haue vs to be accompted among his childre, there needeth a death of all our commune nature.

9 Both these things do happē vnto vs by the partaking of Christ. For if we do truely communicate of his death, by the power thereof Ro. 6. 6. our olde man is crucified, & the body of sinne dieth, that the corruption of our former nature may liue no more. If we be partakers of his resurrection, by it we are raised vp into a newnesse of life, that may agree with the righteousness of God. In one word I expounde repentance to be regeneration, which hath no other marke whereunto it is directed, but that the image of God which was by Adams offence sowly defaced and in a maner vtterly blotted out, may be renued in vs. So the Apostle teacheth, when he sayth: but we representing the glory of God with vncouered face are transformed into the same image, out of glory into glory, as by y^e spirit of the Lord. Again. 2. Cor. 3. 18. Ephe. 4. 23. Be ye renued in the spirite of your minde and put on the newe man, which is created according to God in righteousness and holinesse of truth. Again in an other place: putting on the new man, which is renewed after the knowledge and image of him that created him. Therefore by this regeneratiō we be by the benefit of Christ restored into the righteousness of God, from which we were fallē by Adam. After Col 3. 10. 1. Cor. 7 12. which manner it pleaseth the Lord wholly to restore all those whom he adopteth into the inheritance of life. And this restoring is fulfilled not in one moment, or one day, or one yere, but by continuall, yea & sometimes slow proceedinges God taketh away the corruptions of the flesh in his elect, cleanseth them from filthines, and consecrateth them for temples to himselve, renuinge all their senses to true purenes, that they may exercise themselues all their life in repentance, and knowe that this warre hath no ende but in death. And so much the greater is the lewdnes of that filthy railer & apostata Staphilus, which foolishly saith that I confounde the state of this present life with the heauenly glory, when I expounde by Paule the image of God to be 2. Cor. 4 holines and true righteousness. As though when any thing is defined, 4

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we shoulde not seeke the whole fulnes & perfection of it. And yet we deny not place for encrease: but I say that how neere any man approacheth to the likenes of God, so much the image of God shineth in him. That the faithfull may attaine herunto, God assigneth them the race of repentance wherein to runne all their life long.

10 The children of God therefore are so deliuered by regeneration from the bondage of sinne, not that hauinge now obtained the full possession of liberty, they should feele no more trouble by their flesh, but that they should haue remaining a cōtinual matter of strife, wherewith they may be exercised, and not only be exercised, but also may better learne their owne weakenesse. And in this point all wryters of sounde iudgement agree together, that there remayneth in man regenerate a feedinge of euill, from whence continually springe desires that allure & stirre him to sinne. They confesse also that the holy ones are still so holden entangled with that disease of lusting, that they can not withstand but that sometime they are tickled & stirred either to lust or to couetousnes, or to ambition or to other vices. Neither is it nedefull to labour much in searching what the old wryters haue thought herein, forasmuch as only Augustine may be sufficient for it, which hath faithfully and with great diligence gathered al their iudgements. Therefore let the readers gather out of him, such certainty as they shall desire to learne of the opinion of antiquity. But there may seeme to be this differēce betwene him and vs, that he when he graunteth that the faithfull so long as they dwell in a mortall body are so holden bound with lustes, that they can not but lust, yet darest not call that disease sinne: but being content to expresse it by the name of weakenesse, he teacheth that then onely it becommeth sinne, when either worke or consent is added to cōceite or receiuing, that is, when will yeeldeth to the first desire: but we accompt the very same for sinne, that man is tickled with any desire at all against the law of God: Yea we affirme that the very corruption that engendreth such desires in vs, is sinne. We teach therefore that there is alway sinne in the holy ones, vntill they be vncloded of the mortall body, because there remaineth in their flesh that peruerfenes of lusting that fighteth against vprightnes. And yet he doth not alway forbear to vse the name of Sinne, as when he sayth: This Paule calleth by the name of sinne, from whence spring all sinnes vnto a fleshly cōcupiscence. This asmuch as pertaineth to the holy ones, looseth the kingdom in earth, and perisheth in heauen. By which wordes he confesseth, that the faithfull are guilty of sinne, in so much as they are subject to the lustes of the flesh.

Libr. ad
Bonif. 4
Li. 1 & 2
contra
Iulianum.

Ser. 4.
de ver-
bis A-
post.

11 But this that it is sayd, y God purgeth his church frō all sinne, that he promiseth that grace of deliuerāce by Baptisme, & fulfilleth it Ephē. 5. in his elect, we referre rather to the guiltines of sinne, than to the very 26. matter of sinne. God truly performeth this by regenerating thē that be his, that in them that kingdome of sinne is abolished (for the holy Ghost ministreth them strength, whereby they get the vpper hand & are cōquerours in the battel) but it cesseth only to reigne & not so to dwell in them. Therefore we so say, that the old man is crucified, & the Ro. 6. 6. law of sinne abolished in the children of God, that yet there remaine some leauings, not to haue dominiō in them, but to humble them by knowledge in conscience of their owne weakenesse. And we confesse that the same are not imputed, as if they were not: but we affirme that this cōmeth to passe by the mercy of God, that the holy ones are deliuered from this guiltinesse, which otherwise should iustly be reckoned sinners & guilty before God. And this sentence it shal not be hard for vs to confirme, forasmuch as there are euident testimonies of the Scripture vpon their matter. For what woulde we haue more plaine, than that which Paule crieth out to the Romaines cap. 7. First both Ro. 7. 6. we haue in an other place shewed, and Angustine proueth by stronge reasons, that Paul there speaketh in the person of a man regenerate. I speake not of this, that he vseth these wordes, Euill and Sinne, that they which will speake against vs may not cauill against those words? but who can deny, that a striuing against the law of God is euill? who can deny a withstanding of Iustice to be sinne? Finally, who will not graunt that there is a fault, where is a spirituall misery? But all these thinges are reported of this disease by Paule. Againe, we haue an assured demonstration by the law, by which this whole questiō may easily be discuffed. For we are commaunded to loue God with al our heart, with all our soule, with all our powers. Sith all the partes of our soule ought so to be occupied with the loue of God, it is certaine, that they satisfie not the commaundement that cōceiue in their heart any desire, be it neuer so litle, or suffer any such thought at all to entre into their minde, as may withdraw them from the loue of God into vanity. For what? are not these the powers of the soule, to be affected with sodaine motions, to comprehend with wit, to conceiue with minde? Therefore, when these do open a way for vaine or corrupt thoughtes to entre into thē, do they not shew that they are euen so much voide of the loue of God? Wherefore, who so confesserh not that all the lusts of the flesh are sinnes, and that the same disease of lusting, which they call a feeding, is the well springe of sinne, he must needes deny that the transgression of the law is sinne.

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12 If any man thinke it an absurdity, that all the desires wherewith man is naturally moued in affection, are vniuersally cōdemned, wheras they be put into man by God the author of nature. We answere, that we do not condemne those desires that God hath so engrauen into y^e minde of man at the first creation, that they can not be rooted out without destroying the very nature of man, but onely outragious and vnbridled motions that fight against the ordinance of God. But nowe sith by reason of the perverseness of nature all her powers are infected and corrupted, that in all her doinges appeareth a continuall disorder & intemperance, because the desires can not be seuered frō such intemperance: therefore we say that they are corrupt. Or (if you like to haue the whole summe in fewer wordes) we teach that all the desires of men are euill: and we accuse them to be gilty of sinne, not in that that they are naturall, but for that they are inordinate: and we call them inordinate, because no pure or cleane thinge can come out of a corrupt and vncleane nature. And Augustine doth not so much vary from this doctrine as he appeareth in shew, while he somewhat too much feareth the enuie that the Pelagians labored to bring him into, he sometime forbeareth to vse the name of sinne: Yet where he wryteth that the law of sinne still remaining in the holy ones, the only giltines is taken away, he plainly sheweth that he doth not so much disagree from our meaning.

Ad Bonif.

13 We will alleage some other sentences, wherby shall better appeare what he thought In the second booke against Iulian: This law of sinne is both released by the spiritual regeneration, and abideth in the mortall flesh: released herein, because the giltines is taken away in the sacrament wherby the faithfull are regenerate: & it abideth, because it worketh the desires against which the faithfull do fight. Agayne. Therefore the law of sinne (which was also in the members of so great an Apostle) is released in baptisme, but not ended. Againe. The law of sinne (of which yet remaininge the giltinesse, is in baptisme discharged) Ambrose called wickednes: because it is wickednes for the flesh to lust against the Spirit. Againe. Sinne is dead in respect of that giltines wherein it helde vs, and euen being dead, it still rebelleth till it be healed with perfection of buriall. And yet playner in the 5. booke. As the blindnesse of heart is both a sinne, whereby man beleueth not in God: and also a punishmēt of sinne, whereby a proud heart is chastised with worthy correction: and the cause of sinne when any thing is committed by the error of a blinde heart: so the lust of flesh against which a good spirit lusteth, is both sinne, because there is in it disobedience against the government of the minde: and also the punishment

ment of sinne, because it is giuen for recompense to the deseruings of the disobedient: and the cause of sinne in man, when he consenteth by defection or in man, when he is borne: by infection. Here without any doutfull speech he calleth it sinne, because when error was once ouerthrowen, and the trueth confirmed, he lesse feared sclaunders reportes. As in the 41. Homely vpon Iohn, where doubtlesse he speaketh accordinge to the true meaninge of his minde, he sayth: If in the flesh thou serue the lawe of sinne, do that which the Apostle himselfe saith: let not sinne reigne in your mortal body to obey the desires therof. He saith not, let it not be, but let it not reigne. So long as thou liuest, sinne must needes be in thy members at least let reigne be takē from it. Let not that be done which it commaundeth. They that defende that lust is no sinne, are wont to obiekt that saying of Iames: Lust, after that it hath cōceiued, bringeth forth sinne. But this is easily cōfuted. For vnlesse we thinke that he speaketh of only ill workes or actuall sinnes, euill wil it selfe, shall not be accounted sinne. But where he calleth mischieuous deedes and wicked offenses the offsprings of sinne, and giueth vnto them the name of sinne, it doth not by and by folow thereof, but that to lust, is an euill thing & damnable before God. Rom. 6. 12. Iam. 2.

14 Certaine Anabaptistes in this age, deuise I wote not what phreke intemperance in steede of spiritual regeneration: saying that the children of God restored into the state of innocency, now ought no more to be carefull for bridling of the lust of the flesh: that the Spirit is to be followed for their guide, vnder whose guiding they neuer go out of the way. It were incredible that mans minde coulde fall to so great madnesse, vnlesse they did openly and proudly babble abroad this doctrine. Truly it is monstrous. But it is meete that such should suffer the punishment of such blasphemous boldnesse, that so haue perswaded their minde to turne the trueth of God into a lie. Shall all the choise of honesty and dishonesty, right and wrong, good & euill, vertue and vice, be taken away? Such difference (say they) commeth of the cursednesse of olde Adam, from which we are exempted by Christ. So now there shalbe no difference betwene fornication and chastity, plaine dealinge and fittely, trueth and lying, iustice and extortion. Take away vaine feare, say they, the Spirite wil commaunde thee no euill thinge, so that thou boldly and without feare yeelde thee to the guiding thereof. Who can choose but be astonished at these monstrous thinges? Yet it is a common learning among them, which blinded with madnesse of lustes, haue putte of all common reason, but what Christ (I beseech you) do they frame vnto vs, and

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what spirit do they belch out? For we reknowledge one Christ, & his only Spirit whom the Prophets haue cōmended, whom the Gospell giuen vs doth preach, of whom we there heare no such thinge. That Spirit is no patrone of manslaughter, whoredom, dronkenness, pride, contention, couetousnes, & guile: but the author of loue, chastity, sobriety, modesty, peace, temperance & truth. It is not a giddy spirit, & runneth headlong without consideration through right and wronge, but is full of wisdom and vnderstandinge, that discerneth rightly betwene iust and vniust. It stirreth not vnto dissolute and vnbridled licentiousnesse, but maketh difference betwene lawfull and vnlawfull, and teacheth to kepe measure and temperance: but why do we labour any longer in confuting this beastly rage? To Christians the Spirit of the Lord is not a troublesome phantasie, which either theselues haue brought forth in a dreame, or haue receiued being forged of other: but they reuerently seeke the knowledge of him at the Scriptures, where these two things be taught of him: First that he is giuen vs vnto sanctification, that he might bringe vs into the obedience of Gods will, being purged from vncleannesse and defilinges, which obedience can not stande, vnlesse lustes be tamed and subdued, whereunto these men would giue the bridle at liberty. Secondly we are taught that we are so cleansed by his sanctification, that we are stil besieged with many vices and much weakenes, so long as we are enclosed in the burden of our body: wherby it commeth to passe, that being farre distant frō perfection, we haue neede alway to encrease somewhat, and being entangled in vices, we haue neede daily to wastle with them. Whereupon also followeth, that shaking of slouth and carelesnesse, we must watch with heede full mindes, that we be not compassed vnware with the snares of our flesh. Vnlesse peraduenture we thinke that we haue proceeded further thā the Apostle, which yet was wried of the Angel of Satan, that his strength might be made perfect with weakenes: and which did vnfaignedly represent in his flesh that diuision of the flesh and of the spirit.

2. Cor.
12. 15.
Ro. 7. 6.

15 But whereas the Apostle in describing of repentance reckoneth seauen either causes or effectes or partes thereof, he doth that of a very good cause: and these they be: endeavour or carefulnesse, excusinge, indignation, feare, desire, zele, punishment. Neither ought it to seeme any absurdity, that I dare not certainly determine whether they ought to be compred causes or effectes. For both may be defended in disputation. They may be also called affections ioyned with repentance: but because, leauinge out those questions, we may vnderstande what Paule meaneth, we shalbe content with a simple declaration of

1. Cor. 7
11.

of them. He saith therefore, that of the heauinesse which is according to God, ariseth carefulnesse. For he that is touched with an earnest feeling of displeasure bycause he hath sinned against his God, is therewithall stirred vp to diligence and heedefulnesse, to winde himselfe clerely out of the snares of the Deuell, to take better heede of his snares, to fall no more from the gouernance of the holy Ghost, not to be oppressed with security. Next is Excusing, which in this place signifieth not the defense, whereby a sinner to escape the iudgement of God, either doth denie that he hath offended, or diminisheth the haynousnesse of his faulte, but a purgation which standeth rather in crauing of pardon, than in defense of his cause. Like as the children that are not reprobate when they acknowledge and confesse their faultes, do yet vse entreating, and that it may take place, they protest by all meanes that they can, that they haue not cast away the reuerence that they owe to their parentes. Finally they so excuse them, as they go not about to proue themselues righteous and innocent, but onely that they may obtaine pardon. Then followeth Indignation, whereby the sinner fretteth inwardly with himselfe, quareleth with himselfe, is angry with himselfe, when he recordeth his owne peruerfnesse and his owne vnthankefulnesse to God. By the name of feare, he meaneth that trembling that is stricken into our mindes so ofte as we thinke both what we haue deserued, and howe horrible is the seueritie of Gods wrath against sinners. For we must needes then be vexed with a maruellous vnquietnesse, which both instructeth vs to humilitie, & maketh vs more ware against the time to come. Now if out of feare do springe that carefulnesse, whereof he had spoken before, then we see with what linking they hang together. It semeth to me that he hath vsed this worde Desire for diligence in our dutie and redy cherefulnesse to obey, whereunto the acknowledging of our owne faultes ought chiefly to prouoke vs. And therunto also belongeth zeale, which he ioyneth immediatly next vnto it. For it signifieth a feruentnesse, wherewith we be kindled when we be spurred forward with these pricking thoughtes: what haue I done? whether had I throwen my selfe hedlonge, if the mercie of God did not help me? The last of all is punishment, for the more rigorous that we be to our selues, and the straightlier that we examine our owne sinnes, so much the more we ought to trust that God is fauorable and mercifull vnto vs. And truely it is not possible, but that the soule being stricken with horreur of the iudgement of God must needes do some execution in the punishing of it selfe. Truely the godly do fele what punishmentes are shame, confusion, mourning, lothing of themselves,

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& other affectiōs that spring out of earnest acknowledging of sinnes. But let vs remember that there is a measure to be kepte, that sorrow do not swallowe vs vp; because nothing more redily happeneth to fearefull consciences than falling to despeire. And also by that crafty meane whom so euer Satā findeth ouerthrowen with dreade of God, he more and more drowneth them in the gulse of sorrow, that they may neuer rise vp againe. Truly the feare can not be to great which endeth with humilitie, and departeth not from hope of pardon. But alway (as the Apostle teacheth) the sinner must beware, that while he moue himselfe to the lothing of himselfe, he despeire not, oppressed with to great feare, for so do we flee away from God which calleth vs to him by repentance. Vpon which point this lesson of Bernarde is very profitable: Sorrow for sinnes is necessarie, if it be not continuall. I counsell you sometime to returne your faute from greuous and painefull remembrance of your owne wayes, and to climbe vp to the plaine ground of cherefull remembrance of benefites of God. Let vs mingle hony with wormewood, that the holsome bitterneesse may bring vs health, when it shalbe dronke tempered with swetenesse. And if ye thinke of your selues in humilitie, thinke also of the Lorde in goodnesse.

16 Now it may be also perceiued what be the frutes of repentāce, euen the duties of godlinesse toward God, and of charitie toward men, and therewithall a holines and purenesse in all our life. Finally, the more earnestly that any man examineth his life by the rule of Gods lawe, so much the surer tokens he sheweth of his repentance. Therefore the holy Ghost oftentimes, when he exhorteth vs to repentance, calleth vs sometime to all the commaundementes of the law, sometime to the duties of the second table. Albeit in other places after that he hath condemned vncleannesse in the very founaine of the heart, he descendeth afterwarde to outward testimonies that do set out true repentāce: of which thing I will hereafter set before the readers eyes a table in the description of a Christian life. I will not gather testimonies out of the Prophets, wherein they partely scorne at their follies that go about to appease God with ceremonies, & do shewe that they be mere mockeries, and partely do teache that outward vprightnesse of life is not the principall part of repentance, bycause God loketh vpon the heart: who so euer is euen meanely exercised in y^e scripture, shall perceiue of himselfe without any other mans putting in minde, that when we haue to do with God, we labour in vaine, vnlesse we beginne at the inward affection of the heart. And the place of Ioel shall not a litle helpe to the vnderstanding of the

Heb. 12.
3.

Sermo.
ne 11. in
Cant.

Ioel. 2.
13.

the reste, where he saith: Teare your heartes and not your garmets. Also both those pointes are expressed in these wordes of Iames: Ye wicked doers, cleanse your handes: ye double men, purge your heartes. Where in deede there is an addition ioyned to the first part, but after is shewed the very fountaine and beginning that they must wipe away their secret filthinesse, that there may be an altar set vp to God in the very heart. Beside this there are also certaine outward exercises which we vse priuately as remedies to humble our selues or to tame our flesh, and publikely for the declaration of repentance. And they procede from that punishment of which Paule speaketh, for these are the proprietie of an afflicted minde, to be in lothesomnesse, mourning and weping, to flee gorgeousnesse and all trimming, and to forsake al delites. Then he that feleth how great an euell is the rebellion of the flesh, seeketh all remedies to bridle it. Moreover he that well bethinketh him how greuous a thing it is to haue offended the iustice of God, can not rest vntill he haue in his owne humility geuen glorie to God. Such exercises the olde writers do oftentimes rehearse, when they speake of the frutes of repentance. But albeit they do not place the whole force of repentance in them, yet the readers shall pardon me, if I speake what I thinke: it seemeth vnto me that they stand to much vpon them. And if any man will wisely wey it, I trust he will agree with me, that they haue two wayes gone beyond measure. For whē they so much enforced, and with immeasurable commendations aduanced that bodily discipline, this in deede they obtained, that the people did the more earnestly embrace it, but they in a manner darkened that, which ought to haue bene of much greater importance. Secondely, in geuing punishments they were somewhat more rigorous than ecclesiasticall mildenesse may beare, as we shall haue occasion to shew in an other place.

17 But because many when they heare weping, fasting and ashes spoken of, both often in other places and specially in Ioe, they measure the chiefe part of repentance by fasting and weping: therefore their error is to be taken away. That which is there spoken of the turning of the whole heart to the Lorde, of cutting their heartes and not their garmentes, is properly belonging to repentance: but weping and fasting are not ioyned as continuall or necessary effectes thereof, but are spoken of in respect of a speciall circumstance. Because he had prophecied, that there hāged ouer the Iewes a most greuous destruction, therefore he counsellēth them to preuent the wrath of God, not only in repenting, but also in vrtering tokens of their sorrow. For as a man standing to be arraigned, vsēth humbly to

Iac. 4. 8

2 Cor. 7. 11.

Ioe. 2. 12.

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abace himselfe with an ouergrown bearde, vncombed heare and blacke apparell, to moue the iudge to pitie: so it behoued them when they stode accused before the iudgement seate of God, in piteous array to beseech him not to extend his rigour. But although ashes and sackcloth did peradventure more fitly agree with those times. Yet it is certaine, that weping and fasting shoulde be to a very conuenient good vse among vs, so oft as the Lord semeth to threaten vs any plague or calamitie. For when he maketh any danger to appere, he doth after a certaine maner geue warning, that he is prepared or armed to reuenge. Therefore the prophet did wel, when he exhorted his contritmen to wepinge and fasting, that is to the sorrowfull manner of accused men, whose offences he said a litle before, were had in examination. Euen as the Pastors of the Church should not do ill at this day, if when they see any ruine hanging ouer the neckes of their people, they would crie out vpon them to make hast to fasting and weping: so that they would with greater and more inward care and diligence, alway enforce that which is the principall point, that they must cut their heartes and not their garmentes. It is out of doubt, that fasting is not alway ioyned with repentance, but is appointed peculiarly for times of miserable plagues: and therefore Christ ioyneth it with wayling, when he acquiteth the Apostles from neede thereof, vntill the time that being spoiled of his presence, they should be tormented with griefe. I speake of solene fasting. For the priuate life of the godly ought to be tempered with honest sparing and sobrietie, that in the whole course thereof there may appere a certaine kinde of fasting. But because all this matter shalbe to be declared againe in the place where we shall entreate of the discipline of the Church, therefore I do now the more slenderly touche it. But this one thing I will adde here by the way: when the name of repentance is applied to this outward profession, then it is vnpropely turned from the naturall meaning which I haue aboue set forth of it. For it is not so much a turning vnto God as a confession of fault, with a beseeching of God not to charge them with the paine and guiltinesse. So to do penance in ashes and sackcloth is nothing els, than to vtter a displeasednesse when God is angry with vs for greuous offenses. And this is a publike kinde of confession, whereby we condemning our selues before the Angels and the world, do preuent the iudgement of God. For Paule rebuking their slouthfulnesse that tenderly beare with their own faultes, saith: if we did iudge our selues, we should not be iudged of God. But it is not alway necessarie to make men openly of counsell and witness of our repentance: but to confesse priuately to God is a part of true
repent-

Mat. 9.
15.

Mat. 11.
21.
Luc. 10.
13.

1. Cor.
11. 3.

repentance which can not be omitted. For there is nothing more vnreasonable than to loke to haue God to pardon vs the sinnes in which we flatter our selues and do hide them by Hipocrisie, least he should bring them to light. And it behoueth vs not onely to confesse those sinnes which we dayely commit, but more greuous offenses ought to drawe vs further, and to call againe into our remembrance thinges that seeme longe ago buried. Which lesson Dauid geueth vs Psa. 51. 7. by his example. For being touched with shame of his newly committed fault, he examineth himselfe euen to the time when he was in his mothers wombe, and cōfesseth that euen then he was corrupted and infected with the filthinesse of the flesh. And this he doth not to diminish the haynousnesse of his fault, as many hide themselues in the multitude, and seke to escape punishment by wrapping other with them. But Dauid doth far otherwise which with simple plainnes enforceeth his fault in saying, that being corrupt from his first infancie, he hath not cessed to heape euels vpon euels. Also in an other place Psa. 35. 9. he likewise so examineth his passed life, that he craueth the mercie of God for the sinnes of his youth. And truely then onely shall we proue our drowlines to be shake away from vs, if groning vnder our burden and bewailing our euels, we aske reliefe of God. It is moreover to be noted, that the repentance which we are commaunded continually to applie, differeth from that repentance, that listeth vp as it were, from death them that either haue filthily fallen, or with vnbridled licentiousnesse haue throwen forth themselues to sinne, or after a certaine manner of rebellious reuolting, haue shaken of the yoke of God. For the Scripture oftentimes, when it exhorteth to repentance, meaneth thereby as it were a passage or rising againe from death into life: and when it reherfeth that the people did penance, it meaneth that they were turned from their idolatrie & other grosse offences. And in like manner Paule threateneth mourning vnto sin- 2. Cor. 12. 2 3. ners that haue not done penance for their wantonnesse, fornication and vnchastitie. This difference is to be diligently marked, least while we heare that few are called to penāce, a more than carelesse assurednesse should crepe vpon vs, as though the mortifieng of the flesh did no more belong vnto vs, the care whereof, the corrupt desires that alway tickle vs, and the vices that commonly budde vp in vs, do not suffer vs to release. Therefore the speciall repentance which is required but of some, whom the Deuell hath violently carried away from the feare of God, and fast bound with damnable snares, taketh not away the ordinary repentance which the corruptnesse of nature compelleth vs to applie throughout all the whole course of our life.

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19 Now if that be true, which is most euidently certaine, that all the summe of the Gospell is contained in these two principall pointes, Repentance and forgeuenesse of sinnes: do we not see, that the Lord doth therfore freely iustifie thē that be his, that he may also by the sanctification of his Spirit restore them into true righteousness? Iohn the Angel sent before the face of Christ to prepare his wayes, preached: Repent ye, for the kingdome of heauen is come nere at hande. In calling thē to repentance, he did put them in minde to acknowledge themselues sinners, and all that was theirs, to be damnable before the Lorde, that they might with all their heartes desire the mortifying of their flesh and a newe regeneration in the Spirit. In telling them of the kingdome of God, he called them to faith. For by the kingdome of God which he taught to be at hand, he meant forgeuenesse of sinnes, saluation, and life, and all that euer we get in Christ. Wherefore in the other Euangelistes it is written, Iohn came preaching the Baptisme of repentance vnto forgeuenesse of sinnes. And what is that els, but that they being oppressed and wried with the burden of sinnes, shold turne to the Lorde, and conceiue good hope of forgeuenesse and saluation? So Christ also beganne his preachings: The kingdome of God is come nere at hand: repent ye and beleue the Gospell. First he declareth that the treasures of Gods mercie are opened in him, and then he requireth repentance, and last of all confidence in the promises of God. Therefore when he meant briefly to comprehend the whole summe of the Gospell, he said, that he must suffer & rise againe from the dead, and that repentance and forgeuenesse of sinnes must be preached in his name. The Apostles also preached the same after his resurrection, that he was raised vp by God, to geue to Israell repentance and forgeuenesse of sinnes. Repentance is preached in the name of Christ, when men do heare by the doctrine of the Gospell that all their thoughtes, their affections, and their endeouors are corrupt and faulty, and that therefore it is necessarie that they be borne againe if they will entre into the kingdome of God. Forgeuenesse of sinnes is preached when men are taught that Christ is made to them redemption, righteousness, saluation and life: in whose name they are freely accompted righteous and innocent in the sight of God, whereas both these graces are receiued by faith, as I haue in an other place declared: yet because the goodnesse of God whereby sinnes are forgiven, is the prooffe obiekt of faith, therefore it shalbe good that it be diligently distinguished from repentance.

20 Now as the hatred of sinne, which is the beginning of repentance,

rance, openeth vs the first entrie vnto Christ, which sheweth himselfe
 to none but to miserable and afflicted sinners, which grone, labour,
 are loden, are hungry and thirsty, and pine away with sorrow and mi-
 serie: so must we endeuer toward repentance, throughout all our
 life applie it, and follow it to the ende, if we will abide in Christ. For
 he came to call sinners, but to repentance: he was sent to blesse the
 vnworthy, but so that euery one should turne himself from his wic-
 kednesse. The Scripture is full of such sayings. Wherefore when God
 offreth forgeuenesse of sinnes, he likewise vseth to require on our
 parte repentance, secretly declaring thereby, that his mercie ought
 to be to men a cause to repent them. Do (saith he) iudgement and
 righteousness, bycause saluation is come nere at hand. Againe. There
 shall come to Sion a Redemer, and to them that in Iacob repēt from
 their sinnes. Againe. Seke the Lord while he may be found: call vpon
 him while he is nere. Let the wicked leue his way and the wickednes
 of his thoughts, and be turned to the Lorde, and he shall haue mercy
 on him. Againe. Turne ye and repent, that your sinnes may be done
 away. Where yet is to be noted, that this condition is not so annexed
 as though our repentance were a foundation to deserue pardon, but
 rather (because the Lorde hath determined to haue mercy vpon men
 to this ende that they should repent) he teacheth men whither they
 shall trauaile if they will obtaine grace. Therefore so long as we shall
 dwell in the prison of our body, we must continually wastle with the
 vices of our corrupt flesh, yea with our owne naturall soule. Plato saith
 in certaine places, that the life of a Philosopher is a meditation of
 death, but we may more truely say, that the life of a Christian man is
 a perpetuall studie and exercise of mortifieng the flesh, till it being
 vtterly flaine, the Spirit of God get the dominion in vs. Therefore I
 thinke that he hath much profited, that hath learned much to mi-
 slike himselfe: not that he shoulde sticke fast in that mire and go no
 further, but rather that he should hast and long toward God, that
 being grafted into the death and life of Christ, he should studie vpon a
 continuall repentance: as truely they can not otherwise do, that haue
 a naturall hatred of sinne: for no man euer hated sinne, vnlesse he
 were first in loue with righteousness. This doctrine, as it was most
 simple of all other, so I thought it best to agree with the truth of the
 Scripture.

21 Now that Repentance is a singular gift of God, I thinke it be
 so wel knownen by the doctrine aboue taught, that I neede not to re-
 pete a long discourse to proue it againe. Therefore the Church prai-
 seth and hath in admiration the benefit of God, that he hath geuen,

Esa. 61.
 1.
 Mat. 11.
 5.
 Luc. 4.
 18.
 Matt. 9.
 14.
 Act. 3.
 26. and
 5. 31.
 Esa. 56.
 1. & 59.
 20. and
 55. 6.
 Act. 2.
 38.
 Id cum
 a'ibi rā
 in Phœ-
 done
 multis
 dispa-
 tat.

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- 3.Tim. 2.25. the Gentiles repentāce vnto saluation. And Paule commaunding Timothee to be patient and milde toward the vnbeleuers, saith: If at any time God geue them repentance that they may repent from the snares of the Deuell. God in deede affirmeth that he willeth the conuersion of all men, and directeth his exhortatiōs generally to all men: but the effectuall working therof hangeth vpon the Spirit of regeneration. Because it were more easy to create vs men, than of our owne power to put on a better nature. Therefore in the whole course of regeneratiō we are not without cause called, the worke of God created to good workes, which he hath prepared that we should walke in them. Whom soeuer the lordes will is to deliuer from death, those he quickeneth with the Spirite of regeneration: not that repentance is properly the cause of saluation, but bycause it is alredy seen that it is vnseparable from faith and from the mercie of God: sith (as Esaye testifieth) there is a redemer come to him, and to those that in Iacob are returned from their wickednesse. This truly standeth stedfastly determined, that where so euer liueth the feare of God, there the Spirit hath wrought vnto the saluation of man. Therefore, in Esaye, when the faithfull complaine and lament that they are forsaken of God, they reckon this as a token of being reprobates, that their heartes were hardened by God. The Apostle also meaning to exclude apostataes from hope of saluation, apointeth this reason, that it is impossible for them to be renewed vnto repentance: because God in renewing them whom he will not haue perish, sheweth a token of his fatherly fauour, and in a manner draweth them vnto him with the beames of his cherefull and mery countenāce: on the other side with hardening them, he thundereth against the reprobate, whose wickednesse is vnardonable. Which kinde of vengeance the Apostle threatneth to wilfull apostataes, which when they depart from the faith of the Gospell, do make a scorne of God, reprochefully despise his grace, and defile and treade vnder feete the bloud of Christ, yea as much as in them is they crucifie him againe. For he doth not (as some fondly rigorous men would haue it) cut of hope of pardon from all wilfull sinnes: but teacheth that apostasie is vnworthy of all excuse: so that it is no maruell that God doth punish a contempt of himself so full of sacrilege, with vnappeasable rigour. For he saith that it is impossible, that they which haue once ben enlightened, haue tasted of the heavenly gift, haue ben made partakers of the holy Ghost, haue tasted of the good worde of God and the powers of the worlde to come, if they fall, should be renewed to repentance, crucifying againe of new, and making a scorne of the sonne of God. Again in an other place:

place: If (saith he) we willingly sinne after knowledge of the truth Heb. 10
 receiued, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sinnes, but a certaine 25.
 dreadfull expectation of iudgement, &c. These also be the places,
 out of the wrong vnderstanding whereof, the Nouatians in old time
 haue gathered matter to play the mad men: with whose rigorous-
 nesse certaine good men being offended, beleued this to be a coun-
 terfait Epistle in the Apostles name, which yet in all partes doth true-
 ly saue of an Apostolike spirit. But bycause we contend with none
 but with them that allow it, it is easy to shew, how these sentences
 do nothing mainteine their error. First it is necessarie that the A-
 postle agree with his maister, whiche affirmeth that all sinne and
 blasphemie shall be forgeuē, except the sinne against the holy Ghost,
 which is not forgiven neither in this world, nor in the world to come.
 It is certaine (I say) that the Apostle was contented with this ex-
 ception, vnlesse we will make him an aduersary to the grace of Christ.
 Whereupon followeth, that pardon is denied to no speciall offen-
 ses, but onely to one, which proceeding of a desperate rage, can not
 be ascribed to weakenesse, and openly sheweth that a man is possessed
 of the Deuell.

22 But to discusse this, it behoueth to enquire what is that same
 so horrible offense, that shall haue no forgeuēesse. Whereas Augu-
 stine in one place defineth it an obstinate stiffness euen vnto death,
 with despeire of pardō, that doth not well agree with the very wor-
 des of Christ, that it shall not be forgiven in this world. For either
 that is spoken in vaine, or it may be committed in this life. But if
 Augustines definitiō be true, then it is not committed, vnlesse it con-
 tinue euē vnto death. Wheras some other say, that he sinneth against
 the holy Ghost, that enuieth the grace bestowed vpon his brother: I
 see not from whence that is fetched. But let vs bring a true definitiō,
 which being ones proued with sure testimonies, shall easily by it selfe
 overthrowe all the reste. I say therefore, that they sinne against the
 holy Ghost, which of set purpose resist the truth of God, with bright-
 nesse whereof they are so daseled, that they can not pretend igno-
 rance: which they do onely to this ende to resist. For Christ mea- Mat. 12.
 ning to expounde that which he had said, immediatly addeth: He 32.
 that speaketh a worde against the sonne of man, it shalbe forgiven Marc. 3.
 him: but he that blasphemeth against the holy Ghost, shall not be for- 29.
 geuen. And Matthew, for the blasphemie against the holy Spirit, put- Luc. 12.
 teth the spirit of blasphemie. But how can a man speake a reproche 10.
 against the Sonne, but it is also spoken against the holy Ghost? They
 that stumble vnware against the truth of God, not knowing it, which

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do ignorantly speake euell of Christ, hauing yet this minde, that they would not extinguish the truth of God disclosed vnto them, or ones with one worde offend him, whome they had knowen to be the lordes anointed: these men sinne against the father and the sonne. So there are many at this day, that do most hatefully detest the doctrine of the Gospell, which if they did know it to be the doctrine of the Gospell, they would be redy to worship with all their heart. But they whose conscience is conuincd, that it is the worde of God which they forsake and fight against, and yet cesse not to fight against it, they are said to blaspheme the holy Ghost: for asmuch as they wraastle against the enlightening that is the worke of the holy Ghost. Such were many of the Iewes, which when they could not resist the Spirit that spake by Stephen, yet endeouored to resist. It is no doubt but that many of them were carried vnto it with zeale of the lawe, but it appereth that there were some other that of malicious wickednesse did rage against God himselfe, that is to say against the doctrine, which they were not ignoraunt to be of God. And such were those Pharisees, against whome the Lord inueyeth, which to ouerthrow the power of the holy Ghost, defamed him with the name of Beelzebub. This therefore is the Spirit of blasphemy, when mans boldnesse of set purpose, leapeth forth to reproche of the name of God. Which Paule signifieth when he saith, that he obtained mercie, because he had ignorantly committed those thinges through vnbelefe, for which otherwise he had bene vnworthy of Gods fauour. If ignorance ioined with vnbelefe was the cause that he obtained pardon, thereupon followeth, that there is no place for pardon, where knowedge is ioined to vnbelefe.

23 But if thou marke it well, thou shalt perceiue that the Apostle speaketh not of one or other particular fall, but of the vniuersall departing whereby the reprobate do forsake saluation. And it is no maruell, that they whom Iohn in his canonically Epistle affirmeth not to haue bene of the elect, from whome they went out, do fele God vnappeasable. For he directeth his speech against the, that imagined, that they might returne to the Christian religion, although they had ones departed from it: and calling them from this false and pestilent opinion, he saith that which is most true, that there is no way of returne open for them to the communion of Christ, that wittingly and willingly haue cast it away: But they cast it not away, that onely in dissolute licentiousnesse of life transgresse the word of the Lord, but they that of set purpose cast away his whole doctrine. Therefore the deceit is in these wordes of falling and sinning. Because the Nouatiā expound

expound Falling to be, if a man being taught by the law of the Lorde, that he ought not to steale or to commit fornication, abstaineth not from stealing or fornication. But contrariwise I affirme, that there is a secrete comparision of contraries, wherein ought to be repeted all thinges contrarie to that which was first spoken, so that here is expressed not any particular fault, but the whole turning away from God, and (as I may so call it) the Apostasie of the whole man. There-
 fore when he saith, they which haue fallen after that they haue ones bene enlightened, and haue tasted the heavenly gift, and bene made partakers of the holy Ghost, and also tasted the good worde of God and the powers of the worlde to come: it is to be vnderstanded of them, that with aduised vngodlinesse haue choked the light of the holy spirit, haue spit out againe the tast of the heavenly gift, haue estranged themselues from the sanctification of the holy Ghost, haue troden vnder foote the worde of God and the powers of the worlde to come. And the more to expresse that aduised purpose of wickednesse, in an other place afterwarde he addeth this worde by name. Wilfully. For when he saith, that there is left no sacrifice for them that sinne willingly after knowledge of the trueth receiued, he doth not denie, that Christ is a continuall sacrifice to purge the iniquities of the holy ones (which he expressly crieth out almost in the whole Epistle, where he declareth the priesthoode of Christ) but he saith, that there remaineth no other when that is ones forsaken; and it is forsaken, when the truth of the Gospell is of set purpose renounced.

Hebr. 6.

4.

Heb. 10.

16.

24 But whereas some do thinke it to harde and to far from the tender mercifulnesse of God, that any are put away that flee to beseeching the Lords mercie: that is easily answered. For he doth not say, that pardon is denied them if they turne to the Lorde: but he vtterly denieth, that they can rise vnto repentance, bycause they are by the iuste iudgement of God stricken with eternall blindnesse for their vnthankfulnesse. And it maketh nothing to the contrarie that afterward he applieth too this purpose the example of Esau, which in vaine attempted with howling & weping to recouer his right of the first begotten. And no more doth that threatening of the Prophet, when they crie, I will not heare. For in such phrases of speache is
 meante neither the true conuersion, nor calling vpon God, but that
 carefullnesse of y wicked wherewith being bounde, they are cōpelled
 in extremity to loke vnto y which before they carelesly neglected;
 that there is no good thing for thē but in y Lords helpe. But this they
 do not so much call vpon, as they mourne that it is taken from them.

Zach. 7.

13.

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Therefore the Prophet meaneth nothing els by Crying, and the Apostle nothing els by Weping, but that horrible torment which by desperatio fretteth & vexeth the wicked. This it is good to marke diligently; for els God should disagree with himselfe, which crieth by the Prophet that he will be mercifull so sone as the sinner turneth. And as I haue alredy said, it is certaine that the minde of man is not turned to better, but by Gods grace preuenting it. Also his promise concerning calling vpon him, will neuer deceiue. But that blinde torment wherewith the reprobate are diuersly drawen, when they see that they must needes seeke God, that they may finde remedie for their euels, and yet do flee from his presence, is vnproperly called Conuersion and prayer.

25 But a question is moued, whereas the Apostle denieth that
1. Reg. 28. 29. God is appeased with fained repentance, how Achab obtained pardon and turned away the punishment pronounced vpon him, whom yet it appereth by the reste of the course of his life to haue bene onely stricken amased with sodeine feare. He did in deede put on sacke cloth, scattered ashes vpon him, lay vpon the ground, and (as it is testified of him) he was humbled before God: but it was not enough to cut his garmentes when his heart remained thicke & swollen with malice. Yet we see howe God is turned to mercy. I answere that so somtimes hypocrites are spared for a time, but yet so that euer the wrath of God lieth vpon them, and that is done not so much for their sakes, as for common example. For whereas Achab had his punishment mitigate vnto him, what profit got he thereby, but that he should not fele it a lue in earth? Therefore the course of God, although it were hidden, yet had a fast abiding place in his house, and he himself went into eternall destruction. This same is to be seene in Esau. For though
Gen. 27. 18. he had a repulse, yet a temporell blessing was graunted him at his weping. But bycause the spirituall inheritance, by the oracle of God could not rest but with one of the brethren, when Iacob was chosen and Esau refused, that putting away did exclude the mercie of God: this comfort was left him as to a beastly man, that he shoulde be fat with the fat of the earth and the dew of heauen. And this is it that I said euen now, that it ought to be referred to the example of other, that we should learne the more cherefully to applie our mindes and endeouours to repentance, bycause it is not to be doubted that when we are truely and hartily turned, God will be ready to forgeue vs, whose mercifulnesse extendeth it selfe euen to the vnworthy, so longe as they shew any griefe at all. And therewithal we be also taught, how terrible iudgement is prepared for all the obstinate, which now
make

make it a sport with no lesse shamelesse face than iron heart to despise and set nought by the threatenings of God. After his manner he oftentimes reached out his hand to the children of Israell, to releue their miseries, although their cries were counterfait, and their heart double and false, as himselfe in the Psalme complaineth, that they by Psal. 78 and by returned to their nature, and so minded with so frendly gentle j 6. dealing to bring then to earnest conuersion, or to make them vnexcusable. Yet in releasing punishments for a time, he doth not binde himselfe to a perpetuall lawe thereby, but rather riseth sometimes more rigorously against Hypocrites, and doubleth their peines, that thereby may appere howe much faining displeaseth him. But (as I haue said) he sheweth some examples of his redinesse to geue pardon, by which the godly may be encouraged to amendement of life, and their pride may be the more greuously condemned, that stubbornely kick against the pricke.

The iiij. Chapter.

That all that the Sophisters babble in their scholes of Penance, is far from the purenesse of the Gospell. VVhere is entreated of Confession and Satisfaction.

NOW I come to discusse thole things, which the Schole Sophisters haue taught of repentance. Which I will run ouer in as few words as may be, bycause I minde not to go through all, least this boke, whiche I labour to drawe into a short abridgment, should growe to a huge greatnesse. And the Sophisters haue entangled it in so many volumes, being a matter otherwise not very hard, that a man shall hardly finde how to get out, if he ones fall into their dregges. First, in defining it, they shew that they neuer vnderstode what repentance was. For they take hold of certaine sayings of the olde writers, which do nothing at all expresse that nature of repentance, as that to repent is to wepe for sinnes passed, and not to commit sinnes to be wept for: Againe, that it is to lament euels passed, and not to commit againe other euels to be lamented. Againe: that it is a certaine sorowfull reuēge, punishing in himselfe that which he is sory to haue committed. Againe: that it is a sorrow of heart, and bitternesse of soule, for the euels that a man hath committed or to which he hath consented. But, to graunt these thinges well saide of the fathers, (which a contentious man might easily enough denie) yet they were not spoken to this entent to describe repentance, but onely to exhort them to whom they wrote, that they should not fall againe into the same offenses, out of which they had ben drawen. But

The first
is out
of Gre-
gory, &
is reher-
sed Lib.
4. Sent.
Dist 14.
cap. 1.
The 2.
out of
Ambro.
& refer.
illic, &
in Decr.
Dist. 3.
de pœ-
nitēt. c.
Pœnit.
priorē.
The 3.
out of
August.
refer.
ea D. ft.
c. Pœni.
post.

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The. 4. if we list to turne all such titles of commendation into definitions;
out of then other may also be adioined as rightfully as they. As this of
Ambro. Chrysostome, Repentance is a medicine that destroyeth sinne, a gift
refert. geuen from heauen, a maruellous vertue, a grace surmounting the
Dist. 1. force of the law. Yea and the doctrine which they after ward teach,
Pœni. c. is somewhat worse than these definitions. For they sticke so earnestly
Vera in outward exercises, that a manne can gather nothinge els out of in-
pœnit. finite volumes, but that repentance is a discipline and rigorousnesse
 that serueth partly to tame the flesh, and partly to chastise and pu-
 nish vices: but they kepe maruellous silence of the inward renewing
 of the minde that draweth with it correction of life. There is in dede
 much talke among them of Contrition and Attrition, they torment
 soules with many doubttes, & do thrust into them much trouble and
 carefulnesse: but when they seeme to haue thoroughly wounded the
 heartes, they heale the bitternesse with a light sprinkeling of cere-
 monies. And when they haue thus curiously defined repētance, they
Libr. 4. diuide it into contrition of hearte, confession of mouth, and satisfac-
Sen. 16. tion of worke, no more logically than they defined it, although they
ca. 1. de wolde seeme to haue wasted all their age in framinge of syllogisines.
pœnit. But if a man will go about to proue by the definition (which kinde
distin. 1. of argument is of force among logicians) that a man may wepe for
c. perfe- his sinnes passed, and commit no more to be wept for, that he may
cta pœ bewaile his euels passed, and commit no more to be bewailed, and
nitētia that he may punish himself for that which he was sory to haue com-
 mitted. &c. although he do not confesse with his mouth: howe will
 they maintaine their diuision? For if that true penitent man do not
 confesse, then repentance may be without confession. But if they
 answer, that this diuision is referred to repentance, in respect that it
 is a sacrament, or is meant of the whole perfection of repentance,
 which they comprehend not in their definitions, thē is there no cause
 to blame me, but let them lay the fault in themselves that make not
 a purer and plainer definition, I truly (according to my grossnesse)
 when any thing is disputed of, do referre all things to the very defini-
 tion, which is the stay and grounde of the whole disputation. But ad-
 mitte that to be their masterlike licence. Now let vs particularly con-
 sider all the partes in ordre. Wheras I do negligently leape ouer as
 trifles those things that they with great grauitie of countenance do
 publish for misteries, I do it not vnwittingely, neither were it very
 painful for me to cōfute al that they thinke theselues to haue depe-
 ly and suttley disputed) but I woulde thinke it against conscience
 to wery the readers with such trifles without any profit. Truly it is
 easy

easy to know by the questiōs which they moue and tosse, and where-
with they miserably encomber themselues, that they prate of things
that they know not. As for example : whether the repentance of our
sinne pleaseth God, when obstinacie endureth in other. Againe:
whether the punishments layed vpon man by God, do auaille to sa-
tisfaction. Againe : whether repentance may be oftentimes reiterate
for deadly sinnes : where they fowly and wickedly define, that pe-
naunce is daily done but for veniall sinnes. Likewise they very much
torment themselues with a grosse error, vpon the sayinge of Hie-
rome, that repentance is a second bourde after shipwracke. Wherin
they shewe that they neuer waked from their brutish dulnesse, to
feele so much as a farre of the thousandth part of their faultes.

2 But I wold the readers should note, that here is not a quarel a-
bout the shadow of an asse, but the most earnest matter of all other is
entreated of, that is to say, forgeuenesse of sinnes. For wheras they
require three things to repentance, contrition of heart, confession
of mouth, and satisfaction of worke : they do therewithall teach that
those three things are necessarie to the obtaining of forgeuenes of
sinnes. But if it behoue vs to knowe any thinge at all in all oure reli-
gion, this truely behoueth vs most of all, I meane to vnderstand and
knowe well by what meane, with what lawe, vpon what condition,
with what easinesse or hardnesse the forgeuenesse of sinnes is obtain-
ed. If this knowledge stande not plaine and certaine, the cōscience
can haue no rest at all, no peace with God, no confidence or assured-
nesse, but continually trembleth, wauereth, is troubled, is tormented,
is vexed, horribly dreadeth, hateth and fleeth the sight of God. But
if the forgeuenesse of sinnes hang vpon those conditions to which
they do binde it, then nothing is more miserable, nothing in more
lamentable case than we. They make Contrition the first parte of
obtaining pardon, and they require that to be a due contrition, that
is to say perfect and full : but in the meane time they do not deter-
mine when a man may be assured, that he hath to the full measure
perfectly perfourmed this contrition. Truely I graunt that euery man
ought diligently and earnestly to enforce himselfe, with bitterly
weeping for his sinnes, to whet himselfe more and more to a lothing
and hatred of them. For this is a sorrowe not to be repented, that
breedeth repentance vnto saluation. But when there is such a bitter-
nesse of sorrowe required as may proportionally aunswer the great-
nesse of the fault, and such as may in balaunce counterpaife with the
trust of pardon, here the pure consciences are maruellously tormen-
ted and troubled, when they see them selues chaunged with a due

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contrition of finnes, and do not so attaine the measure of that due, that they can determine with them selues, that they haue duely performed so much as they duely oughte. If they say that we must do as much as lieth in vs, then come we still to the same pointe that we were at before: for how dare any manne assure himselfe that he hath employed all his force to bewaile his finnes? So when the consciences hauinge long wraffled with them selues, and long bene exercised with battailes, do at length finde no heauen to rest in, yet somewhat to ease them selues, they enforce them selues to a sorrowe, and wringe our teares to make perfect their contrition.

3 But if they say that I flaunder them: Let them come forth and shewe any one man, that by such doctrine of contrition hath not either bene driuen to despeire, or hath not set for his defense a counterfaying of sorrowe in steede of true sorrowe, against the iudgement of God. We haue also our selues said in one place, that forgeuenesse of finnes neuer commeth without repentance, bycause none but the afflicted and wounded with conscience of finnes, can sincerely call vpon the mercie of God: but we haue therewithall further said, that repentance is not the cause of the forgeuenesse of finnes. As for those tormentes of soules, which they say must be perourmed of duetie, we haue taken them away: we haue taught the sinner not to loke vpon his owne contrition nor his owne teares, but to fasten both his eyes vpon the onely mercie of God. We haue onely put him in minde that Christ called the laboring and loden, when he was sent to publish glad tidings to the poore, to heale the contrite in heart, to preach remission to captiues, to deliuer prisonners, and to comforte them that mourne. From which shoulde be excluded both the Pharises, that filled with their owne righteousness, do not acknowledge their owne pouertie, and also the despisers that carelesse of Gods wrath do seke no remedy for their euels. For such do not labour, nor are loden, nor contrite in heart, nor bounde nor captiue. But there is great difference betweene teaching a man to deserue forgeuenesse of finnes with due and full contrition, which the sinner can neuer perourme: and instructing him to hunger and thirst for the mercie of God, that by the acknowledging of his owne miserie, by his owne vnquietnesse, wearinesse and captiuitie, it may be shewed him, where he ought to seeke for releefe, rest and libertie: and finally, he may be taught in the humbling of himselfe, to geue glorie to God.

4 Concerning Cōfession, there hath bene alway great strife betweene the Canonistes & Scholediuiues: while the one sorte affirme, that confession is cōmaunded by the speciall cōmaundement of God,
and

Mat. 11.
18.
Esa. 61.
Luc. 4.
18.

and the other sorte deny it and say, that it is commaunded onely by the Ecclesiasticall constitutions. But in this contention hath appeared the notable shamelesnes of the diuines, that haue corrupted and violently wrafted as many places of Scripture, as they alleaged for their purpose. And when they saw that they could not so obtaine that which they required, they which would be thought more suttle than the rest escaped away with this shift, that confession came from the law of God, in respect of the substance of it, but afterward receiued forme of the law Positive. Euen as the foolishlest sorte amonge the lawyers do say, that Citations came from the law of God, because it is said: Adam where art thou? And likewise Exceptions, because Adam answered as it were by way of exception sayinge: The wife that thou gauest me. &c. but that both citations and exceptions receiued forme giuen them by the Ciuile lawe. But let vs see by what argumentes they proue this confession, either Formed or Vnformed to be the commaundement of God. The Lord (say they) sent the leproous men to the priestes. But what? Sent he the to confession? Who euer heard it spoken, that the Leuiticall priestes were appointed to heare confessions? Therefore they flie to Allegories, and say: It was commaunded by the law of Moses, that the priestes should discern betwene leprosie and leprosie: sinne is a spirituall leprosie: therefore it is the priestes office to pronounce vpon it. Before that I aunswere them, I aske this by the way, If this place make the iudges of the spirituall leprosie, why do they draw to the knowledge of naturall and fleshly leprosie? This forsooth is not to mocke with the Scriptures. The law giueth to the Leuiticall priestes the knowledge of Leprosie, therefore let vs take it vpo vs. Sinne is a spiritual leprosie, therefore let vs also be examiners of sinne. Now I aunswere: sith the priest-hood is removed, it is necessary that the law be removed also. All priesthoodes are removed to Christ, and fulfilled and ended in him, therefore to him onely all the right and honor of priest-hood is also removed. If they loue so well to follow allegories, let them set Christ before them for the only priest, and heape vpon his iudgement seate the free iurisdiction of all things: this we can easily be content to suffer. Moreouer their allegorie is very vnfit, that setteth among the ceremonies that lawe which is merely politike. Why then did Christ sende the leproous men to the priestes? That the priestes shoulde not cauilt that he did breake the law that commaunded the man healed of the leprosie, to be shewed before the priest and purged with offering of sacrifice: therefore he commaunded the leproous men beinge cleansed, to do that which belonged to the law. Go (sayth he) and

Gene. 3.
9.

Matt. 8.

4.
Luk. 5.

14.
Deu. 17.
8.

Hebr. 7.
11.

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shew your selues to the priest, and offer the gift that Moses hath commaunded in the law that it shoulde be for a witnesse vnto them. And truly this miracle shoulde haue bin a witnesse vnto them, for they had pronounced them leprous, and now they pronounce them healed. Are they not whether they will or no compelled to become witnesses of Christes miracles? Christ leaueth to them his miracle to be examined, they can not deny it. But because they still dally with it, therefore this worke is for a witnesse vnto them. So in an other place: This Gospell shalbe preached in all the world, for a witnes to all nations. Againe: Ye shalbe led before kings and gouernours, for a witnesse to them, that is: that in the iudgement of God they may be more strongly conuincid. But if they had rather folow Chrysostome: he also teacheth that Christ did this for y^e Iewes sake, that he should not be accompted a breaker of the law. Albeit in so cleare a matter I am ashamed to alleage the witnesse of any man: wheras Christ pronounceth that he leaueth the right of the lawe whole to the priestes as to the professed enemies of the Gospell, which were alway bent to carpe against it, if their mouth had not bin stopped. Wherefore that the popish sacrificing priestes may still keepe this possession, let them openly take partes with them which must of necessity be restrained by force, that they speake not ill against Christ. For this nothinge belongeth to his true ministers.

5 They bring their second argument out of the same fountaine, that is from an allegorie, as though allegories were of great force to confirme any doctrin. But let them be of force, if I do not proue that I can make a fairer shew of the for my side, than they can for theirs.

10. They say, The Lord commaunded his Disciples, that when Lazarus was raised vp, they should vnbinde and loose him from his bondes. Here first they lie: for it is no where read that the Lord said this to the Disciples: and it is much more likely that he sayd it to the Iewes that stoode by him, that the miracle might be made the more euident without suspicion of fraude, and his power appeare the greater, that without any touching, with his only word he raised vp dead men. For thus I expounde it: that the Lord, to take away all wrongfull opinion fro the Iewes, willed them to rolle away the stone, to feele the stinke, to behold assured tokens of death, to see him rising by the only power of his worde, and them first to feele him liuinge. And this is the iudgement of Chrysostome. But let vs graunt that this was spoken to the Disciples: what will they get therby? That the Lord gaue his Apostles power to loose. But how much more fitly and more handsomly might these thinges be applied by way of allegorie, to say that by this

Mat. 24.

14.

Mat. 10

18.

Rom. 12

de mu-

liere

Chana-

nna.

Ioh. 11.

44.

Ser. cō-

tra lu-

das, Gē

tilis &

hare-

tic.

this signe the lord meant to instruct his faithfull, to loose them that he had raised vp: that is, that they should not call into remembrance those sinnes that he had forgotten: that they should not condemne the for sinners whom he had acquitted: that they should not reproch men with those things that he had forgien: that they should not be rigorous to punish, and lightly offended, where he is mercifull and easily entreated to spare? Truly nothing ought to moue vs more to readinesse to forgie, than the example of the Iudge that threatneth that he will be vnappeafable to them that be too rigorous & vngentle. Now let them go and boast of their allegories.

6 But now they ioyne more neere hande with vs, when they fight (as they thinke) with open sentences. They that came to Iohns baptisme, did confesse their sinnes, & Iames willeth that we confesse our sinnes one to an other. No maruell if they that wold be baptised did confesse their sinnes, for it was sayd before that Iohn preached the baptisme of repētance, & baptised in water vnto repentance. Whom should he then haue baptized, but them that had confessed themselves sinners? Baptisme is a token of the forgiuenesse of sinnes: and who should be admitted to this tokē but sinners, & they that acknowledge theselues to be such? Therefore they cōfessed their sinnes, that they might be baptised. And not without a cause doth Iames bid vs confesse one to an other. But if they did marke what followeth next after, they would vnderstand, that this also maketh litle for the. Confesse (saith he) one to an other your sinnes, & pray one for an other. He ioyneth together mutuall confession & mutual praiser. If we must confesse to priestes only, the must we also pray for priestes only. Yea, What and if it might folow of the words of Iames that only priestes might confesse? for when he willeth that we should confesse one to an other, he speaketh only to them that may heare the confessions of other: his word is in Greke Allelous, mutually, interchaungeably, by turnes, or (if they so like best to rearme it) by way of reciprocation one to an other. But so interchāgeably none can cōfesse, but they that are mete to heare cōfessions. Which prerogatiue sith they vouchsaue to graunt only to priestes, we do also put ouer the office of confessing to them only. Therefore away with such trifelings, & let vs take the very meaning of the Apostle which is simple & plaine: that is, y we should lay our weakenes one in an others bosome to receiue mutual counsel, mutual cōpassion & mutual comfort one of an other: then that we being naturally priue to y weakenesses of our brethren, should pray for the to y Lord. Why do they then alleage Iames against vs, which do so earnestly require y cōfession of the mercy of God? but no man

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Gala. 3. can confesse Gods mercy, vnlesse he haue first confessed his owne misery. Yea we rather pronounce him accursed that doth not before
22.
Ro. 3.9. God, before his Angels, before the Church, yea and before all men confesse himselfe a sinner. For the Lorde hath concluded all vnder finnes that all mouthes might be stopped, and all flesh humbled before God, and he only iustified and exalted.

7 But I maruell with what face they dare affirme, that the confession whereof they speake, is of the lawe of God: the vse whereof we graunt in dede to be very auncient, but such as we are able to proue in old time to haue bin at liberty. Truly euen their owne cronacles declare, that there was no certaine lawe or constitution of it before the times of Innocent the third. Surely if they had had a more auncient law, they woulde rather haue taken hold thereof, than haue bin contented with the decree of the counsell of Laterane, and so made themselues to be laughed at, euen of children. In other things they sticke not to make forged decrees, which they fater vpon the most
This
vvas
the 183.
Pope.
auncient Counsells, that they may with very reuerence of antiquity dasell the eyes of the simple. In this point, it came not in their minde to thrust in such a false packe. Therefore by their owne witnesse, there are not yet passed three hundred yeres since Innocent the third laid that snare vpon men, and charged them with necessity of Confessiō. But, to speake nothinge of the time: the very barbarousnesse of the wordes minisheth the credit of that lawe. For where these good fathers commaunde every one of both kindes, male and female, once every yeare to confesse all his finnes to his owne priest, pleasant men do merily take exception, that in this commaundement are contained only Hermaphrodites, & say that it belongeth not to such a one as is either male or female only. Since that time, a more gosse beastlines hath bewrayed it selfe in their scholers, that can not expound what is meant By his owne priest. Whatsoever all the Popes hyred bablers do prate, we hold both that Christ was neuer the author of this law that compelleth men to reckon vp their finnes, and also that there passed a thousande and two hundred yeares from the resurrection of Christ before that any such law was made. And so, that this tyranny was then first brought in, when all godlinesse & learning being destroyed, the visiors of Pastors had without choise taken all licentiousnesse vpon them. Moreouer there are euident testimonies both in histories and other auncient writers, which teach that this confession was a politicke discipline redeemed by the Bishops, not a lawe made by Christ or his Apostles. I will alleage but one out of many, which shall be a plaine proufe thereof. Sozomenus reporteth that this constitution of
Tripert
hist. li. 9
bishops

bishops was diligently kept in all the west Churches, but specially at Rome. Wherby he sheweth that it was no vniuersall ordinance of all Churches. But he saith that there was one of the priestes peculiarly appointed to serue for this office. Whereby he doth sufficiently confute that which these men do falsely say of the keyes giuen for this vse vniuersally to the whole order of priesthoode. For it was not the common office of all priestes, but the speciall duety of some one that was chosen therunto by the bishop. The same is he, whom at this day in all cathedrall Churches they call Penitentie, the examiner of haynous offenses, and such whereof the punishment pertaineth to good example. Then he saith immediatly after, that this was also the manner at Constantinople, till a certaine woman faininge that she came to confession, was founde so to haue coloured vnder that pretence the vn honest company that she vsed with a certaine Deacon. For this act, Nectarius a man notable in holinesse and learninge, bishop of that Church, tooke away that custome of confessinge. Here, here let these asses lift vp their eares. If auricular confession were the law of God, how durst Nectarius repelle and destroy it? Will they accuse for an heretike and schismaticke Nectarius a holy man of God, allowed by the consenting voices of all the olde fathers? But by the same sentence they must condemne the Church of Constantinople, in which Sozomenus affirmeth that the maner of confessing was not onely let slip for a time, but also discontinued euen till within time of his remembrance. Yea let them condemne of apostasie not onely the Church of Constantinople, but also all the east Churches which haue neglected that law, which (if they say true) is inuiolable & commaunded to all Christians.

8 This abrogation Chrysostome, which was also bishop of Constantinople, doth in so many places evidently testifie, that it is maruel that these dare mutter to the contrary. Tell (sayth he) thy sinnes that thou maiest do the away, if thou be ashamed to tel any man the sinnes that thou hast done, tell them daily in thy soule. I do not say, Confesse them to thy fellow seruant, that may reproch thee: tell them to God that taketh care of them. Confesse thy sinnes vpon thy bed, that there thy conscience may daily recognise her euills. Againe. But now it is not necessary to confesse when witnesses be present: let the examination of thy sinnes be done with thy thought: let this iudgement be without witness: let only God see thee confessing. Againe. I do not lead thee into a stage of thy fellow seruants, I do not cōpel thee to disclose thy sinnes to men, rehearse and vtter thy conscience before God. Shew thy woundes to the Lord the best surgeon, & aske salue of him.

Homi. 2
in Psal.
50.

Ser. de
Pœni-
ten. &
confess.
Hom. 5.
de incō-
prehē-
Dei na-
tura. cō-
tra Ano-
mæos.

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Homi. 4 Shew to him that will reproch thee with nothing, but will most gently heale thee. Againe. Tel not man, least he reproch thee, for neither
de Laza is it to be confessed to thy fellow seruant, that may vtter it abroad,
ro. but to the Lord. To the Lord shew thy woundes which hath care of thee, that is both gentle & a Phisition. Afterward he bringeth in God speaking thus: I compel thee not to come into the mids of a stage, & call many witnesss, tell thy sinne to me alone priuaty, y I may heale thy fore. Shall we say that Chrysostome did so rashly, when he wrote this and other like thinges, that he would deliuer mens consciences from these bonds wherewith they be bound by y law of God? not so. But he dare not require that as of necessity, which he doth not vnderstand to be commaunded by the word of God.

9 But that the matter may be made the plainer and easier, first we will faithfully rehearse, what kinde of cōfession is taught by the word of God: and then we wil also declare their inuentions, but not all (for who could draw drie such an infinite sea?) but only those wherin they comprehend the some of their secret cōfession. Here I am loth to rehearse how oft the old translatour hath giuen in translation this word Confesse in stede of Praise: which the grossest vnlearned men commonly know: sauing that it is good to haue their presumptuousnesse bewraied, that do giue away that which was wrytten of the praises of God, to their owne tyrannicall commaundement. To proue that cōfession auaieth to cheare the mindes they thrust in that place of the
Psal. 13. Psalme: In the voice of reioising & cōfession. But if such change may
5. serue, then we shall haue what we list, proued by what we list. But seeing they are so become past shame, let the godly readers remember that by the iust vengeāce of God they haue bin cast into a reprobate minde, that their presumption should be y more detestable. But if we will rest in the simple doctrine of the Scripture, we shall not be in danger of any such deceites to beguile vs. For therein is apointed one order of confessinge, that forasmuch as it is the Lord that forguieth, forgetteth, and putteth away sinnes, therefore we should confesse our sinnes to him for to obtaine pardon, he is the Phisician, therefore let vs shew our diseases vnto him. It is he that is grieued & offēded, therefore let vs seke peace at his hand. He is the knower of heartes, & priuie to all thoughtes, therefore let vs make hast to poure out our hearts before him. Finally it is he that calleth sinners, therefore let vs not delay to come to him. I haue (saith Dauid) made my sinne knowen vnto thee, & haue not hiddē my vnrighteousnes. I haue said, I wil confesse against me my vnrighteousnes to the Lord, & thou hast forgieue the wickednes of my heart. Such is the other confession of Dauid. Haue
mercy

Psal. 51.
3.

mercy vpon me O God, accordinge to thy great mercy. And such is the confession of Daniell: We haue sinned, Lord we haue done per- Dan. 9.
uerfely, we haue committed iniquities, & haue bin rebellious in swar- 5.
uing from thy cōmaundements. And such are other confessions that
are commonly found in the Scriptures, the rehearfall whereof would
almost fill a great volume. If we confesse our sinnes (saith Iohn) the 1. Ioh. 1.
Lord is faithfull to forgie vs our sinnes. To whom should we cōfesse? 9.
euen to him: that is, if we fal downe with a troubled & humbled heart
before him, if heartily accusing & condemning our selues before him
we pray to be acquitted by his goodnes and mercy.

10 He that hartily and before God shall embrace this confession,
shal vndoubtedly haue both a tongue ready to cōfesse, so oft as it shal-
be nedefull for him to publish ŷ mercy of God before mē, & not on-
ly to whisper the secret of his heart to one man, & once & in his care:
but oft and openly, and in the hearing of all the world simply to re-
hearse both his owne shame and the magnificence & glory of God.
After this maner when Dauid was rebuked of Nathā, he was pricked 1. Sa. 13
with the sting of conscience, & confessed his sinne before both God 13.
and man. I haue (saith he) sinned to the Lorde, that is to say, now I
allege nothing for my excuse, I vse no shiftes, but that all men may
iudge me a sinner, and that the same thing which I would haue had
secret frō the Lord, may be also open to men. Therefore a willing con-
fession before men alway soloweth the secret cōfession that is made
to God, so oft as it is profitable for ŷ glory of God or for ŷ humbling
of our selues. For this reason the Lord in old time ordained in ŷ peo- Leu. 16
ple of Israell, ŷ the priest should first speake the words, & the people 19.
saying after him should openly cōfesse their iniquity in ŷ church. For
he foresaw ŷ this help was necessary for thē that euery man might be
the better brought to a iust reknewledging of himselfe. And mete it
is ŷ with ŷ confessiō of our owne misery we should among our selues,
& before all the world glorifie the goodnesse & mercy of our God.

11 And it is conuenient ŷ this kinde of confessiō be both ordina-
ry in the church, and also extraordinarily vsed in speciall maner, if it
happen at any time the people to be guilty of any generall fault. Of
this second kinde we haue an example in ŷ solemne confession which
all the people vsed by the meanes & guiding of Esdras and of Nehe-
mias. For where as that long banishment, the destruction of the City Neh. 6.
and Temple, the dissoluing of religion, was the punishmēt of the cō 7.
mon reuolting of them all: they could not acknowledge the benefit of
deliuerance in such sort as was mete, vnlesse they did first condemne
themselues. Neither maketh it matter, if in a whole Congregation

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some few sometime be innocent. For sith they be the members of a feeble and diseased body, they ought not to boast of healthfulnesse. Yea it is not possible but they must also theselues gather some infection and beare part of the blame. Therefore so oft as we be afflicted, either with pestilence or warre, or barennesse or any other plague: if it be our duety to flie to mourning, to fasting and to other signes of guiltinesse: then confession it selfe, wherupon all these things do hang, is not to be neglected. As for the ordinary confession, beside that it is commended by the Lordes owne mouth, there is no wiseman that considering the profit thereof, dare disallow it. For where as in all holy assemblies we make our apparaunce in the sight of God and the Angels: what other beginning may there be of our pleading, but our reknewledging of vnworthinesse? But y (some man will say) is done by euery prayer. For so oft as we pray for pardon, we therby confesse our sinnes. I graunt. But if you consider how great is our carelesnesse, or drouinesse, or sluggishnesse, you will graunt me that it shoulde be a profitable ordinance, if by some solemne vse of confession, the Christian common people shoulde be exercised to humbling themselves. For though the ceremonie that the Lord commaunded the Israelites, was parcel of the nurture of the law, yet in some maner it also belongeth to vs. And truly we see that this vse is in well ordered churches profitably obserued, that euery Sonday the minister should rehearse a forme of confession in the name of himselfe and of all the people, wherein he accuseth all of wickednes, and craueth pardon of the Lord. Finally with this keye the gate to prayer is opened as well priuatly to euery man, as vniuersally to all men.

12 Moreouer the Scripture alloweth two formes of priuate confession, one that is made for our owne sake, whercof that sayinge of Iames is spoken, that we should confesse our sinnes one to an other, for his meaning is, that disclosing our wickednesse one to an other, we should one help an other with mutuall counsell and comfort. The other forme, that is to be vsed for our neighbours sake, to appease him & reconcile him vnto vs, if he haue in any thing bin offended by vs. Now in the first kinde of confession, although Iames in this hath assigned no man by name, into whose bosome we shoulde vnloade our selues, leaueth vs a free choise, to confesse to him that shall seeme meetest vnto vs of all the stocke of the church: yet we ought principally to chose the Pastors, because they are for the most part in comparison of the other to be iudged meetest. I say that they are meetest in comparison of the rest, because the Lorde appointeth them by the very calling of their ministry, at whose mouth we shoulde be instructed

Iac. 5.
16.

Mat. 16.
19.

And to subdue and correct our sinnes, and also may receiue comfort by trust of pardon. For as the office of mutuall admonishment & re-
 prouinge is committed to all men, yet it is specially enioyned to the
 ministers. So when as we all ought to comfort and confirme one an
 other in confidence of Gods mercy: yet we see that the ministers, to
 assure our consciences of the forgiveness of sinnes, are ordayned
 as it were witnesses and pledges thereof, in so much that they be
 sayd to forgive sinnes and loose soules. When thou hearest this to
 be ascribed vnto them, thinke that it is for thy profit. Therefore let e-
 uery one of the faithfull remember this to be his duty, if he be
 priuately so vexed and troubled with the feelinge of sinnes that he
 can not winde out himselfe without help of an other, not to neglect
 the remedy that the Lord hath offered him: that is, for his reliefe to
 vse the priuate confession to his owne Pastor: and for his comfort to
 craue the priuate help of him, whose duty it is both publicly and
 priuately to comfort the people of God with the doctrine of the Go-
 spell. But alway this moderation is to be vsed, where God appoin-
 teth no certaintie, not to binde consciences with a certayne yoke.
 Hereupon followeth that such Confession ought to be free: not
 to be required of all men, but to be commended to those onely that
 shall vnderstand themselves to haue nede of it. Then that euen they
 that vse it for their nede, should not be compelled by any commaun-
 dement, or trayned by any deceite, to reckon vp all their sinnes, but so
 farre as they shall thinke it behouefull for them, that they may receiue
 sound frute of comfort. Faithfull Pastors ought not only to leaue this
 liberty to the churches, but also to maintaine it, & stoutly stand in de-
 fence of it, if they will haue tyranny absent from their ministry and
 superstition from the people.

13 Of the other sorte of confession Christ speaketh in Matthew. Matt. 5.
 If thou offer thy gift at the altar, & there remembrest that thy bro-
 ther hath any thing against thee, leaue thy gift there, & go, & first be
 reconciled to thy brother, & then come and offer thy gift. For so cha-
 rity that hath bin appaired by our fault, is to be repaired by acknow-
 ledging & crauing pardon of the offence that we haue committed.
 Vnder this kinde is contained their confession that haue sinned euen
 to the offending of the whole church. For if Christ maketh so great a
 matter of the priuate offence of one mā, to forbid from holy misteries
 all them that haue sinned against their brother, till they be with iust a-
 mendes reconciled: how much greater reason is it, that he that hath
 offended the church with any euill example, should recouer the fa-
 uour of the church with acknowledging his fault? So was the Corin-
2. Cor. 2.6.

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thian receiued againe to the communion, when he had yelded himselfe obedient to correction. Also this forme of confession was vsed in y^e old church, as Ciprian maketh mention. They do penance (saith he) in due time, & then they come to confession, and by laying on of the handes of the bishop & the Clergy, they receiue leaue to come to the cōmunion. Any other order or forme of cōfessing, the Scripture vtterly knoweth not, & it is not our duety to binde consciences with new bonds, whom Christ most sharply forbiddeth vs to bring in bondage. In the meane time I do so much not speake against it that the shepe should present themselves to their shepeherd whē they meane to be partakers of the holy supper, that I would most gladly haue it euery where obserued. For both they that haue an encombred conscience, may from thence receiue singular profit, & they that are to be admonished do by that meane prepare place for admonishment, but so alway that tyranny and superstition be away.

14 In these three kindes of confession, the power of y^e keies hath place: that is, either when the whole church with solempne reknowledging of their faultes craueth pardon: or when a priuate man, that by any notable fault hath bred cōmon offence, doth declare his repentance: or when he that for the vnquietnes of his conscience, doth nede help of y^e minister discloseth his weakenes vnto him. But there are diuerse ways of taking away offence, because although thereby also the peace of conscience is prouided for, yet the principal end is, that hatred should be takē away, & mens mindes knit together with a bond of peace. But this vse that I haue spoken of, is not to be despised, that we may the more willingly cōfesse our sinnes. For when the whole church standeth as it were before the iudgemēt seate of God, confesseth it selfe guilty, and hath one only refuge vnto the mercy of God: it is no slender or light comfort to haue there present Christs embassadour, hauing cōmaundemēt of reconciliatiō, of whom it may heare absolution pronounced vnto it. Here the profitablenes of the keies is worthily cōmended, whē this embassage is performed rightly, & with such order & religiousnes as becometh it. Likewise when he that had in a maner estranged himselfe from the Church, receiueth pardon & is restored into brotherly vnity: how great a benefite is it that he vnderstandeth himselfe to be forgiuē by thē, to whom Christ hath sayd: To whom soeuer ye forgiue sinnes in earth, they shal be forgiuen in heauen. And of no lesse effectualnes & profit is priuate absolutiō, when it is asked by them that haue neede of speciall remedy to relieue their weakenes. For it happeneth oftentimes, that he which heareth the generall promises that are directed to y^e whole congrega-
tion

Mat. 18.

19.

Ioh. 20.

23.

tion of the faithful, remaineth neuertheles in some dout, & hath stil an vnquiet minde, as though he had not yet obtained pardon: & the same mā, if he haue disclosed to his person y secret fore of his mind, & heareth peculiarly directed to himselfe that saying of the Gospel, Thy sinnes are forgieuē thee, be of good hope, stablisheth his minde vnto assurednes & is deliuered frō that trembling, wherewith he was before tormented. But when we speake of the keyes, we must take hede that we dreame not of a certaine power seuered from the preaching of y Gospel. In an other place we shal haue occasion more fully to declare this matter again, where we shal entreat of the gouernment of the church: & there shall we see that all the power to binde & to loose, which Christ hath giuen to his church, is bound to the worde. But this is most true in the ministry of the keyes, the whole force wherof standeth in this, y the grace of the Gospel be publicly & priuatly sealed vp in the heartes of the faithful, by them whom the Lord hath ordained: which can not be done but by only preaching.

15 But what say the Romish diuines? They decree that euery one of either kinde, so soone as they come to the yeres of discretio, must yearly once at the least confesse all their sinnes to their owne priest: & that their sinne is not forgien, vnlesse they haue firmly conceiued an entent to confesse it: which intent if they performe not when occasion is offred that they may do it, there is now no more entry open for the into Paradise. And that the priest hath the power of the keies, wherewith he may loose & binde a sinner: because the word of Christ is not in vaine, Whatsoeuer ye binde. &c. About this power they stoutly fight amonge themselves. Some say that there is but one key in substance, that is the power to binde & loose, and as for knowledge, that it is in dede requisite for a good vse, but that it is only as an accessory & is not essentially ioyned with the other. Some other, because they saw this to be too much an vnbridled licence, haue reckened vp two keies, discretion, & power. Other againe, when they saw the lewd boldnes of priestes to be restrained by this moderation, haue forged other keies, that is to say, authority of discerning which they should vse in giuing determinate sentence: & power, which they should practise in executing of their sentence: & that knowledge standeth by as a counsellor. But they dare not simply expound this binding & loosening to be to forgive and put away sinnes, because they heare the Lorde crying out in the Prophet: It is I, and none other but I: it is I, it is I that put away thy sinnes, O Israell, But they say it is the priestes office to pronounce who be bounde or loosened, and to declare whose sinnes are forgien or retained: and that he doth declare it, either

Mat. 9.
2.

C. Omnis viri
usque se
xus. De
summa
trinita-
te & fi-
de ca-
tho. .
It is a
decree of
Pope In-
nocen-
tius, in
the cou-
sell of
Late-
rane. &
is reci-
ted.
Libr. 4.
Senten-
14. ca. 2
li. 4. Sē-
ten. dist
19. ca. 2.
Mat. 18.
19.
Esa. 43.
11. and
25.

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by confession when he absolueth & retained sinnes, or by sentence when he excommunicated and receiueth againe to partaking of the Sacramentes. Finally, when they vnderstand that they be not yet out of this dout, but that it stil may be obiected against them, that oftentimes their priests do binde and loose men vnworthy, which are not therfore bounde or loosed in heauē: then (which is their last refuge) they answere that the giuing of the keyes, must be construed with a limitation, that is to say, that Christ hath promised, that before his iudgement seate such sentence of the Priest shalbe allowed as hath bin iustly pronounced, accordinge as the deseruinges of him that is bounde or loosed, did require. Moreouer they say, that these keyes are giuen by Christ to all Priests, and are deliuered to them by their Bishoppes, at the time of their promotinge to priesthoope: but the free vse of them, remaineth only with such as do exercise Ecclesiasticall offices: and that the excommunicate & suspended Priestes haue in deede the keyes, but rusty & bounde vp. And they that say these things may well seeme modest & sober in cōparison of y rest, which vpon a new anuielde haue forged new keyes with which they say the treasure of the church is locked vp. These keyes we shall hereafter trie in place fit for it.

16 Now I will in few wordes answere to euery one of these particularly. But at this present I speake not by what right or what wronge they binde the soules of the faithfull with their lawes, forasmuch as we will consider that when place serueth. But where they charge men with a law of reckeninge vp all their sinnes: where they say that sinne is not forgiven but vpon condition, if there be an intent conceiued to confesse it: where they babble that there remaineth no entrie into Paradise, if occasion of confessinge be neglected: this is in no wise to be suffered. Must all sinnes be reckened vp? But David, (Who as I thinke) had well studied vpon the confession of his sinnes, yet cried out: who shall vnderstand his errours? Lord cleanse me from my secret sinnes. And in an other place. My iniquities haue passed aboue my heade, and like a weighty burden haue waxed heauy about my strength. Truly he vnderstoode how great was the bottomlesse depth of our sinnes: how many were the sortes of our mischieuous doings, how many heades this monster Hydra did beare, & how long a taile she drew after her. Therefore he went not about to reckon vp a register of them, but out of the depth of euills, he cried vnto the Lord: I am ouerwhelmed, I am buried and choked, the gates of hels haue compassed me, let thy hand draw me out, which am drowned in the great pit, and am fainting and ready to die. Who now may thinke
vpon

Psal. 19.

13.

Psal. 38.

5.

vpon the numbring of his sinnes, whē he seeth that Dauid can make no numbre of his?

17 With this butchery, the soules that haue bin touched with any feelinge of God, haue bin more cruelly vexed. First they called themselues to accompt: then they deuided sinnes into armes, into boowes, into braunches, and into twigges, according to these mens rules: then they weyed the qualities, quantities, and circumstances. And so the matter went a litle forward. But when they had proceeded a litle further, than was on ech side skie, and on ech side seae, no hauen, no safe roade: the mo that they had passed ouer, the greater heape alway did thrust it selfe into their sight, yea they rose vp as hye mountaines, & there appeared no hope, not so much as after long cōpassings, any way to escape. And so they did sticke fast betwene the sacrifice & the stone, & at last was found no other issue but desperation. Then these cruel butchers, to ease the woundes that themselues had made, laid certaine gentle plaisters, that euery man should do as much as he could. But new cares againe rose vp, yea new tormentes did slea the silly soules, as to thinke: I haue not emploied time enough, I haue not endeouored my selfe with such diligence as I ought, I haue passed ouer many things by negligēce & the forgetfulnes that commeth by negligēce is not excusable. Thē were there ministred other plaisters to assuage such paines, as Repent thee of thy negligēce: if it be not altogether carelesse, it shall be pardoned. But all these things can not close vp the wounde, and are not so much easment of the euill, as poisons couered with honey, that they should not with their bitternesse offend the first tast, but enter into the bowels before that they be perceiued. Therefore this terrible saying alway calleth vpon thē & soundeth in their eares: Confesse all thy sinnes. And this horror can not be appeased but by assured cōfort. Here let the readers consider, how possible it is to bring into accompt all the doings of a whole yere, & to gather together what sinnes they haue done euery day: forasmuch as experience proueth to euery man, that when at eueninge he shall reckon vp the faultes but of one day, his memory is confounded therewith, so great a multitude & diuersity presenteth it selfe. For I speake not of grosse & blockish hypocrites that thinke they haue done sufficiently, if they haue noted three or foure of the greatest sinnes: but I speake of the true worshippers of God, which when they see themselues oppressed with the examination that they haue made, do adde also this saying of Iohn: If our owne heart do accuse vs, God is greater than our heart: and so they quake for feare at the sight of that iudge, whose knowledge farre surmounteth our vnderstanding.

1. Ioh. 3.
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18 But wheras a great parte of the world rested them vpon such flatteries, wherewith so deadly a poyson was tempered, this came not so to passe, because they beleued y^e God was satisfied, or because they themselues were fully satisfied; but that the anchor cast as it wer in the midde sea, shoulde rest a litle from saylinge, or as a wayfaringe man weary and faintinge, shoulde lye downe in the way. I laboure not much in prouinge this. For euery man may be witnesse to himselfe. I will in a shorte summe shew, what maner of law this was. First simply it is impossible, and therefore it can do nothing but destroy, damne, confounde, and cast in ruine and desperation. And then whe it hath ledde sinners from the true feelinge of their sinnes, it maketh them hypocrites and ignoraunt of God & themselues. For while they are wholly busied in reckening vp of their sinnes, in the meane time they forget the secrete sinke of vices, their hidden Iniquities, and inward filthinesse, by knowledge whereof they shoulde chiefly haue weyed their misery. But this was a most certaine rule of confession, to acknowledge and confesse the bottomlesse depth of our euill to be so great as passeth our vnderstandinge. After this rule we see that the

Luc. 18. Publicanes confession was made. Lorde be mercifull to me a sinner: as if he should say: All that euer I am, I am altogether a sinner, and I can not attaine with witte or expresse with tongue the greatnesse of my sinnes: let the bottomlesse depth of thy mercy swallow vp the bottomlesse depth of my sinne. But then thou wilt say, what are not all our sinnes to be confessed? is no confession acceptable to God, but that which is knitte vp in these two wordes, I am a sinner? No, but rather we must endeouour our selues as much as in vs lyeth, to poure out our heart before the Lorde, and not onely in one worde confesse our selues sinners, but also truely and heartily acknowledge our selues to be such: and with all our thought recorde, howe great and diuerse is our filth of sinnes, not onely that we be vncleane, but what, how great, and in howe many partes is our vncleannesse: not onely that we be detters, but with howe great dettes we be loden, and howe many wayes charged: not onely that we be wounded, but also with howe many and deadly strokes we be wounded. With this reknowledging when the sinner hath wholly poured out himselfe before God, lette him earnestly and sincerely thinke, that yet there remayne moe sinnes, and that the secret corners of their euils are so depe, that they caⁿ not be thoroughly disclosed. And he crieth out with Dauid: Who vnderstandeth his errours? Lord cleanse me fro^m my hidden sinnes. Now where they affirme, that sinnes are not forgiuen but with an intent of confessinge firmly conceiued, and that the gate of

para-

Psa 19.
31.

paradise is shut against him that neglecteth occasion offered when he may be confessed, God forbid that we shoulde graunt them that. For there is no other forgiveness of sinnes, than alway hath bin. It is not read that all they haue confessed their sinnes in the eare of some priest, that we reade to haue obtained forgiveness of sinnes at Christes hand. And truly they could not confesse, where there were neither any priests confessors, nor any confessing at all. And in many ages after, this confession was vnheard of, at which time sinnes were forgiven without this condition. But that we may not neede to dispute longer about this, as about a doubtful matter, the word of God is plain, which abideth for euer: Whensoever the sinner repenteth, I will no more remember all his iniquities. He that dare adde any thing to this word, *Eze. 18.* bindeth not sinnes, but the mercy of God. For whereas they say, that ^{21.} Iudgement can not be giuen but when the cause is hearde, we haue a solution in readinesse, that they do presumptuously take that vpon themselves, which haue made themselves iudges. And it is a maruell, that they do so boldly frame to themselves such principles, as no man in his right wit will graunt. They boast that the office of Binding and Loosing is committed to them, as though it were a certaine iurisdiction ioyned with Inquisition. Morouer their whole doctrine crieth out, that this authority was vnknownen to the Apostles. Neither doth it belong to the priest, but to him which desireth absolution, to know certainly whether the sinner be loosed or no: forasmuch as he that heareth can neuer know whether the reckning be iust and perfect. So should there be no absolution but such as is restrained to his wordes that is to be iudged. Moreouer the whole order of loosing standeth of faith & repentance, which two things are hidden from the knowledge of man, when sentence must be giuen vpon an other man. It foloweth therefore, that y assurance of binding & loosing is not subiect to the iudgement of an earthly iudge: because the minister of the word, when he doth his office, can not giue absolution but conditionally: but that this is spoken for the sinnes sake, Whose sinnes ye forgive. &c. that they should not doubt that the pardon which is promised by the commaundement and word of God, shall be ratified in heauen.

19 Therefore it is no maruell, if we condemne and desire to haue utterly taken away this Auricular confession, a thing so pestilent & so many waies hurtful to the Church: but if it were a thing by it selfe indifferent, yet forasmuch as it is to no vse nor profite, and hath giuen cause to so many wickednesses, sacrileges and errors, who will not thinke that it ought to be presently abolished? They do in dede reckon vppon some good vses, which they boast vpon as very profitable, but

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these either false or of no value at all. One only they commend with a singular prerogative, that shame is a great punishment of him that confesseth, whereby the sinner both is for time to come made warer, & preuenteth the punishment of God in punishing himselfe. As though we did not humble a mā with shamefastnes enough when we cal him to y^e hie iudgement seate of heauen, I meane to the hearing of God. It is forsooth very well profited, if for shame of one mans knowledge we cesse to sinne, and be not ashamed to haue God witnes of our euil conscience. Although the very same is also most false, for it is to be seene that by nothing groweth greater confidence or licentiousnesse to sinne, than when men hauinge made confession to a priest, thinke that they may wipe their mouth and say, I did it not. And not onely they are made all y^e yeare long the bolder to sinne: but all the rest of the yeare bearing themselues bolde vpon confession, they neuer sigh vnto God, they neuer returne to themselues, but heape sinnes vpon sinnes till they vomit vp all at once as they thinke. And when they haue once vomited them vp, they thinke themselues discharged of their burden, and that they haue taken away from God the iudgemēt that they haue giuen to the priest, & that they haue brought God in forgetfulnes when they haue made the priest priuie. Moreouer who doth merily see the day of confession at hande? Who goeth to confession with a cherefull heart, and commeth not to it rather against his will, & as it were drawinge backward, like as if he were taken by the necke & drawen to prison? vnlesse peradventure it be the very priestes, that vse ioyfully to delite themselues with mutuall rehearsals of their doings, as were with mery tales? I will not defile much paper with monstrous abominations whereof auricular confession swarmeth full. Onely this I say, If that holy nra did not vnwisely, that for one rumor of fornication tooke away confession out of his Church; yea, out of the remembrance of his flocke: then we be thereby put in minde what is needefull to be done at this day vpon infinite whoredomes, adulteries, incestes and bawdries.

20 Where the Confessionars alleage for this purpose the power of the keyes, and do therupō set the peupe and proue of their kingdome, as the prouerbe is: it is to be seene how much they ought to auayle. Then (say they) are the keyes giuen without cause? Is it sayd without cause: Whatsoever you loose vpon earth, shall be also loosed in heauen? Do we then make the worde of Christ voyde? I answere there was a weighty cause why the keyes should be giuen, as both I haue euen now already declared, and shall more plainly shew againe when I come to entreat of Excommunication. But what
if

if I do with one swerde cutt of the holde of all that they require, that is with saying, that sacrificing priestes are not y vicars nor successors of the Apostles? But this shall also be to be entreated of in an other place: but nowe they raise vp an engine whereby they wolde most of all defende themselves, and thereby may all their buildinges be ouerthrowen. For Christ did not geue his Apostles y power to binde and loose, before that he gaue them the holy Ghost. Therefore I say, that none haue the power of the keyes that haue not first receiued the holy Ghost. I denie that any man can vse the keyes, but hauing the holy Ghost going before, and teaching him and informing him what is to be done. They trifling say, that they haue the holy Ghost. but in dede they denie it, vnlesse paraduerture they faine (as they do faine in dede) the holy Ghost to be a vaine thing and a thing of nothing, but therin they shall not be beleued. And by this engine they are viterly ouerthrowen, that of what soeuer dore they boast that they haue the keye, a man may alway aske them whether they haue the holy Ghost which is the iudge and gouernor of the keyes. If they aunswer that they haue, then they may be asked againe, whether the holy Ghost may erre. This they will not be glad to speake expressly, although they cokedly vter the same by their doctrine. It is therefore to be gathered, that no priestes haue power of the keyes which do commonly without consideration loose those thinges that the Lorde wolde haue to be bounde, and binde those thinges that the Lorde commaunded to be loosed.

21 Wheras they see themselves conuincd by most clere experimentes, that they do without choise loose and binde the worthy and vnworthy, they vsurpe a power without knowledge. And although they dare not denie that knowledge is requisite for a good vse, yet they write that the very power is geuen to euel disposers of it. But this is the power, whatsoeuer thou bindest or loosest in earthe, shalbe bounde or loosed in heauen. Either the promise of Christ must lie, or they that haue this power do well binde and loose. Neither may they dallie and say, that the saying of Christ is limited according to the deseruings of him that is bound or loosed. And we also confesse, that none can be bound or loosed, but they that are worthy to be bound or loosed. But the messengers of the Gospell and the Church haue the worde, by which they measure this worthinesse, in this worde the messengers of the Gospell, may promise to all men forgeueneffe of finnes in Christ by faith, they may proclaime damnation into all and 1 Cor. vpon all that embrace not Christ, In this word the Church pronoun- 6. 2. ceth that fornicatours, adulterers, theues, manslayers, couetous men,

vniust men, haue no parte in the kingdom of God, and bindeth such with most sure bondes. With the same worde the Church looseth them whome it comforteth being repentant. But what power shall this be, not to know what is to be bounde or loosed, & not to be able to binde or loose without knowledge? Why then do they say that they loose by authoritie geuen vnto them, when the loosing is vncertain? What haue we to do with this imaginative power, if there be no vse of it? But I haue it already proued that either there is no vse of it, or so vncertaine an vse as may be accompted for none at all. For whereas they confesse that there is a great parte of priestes that do not rightly vse the keyes, and that the power without lawfull vse is of no effect. Who shall assure me that he of whome I am loosed is a good vsor of the keyes? if he be an euell vsor of it, what hath he els but such a void disposing of them, as to say, what is to be found or loosed in thee I knowe not, for asmuch as I lack the right vse of the keyes, but if thou deserue I loose thee. But so much might do, I will not say a lay man (for they could not beare that with patient eares) but a Turke, or a Deuell. For it is asmuch as to say, I haue not the worde of God the sure rule of loosing, but there is power geuen me to loose thee, if thy deseruings be so. We see therefore what they meant, when they defined the keyes to be the authoritie of discerning, and power of executing: and that knowledge is adioined for a counsellor, and like a counsellor serueth for a good vse: vndoubtedly euen they desired to reigne at their owne will, licentiously, without God and his worde.

22 If any man take exception and say, that the lawfull ministers of Christ shall be no lesse doubtfull in their office, bycause the absolution that hangeth vpon faith shall alway remaine doubtfull: and then that sinners shall haue either none or a could comforte, bycause the minister himselfe which is no competent iudge of their faith, can not be assured of their absolution: we haue answer thereunto in redinesse. For they say that no sinnes are forgiven by the priest, but such, whereof himselfe hath bene the hearer: so by their opinion, the forgeuenes hangeth vpon the iudgement of the priest, and if he do not wisely discern who be worthy of pardon, the whole doing is void and of no effect. Finally the power whereof they speake, is a iurisdiction adioined to examination, wherunto pardon and absolution is restrained. In this point is found no sure ground, but rather it is a bottomlesse depth. For where the confession is not found, the hope of pardon is also lame, and then the priest himself must needes sticke in suspense while he can not tell, whether the sinner do faithfully
recker

recken vp all his euell deedes. Finally (such is the ignoraunce and rudenesse of priestes) the most parte are no fitter to do this office, than a shomaker is to plowe the ground, and the rest in a manner all ought worthly to suspect themselues. Herevpon therefore riseth the perplexitie and doubtfulnesse of the Popes absolution, bycause they will haue it grounded vpon the person of the priest, and not onely that, but also vpon knowledge, that he may iudge onely of thinges informed, examined and proued. Now if a man should aske of these good docters, whether a sinner be reconciled to God, when some sinnes are forgeuen: I see not what they haue to aunswer, but that they shalbe compelled to confesse that all is vnprofitable, that the priest pronounceth of the forgeuenesse of those sinnes that he hath heard rehearsed, so long as the other sinnes are not deliuered from condemnatiō. On the behalfe of him y^e confesseth how hurtfull carefullnesse holdeth his conscience bound, appereth hereby, that when he resteth vpon the priests discretion, as they call it, he can determine nothing certainly by y^e word of God. The doctrine that we teach is free and cleare from all these absurdities. For the absolution is conditionall, that the sinner should trust that God is mercifull vnto him, so that he sincerely seeke the cleansing of his sinnes in the sacrifice of Christ, and obeye the grace offred him. So he can not erre, which according to the office of a preacher, proclaimeth that which is geuen him in instructions by the word of God. And the sinner may embrace a sure and cleare absolution, when that simple condition is annexed of the embracing the grace of Christ, according to that generall doctrine of the maister himselfe, Be it done to thee according to thy faith. Which hath bene wickedly despised in the Papacie. Matt. 9.

23 How foolishly they confound those things that the Scripture teacheth of the power of keyes, I haue promised that I will speake in an other place, and there shalbe a more conuenient place for it, when I come to entreate of the gouernement of the Church. But let the readers remēber that those things are wrongfully wrested to Auricular and secret confession, which are spoken by Christ partly of the preaching of the Gospell, and partly of excomunication. Wherefore when they obiect that the power of loosing is geuen to the Apostles, which priestes may vse in forgeuing sinnes acknowledged vnto them, it is plaine that they take a false and sonde principle: because the absolution that serueth faith, is nothing els but a witnesse of pardō take out of the free promise of the Gospell. As for the other confession, that hangeth vpo the discipline of the Church, it pertaineth nothing to secret sinnes, but rather to example, that common offence of the

Church may be taken away. But wheras they scrape together here and there testimonies, to proue that it sufficeth not to confesse sinnes either to God onely or to lay men, vnlesse a priest be the hearer of them, their trauaile therein is but lewd, and such as they may be ashamed of. For when the auncient fathers counsell sinners to vnburden themselues to their owne pastour, it can not be expounded of particular rehearfall which then was not in vse. Then, Lumbard and such like (such was their sinister dealing) seme of set purpose to haue geuen themselues to fained booke, by pretense whereof they might deceiue the simple. They do in deede truely confesse, that because absolution alway accompanieth repentance, therefore there properly remaineth no bond when a man is touched with repentance, although he haue not yet confessed, and therefore that then the priest doth not so much forgeue sinnes as pronounce and declare them forgiven. Albeit in the word of declaring they slyly bring in a grosse error, thrusting a ceremonie in stede of doctrine. But wheras they patche vnto it, that he is absolved in the face of the Church that had already obtained pardon before God: they do inconueniently drawe to y^e peculiar vse of euery particular man, that which we haue already said to be appointed for common discipline, where the offense of a hainous and notorious fault is to be taken away. But by and by after, they deprave and corrupt moderation, adding an other manner of forgeuing, with an enioyning of penaltie and satisfaction, wherein they presumptuously claime to their owne sacrifices a power to part that in halfe, which God hath in all places promised vs whole together. For when he simply requireth repentance and faith, this partition or exceptioⁿ is a very robberie of God. For it is in effect as much as if the priest taking vpon the persone of a Tribune, should become intercessour to God, and would not suffer God of his mere liberalitie to receiue him into fauour, that hath lien prostrate before the Tribunes seates, and there hath bene punished.

24 The whole summe commeth to this point, that if they will make God the authour of this counterfait confession, therein is their fallshod condemned, as I haue proued them false forgers in the few places that they allege. But sith it is euident that it is a law made by men, I say that it is both tiranicall and made iniuriouly against God, who binding mens consciences to his word, will haue them free from the bondage of men. Now when for the obtaining of pardon, there is a necessitie prescribed of that thing which the Lorde wolde to be free, I say that this is a sacrilege not to be suffered, bycause there is nothing more properly belonging to God, than to forgeue sinnes, wherein

wherein consisteth saluation for vs. Moreouer I haue shewed that this tirannie was first brought in, when the world was oppressed with filthy barbarousnesse. I haue also taught that it is a pestilent law, that either throweth downe hedlong into desperation the poore soules in whom so euer abideth a feare of God: or where there reigneth carelesnes, deliteth the with vayne flatteries, & so maketh the duller. Last of all I haue declared, that what so euer mitigations they bring, tend to no other ende, but to entangle, darken and depraue pure doctrine, and hide vngodlinesse with deceitfull colors.

25 The third place in Repentance they assigne to satisfaction, whereof all that euer they babble may be ouerthrowen with one worde. They say that it is not enough for him that repenteth, to abstaine from his former euels, and chaunge his behauior into better, vnlesse he make satisfaction to God for those thinges that he hath done: And that there be many helps by which we may redeme sinnes, as wepinges, fastinges, oblations and the workes of charitie. With these we must winne the Lord to be favorable, with these we must pay our dettes to the righteousness of God, with these we must make amendes for our defaultes, with these we must deserue pardon. For although by the largenes of his mercy he hath forgiven our faulte, yet by the discipline of his iustice he reteineth the peine, and that this is the peine that must be redeemed with satisfactions. But in effect all that they say commeth to this point, that we do in deede obtaine pardon of our sinnes at the mercifulnesse of God, but by meanes of the deseruing of our workes, by which the offense of our sinnes may be recompensed, that due satisfaction may be fully made to Gods righteousness. Against such lies. I set the free forgiveness of sinnes, than which there is nothing more euidently spoken of in the Scripture. First, what is forgiveness, but a gift of mere liberalitie? For the creditour is not said to forgive, that acknowledgeth by acquittance that the mony is payed, but he that without any payment willingly of his owne liberalitie canelleth the detters bonde. Secondly, why is this word, Freely, added, but to take away all opinion of satisfaction? With what confidence therefore do they yet set vp their satisfactions, that are stricken downe with so mighty a thunderbolt? But what? when y Lord crieth out by Esay, It is I, it is I, that do put away iniquities for mine owne sake, and will not be mindefull of thy sinnes: doth he not openly declare, that he fetcheth the cause and fundation of forgiveness only from his owne goodnes? Moreouer whereas the whole Scripture beareth this witnesse of Christ, that forgiveness of sinnes is to be receiued by his name, doth it not

Libr. 4.
Sentr.
Distint.
10. cap.
4. c. Nō
sufficit.
de pōr.
ca. med.
eadem
dist ca.
nullus.
eadem
dist.

Esā. 52.
3.
Rom. 5.
8.
Coloss.
2. 14.
Tit. 3. 5.
Esā. 43.
15.

As 12.
43.

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thereby exclude all other names? How then do they teache that it is receiued by the name of satisfactions? Neither can they denie that they giue this to satisfactions, although they say that the same be vsed as helpes by way of meanes. For whereas the Scripture saith By the name of Christ, it meaneth that we bring nothing, we allege nothing of our owne, but reſte vpon the onely commendation of Christ. As
 2. Cor. 5 19. Paule, where he affirmeth that God is reconciling the world to himſelfe in Christ, for his ſake not imputing to men their ſinnes, he immediately ſheweth the meane and manner how: by cauſe he that was without ſinne, was made ſinne for vs.

Libr. 3. 26 But (ſuch is their peruerſneſſe) they ſay that both forgeue-
 Sentēt. neſſe of ſinnes and reconciliation are performed both at one time,
 diſt 9. when we are in Baptiſme receiued into the fauour of God by Christ: that after baptiſme we muſt riſe againe by ſatisfactions: and that the bloud of Christ profiteth nothing, but ſo far as it is diſtributed by the keyes of the Church. Neither do I ſpeake of a doubtfull matter, for aſmuch as they haue in moſt euident writings bewrayed their owne filthineſſe, and not one or two of them, but all the Scholemē vniuerſally. For their Maiſter, after that he had confeſſed that Christ had payed the penaltie of ſinnes vpon the tree, according to the doctrine of Peter, immediately correcteth his ſaying with adding this exception, that in baptiſme all temporall penalties of ſinnes are releaſed, but after baptiſme they are miniſhed by the helpe of penauce, that ſo the croſſe of Christ and our penauce may worke together.

1. Pet. 2. 24. 2. Tim. 1. 9. But Iohn ſaith far otherwiſe, if any ſinne, we haue an aduocate with
 1. Ioh. 2 2. & 12. the Father, euen Ieſus Christ, which is the propitiation for our ſinnes. I write vnto you children, by cauſe your ſinnes are forgiven you for his names ſake. Truly he ſpeaketh to the faithfull, to whom when he ſetteth forth Christ to be the propitiation of ſinnes, he ſheweth that there is no other ſatisfaction by which God, being diſpleaſed, may be made fauorable and appeaſed. He doth not ſay: God was ones reconciled vnto you by Christ, now ſeeke you other meanes: but he maketh him a perpetuall aduocate, alway to reſtore vs by his interceſſion into the fauour of his father: a perpetuall propitiation, by which our ſinnes may be cleaſed away. For this is euer true that the
 Iohn. 1. 36. other Iohn ſaid: Beholde, the Lambe of God, beholde him that taketh away the ſinnes of the world. He taketh them away (ſaith he) himſelfe and none other, that is to ſay: for aſmuch as he alone is the Lambe of God, he alone alſo is the oblation for ſinnes, he alone the propitiation ſacrifice, he alone the ſatisfaction. For wheras the right and power to forgeue belōgeth properly to the father, in the reſpect
 that

that he is distinguished from the sonne, as we haue alreedy sene: Christ is here set in an other degree, that taking vpon himselfe the paine due vnto vs, he hath taken away our guiltinesse before the iudgement of God. Wherevpon foloweth, the we shall no otherwise be partakers of the satisfaction made by Christ, vnlesse the same honour remaine whole with him, which they do wrongfully take to themselues that go about to appease God with their owne recompensings.

27 And here it is good to consider two thinges: that Christ may haue his due honour kept vnto him whole and vnminished: and that the consciences being assured of the forgeuenesse of sinne, may haue peace with God. Esaye saith, that the father hath layed the iniquities of vs all vpon his sonne, that we shoulde be healed by his stripes. ^{Esa. 53.} Which thing Peter rehearsing in other wordes saith: that Christ did ^{4.} in his body beare our sinnes vpon the tree. Paule writeth that sinne ^{1. Pet. 2.} was condemned in his flesh, when he was made sinne for vs. That is ^{24.} to say, that the force and curse of sinne was slaine in his flesh, when ^{Rom. 8.} he was geuen to be a sacrifice, vpon which the whole heape of our sinnes, with all their malediction and curse, with the dredfull iudgement of God, and condemnation of death should be cast. Here those triflinges are in no case to be heard, that after the first purging, euery one of vs doth none otherwise fele the effectualnesse of the passion of Christ, than after the measure of satisfactorie repentance: but so oft as we fall, we be called backe to the onely satisfaction of Christ. Now set before thee their pestilent follies, as for example: That the grace of God worketh alone in the first forgeuenesse of sinnes: that if we afterwarde fall, to the obtaining of a seconde forgeuenesse our workes do worke with it. If these thinges may haue place, do these thinges that are here before assigned to Christ remaine safe vnto him? It his a meruellous greate difference, betwene this that our iniquities are layed vpon Christ, that they shoulde be cleansed in him, & this that they are cleansed by our owne workes: betwene this that Christ is the procuringe of mercie, and this that God must be made mercifull by workes. But if we speake of pacifieng the conscience: what pacification shall this be for a mans conscience, to heare that his sinnes are redemed by satisfactions? When shall he certainly knowe the measure of his satisfactiō? Therefore he shall alway doubte whether he haue God mercifull or no, he shall alway be vexed, and alway quake for feare. For they that rest vpon light pety satisfactions, do too contemptuously esteeme the iudgement of God, and do litle consider how great is the greuouseesse of sinne, as we shall declare in an other place. But although we graūt them to redeme some sinnes ^{Gala. 3.} ^{13.}

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with iust satisfaction: yet what will they do when they are oppressed with so many finnes, for satisfactiō wherof a hundred liues although they were wholly applied therunto can not suffice? Beside that, all the places wherein the forgeuenesse of finnes is affirmed, do not belong to yonglinges, but to the already regenerate childre of God, and them that haue bene long nourished in the bosome of the Church. That embassage which Paule so honorably extolleth, I besech you in the name of God, be ye reconciled vnto God, is not directed to straungers, but to them that had bene already regenerate. But he, biddinge satisfactions farewell, sendeth them to the crosse of Christ. So when he writeth to the Colossians, that Christ by the bloud of the crosse hath pacified all thinges in heauen or in earth, he restraineth not this to the onely moment wherein we are receiued into the Church, but extendeth it to our whole course. Which easily appereth by the processe of the text, where he saith, that the faithfull haue a redemption by the bloud of Christ, that is forgeuenesse of finnes. Albeit it is superfluous to heape together mo places, that redily offer themselues to be founde.

28 Here they flee to the sanctuarie of the foolish distinction, that some finnes are veniall, and some deadly: that for deadly finnes is great satisfaction due, that veniall finnes are purged with more easy remedies, as with saying of the Lords prayer, with sprinkling of holy water, with absolution at the masse. So they mocke and trifle with God. But whereas they alway haue in their mouth veniall and deadly sinne, yet they coule neuer discern the one from the other, sauing that they make vngodlines and vncleannesse of heart, a veniall sinne. But we (as the Scripture the rule of right and wrong teacheth vs) do pronounce, that the rewarde of sinne is death, and that the soule that sinneth is worthy of death. But that the finnes of the faithful are veniall, not for that they do not deserue death, but bycause by the mercie of God there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Iesus, because they are not imputed: bycause they are taken away by pardō. I know how vniustly they sleaunder this our doctrine. For they say, that it is the Stoikes straunge conclusion, concerning the equalitie of finnes. But they shall easily be conuincd by their owne mouth. For I demaunde of them, whether among the very same finnes that they cōfesse to be deadly, they do not acknowledge one to be greater than an other. It doth not therefore immediatly followe, that finnes are egall, because they are all together deadly. When the Scripture definitiue saith, that the reward of sinne is death, that the obediēce of the lawe is the way of life, and that the transgression of the lawe is death,

2 Cor.
5.20.

Coloss.
1.20.

Rom. 6.
23.
Eze. 18.
20.

Rom. 8.
1.

is death, they can not escape this sentence. What end of satisfieng then will they finde in so great a heape of sinnes? If the satisfaction of one day be the satisfaction of one sinne, while they are about that one satisfaction, they wrappe themselves in many sinnes, like the iustest man passeth no one day wherein he falleth not many times. Now when they shall prepare themselves to make satisfaction for these sinnes, they shall heape vp great numbers, yea rather innumerable. Then the hope of satisfieng being cut of, what do they stay vpon? how dare they still thinke of satisfieng?

29 They go about to winde out themselves: but (as the proverbe is) the water still cleaueth vpon them. They forge a distinction of fault and penaltie. Thei confesse that the fault is forgiven by the mercie of God, but that when the fault is forgiven, the penaltie remaineth which the righteousness of God requireth to be payed: and that satisfactions do properly belong to the release of the penaltie. Good God, what a skipping lightnesse is this? now they confesse that the forgiveness of the fault lieth freely open for men, which sometime they teache men to deserue with prayers and wepinges, and all other kindes of preparations. But yet still all that is taught vs in the scripture concerning the forgiveness of sinnes, doth directly fight against this distinction. Which although I thinke that I haue alredy more than sufficiently confirmed, yet I will adde some other testimonies wherwith these winding snakes may be holden so fast, that they shall not be able ones to folde in the toppe of their taile. This is the newe Testament which the Lorde hath couenanted with vs in his Christ, that he will not remember our iniquities. What he meant by these wordes, we learne by an other Prophet where the Lorde saith: If the righteous turne away from his righteousness, I will not remember all his righteousnesses. If the wicked depart fro his wickednesse, I will not remember all his iniquities. Wheras he saith that he will not remember their righteousness, this is asmuch to say, that he will haue no regard of them in respect to reward them. Therefore not to remember sinnes, is asmuch as not to call them to punishment. The same thing is called in an other place, to cast it behinde his backe, to wipe it away like a cloude, to drowne it in the bottome of the sea, not to impute it and to hide it. By such manners of speche the holy Ghost doth plainly expresse his meaning vnto vs, if we would apply vnto him willing eares to learne. Truly if God do punish sinnes, he imputeth them: if he taketh vengeance, he remembreth them: if he call them to iudgement, he doth not hide them: if he examine them, he doth not cast them behinde his backe: if he loke vpon them, he

Pro. 24.
16.Jer. 31.
31.

Eze. 18.

24.
Esa. 38.
17.

Esa. 44.

22.

Mic. 7.

19.

Psa. 31.

12.

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hath not wiped them away like a cloude: if he sift them, he hath not
 Psa. 52. cast them into the bottome of the sea. And in this manner doth Au-
 2. gustine expound it in plaine wordes. If God haue couered sinnes, then
 he would not loke vpon them: if he would not loke vpon them, then
 he would not marke them: if he would not marke them, then he would
 not punish them: he would not knowe them, he had rather pardon
 them. Why therefore did he say that sinnes were couered, that they
 should not be seen: What was meant by this that God did see sinnes,
 but that he did punish them? But let vs heare also out of an other
 place of the Prophet, vpon what conditions the Lorde forgueueth
 sinnes. If (saith he) your sinnes be as scarlet, they shall be made white
 as snow: if they be red like crimosin, they shall be as woll. And in Ie-
 remie we read thus: In that day the iniquitie of Iacob shalbe sought
 for, and shall not be founde: the sinne of Iudah, and it shall not be.
 Because I will be fauorable to the remnantes that I shall preserue.
 Wilt thou briefly vnderstand what is the meaning of those wordes?
 Tob. 14. Weye on the other side what is meant by these speches: that the
 17. Lorde doth binde vp iniquities in a sacke, doth gather them into a
 Osee. 13 boundell and laye them vp, & doth graue them with an iron pointell
 12. in an Adamant stone. If they signifie (as it is out of doubt) that ven-
 Ier. 17. geance shalbe geuen for recōpense, then is it also not to be doubted,
 1. but that by contrarie sentences the Lorde affirmeth, that he remit-
 teth all recompensing of vengeance. Here I must besech the readers
 not to harken to my gloses, but onely that they will suffer the worde
 of God to take some place.

30 What, I pray you, had Christ done for vs, if we should still be
 1. Pet. 2 compelled to suffer paine for sinnes? For when we say that he did
 24. beare all our sinnes in his body vpon the tree, we meane nothing els
 there by, but that he suffred all the peine and punishment that was due
 Esa. 53. to our sinnes. And the same hath Esaye more liuely declared where
 5. he saith: the chastisemēt (or correction) of our peace, was vpon him.
 What is the correction of our peace but the peine due to sinnes? and
 which we should haue suffred before that we could be reconciled to
 Rom. 3. God, vnlesse that he had entred into our stede? Lo, thou seest plaine-
 24. ly, that Christ suffred the peines of sinnes, to deliuer them that be
 1 Cor. 1 his from them. And so oft as Paule maketh mention of the redemptiō
 30. performed by Christ, he vseth to call it in Greke *Apolutrosin*, where-
 Ephe. 1. by he meaneth not onely redemption, as it is commonly taken, but
 7. the very price and satisfaction of redemption. After which manner he
 Colos. 1. writeth, that Christ gaue himselfe *Anilutron*, a price of raunsome for
 14. vs. What propitiation is there with the Lorde (saith Augustine) but
 1. Tim. 2. 6. sacrifices?

sacrifices?

sacrifice? And what sacrifice is there, but that which is offered for vs in the death of Christ? But that which is appointed in the lawe of Moses for cleansing the offenses of sinnes, ministreth vs a strong battell ramme. For the Lord doth not there appoint this or that manner of satisfieng, but requireth the whole recompense in sacrifices. Whereas yet in other things, he doth most diligently and in most exact order set out all the ceremonies of expiation. Howe commeth it to passe, that he commaundeth to recompense faultes committed, with no workes at all, but requireth onely sacrifices for satisfaction: but because his will is so to declare, that there is onely one kinde of satisfaction, whereby his iudgement is appeased? For the sacrifices that the Israelites did then offer, were not weyed by the worke of men, but were esteemed by their truth, that is to say, by the onely sacrifice of Christ. But what manner of recompense the Lord receiueth of vs, Osee hath very well expressed in fewe wordes. Thou shalt (saith he) take away iniquitie, O God. Loe, here is forgeuenesse of sinnes. And we shall pay thee values of our lippes: Loe, here is satisfaction. I knowe that they yet do surreptitiously slippe away, when they make distinction betwene euerlasting peine, and temporall peines. But when they reach that temporall peine is any kinde of punishment that God taketh as well of the body as of the soule, except onely euerlasting death, this restraining of it doth litle helpe them. For the places that we haue aboue recited, do expressly meane this, that God receiueth vs into fauour with this condition, that in pardoning the fault, he pardoneth all the peine what so euer we had thereby deserved. And so oft as Dauid or the other Prophets do craue pardon of sinnes, they do also there withall pray to be released of the peine. Yea, the very feeling of Gods iudgement doth driue them therunto. Againe, when they promise mercie at the Lordes hand, they do in manner alway of purpose preach of the peines and the forgeuenesse therof. Truly when the Lorde in Ezechiell pronounceth that he will make an ende of the exile in Babylon, and that for his owne sake, not for the Iewes sake, he doth sufficiently shewe that both are of free gift. Finally, if we be deliuered by Christ from guiltinesse of fault, the peines that come thereof, must needs cesse.

Osee.
14. 3.

Eze. 36.
22. and
32.

31 But for asmuch as they do also arme themselues with testimonies of Scripture, let vs see what manner of argumentes those bee that they allege. Dauid (say they) being rebuked by Nathan the Prophet of adulterie and manslaughter, receiued pardon of his sinne, and yet he was afterward punished by the death of his sonne that he had gotten by that adulterie. We are taught to redeme with sauis-

2. Sam.
12. 13.

factious such paines as were to be extended after forgeuenes of the fault. For Daniel aduised Nebuchadnezer to redeme his sinnes with almes. And Salomon writeth that for equitie and godlinesse, iniquities are forgeuen. And in an other place, that with charitie the multitude of sinnes is couered. Which sentence Peter also confirmeth. Againe, in Luke the Lord saith of the woman that was a sinner, that many sinnes are forgeuen her, because she hath loued much. Howe peruersly and wrongfully they euer weye the doinges of God. But if they had marked (as they should not haue ouerpassed it) that there are two kindes of Gods iudgement, they would haue seen in this rebuking of Dauid, a far other manner of punishment, than such as might be thought to tend to reuengement. But bycause it not a litle behoueth vs all to vnderstand wherunto the chastismentes haue respect, wherwith God correcteth vs for our sinnes, and how much they differ from those examples wherewith he pursueth the wicked and reprobate with indignation: therefore I thinke it shall be not beside the purpose to comprehend it shortly in a summe. For the order of plaine teaching, let vs call the one kinde of iudgement, the iudgement of Reuenge, the other of Chastisemēt. It is to be vnderstanded, that God so punisheth his enemies with the iudgement of reuenge, that he vseth his wrath against them, confoundeth them, destroyeth them, and bringeth them to nought. Therefore let vs take that to be properly the vengeance of God, when his punishing is ioined with his indignation: with the iudgement of Chastisemēt he dealeth not so cruelly: as to be angry: nor punisheth to destroy, nor sendeth downe his lightening to kill. Therefore it is not properly punishment or vengeance, but correction and admonishment. The one is the doing of a iudge, the other of a father. For the iudge when he punisheth an euell doer, he hath regard to the offense, & punisheth the very fault: when the father somewhat rigorously correcteth his childe, he doth it not to be reuenged on him, or to punish him, but rather to teach him & make him wiser in time to come. Chrysostome in a certaine place vseth a similitude somewhat differing from this, but yet it commeth to the same point. The sonne (saith he) is beaten, and the seruant also is beaten: but the one is punished as a bonde seruant, bycause he hath offended, and the other is chastised as a freeman and as a sonne, needing correction. To the one his correction serueth for profe and amendment, to the other for a scourge and punishment.

32. But that we may haue the whole matter shortly and in a redy summe, let this be the first of two distinctions. Wheresoeuer punishment is to reuenge, there sheweth it self the curse and wrath of God, which

which he alway withholdeth from the faithfull. Contrarywise Chastisement both is a blessing of God, and beareth a testimonie of his loue, as the Scripture teacheth. This difference is commonly euery where sufficiently expressed in the worde of God. For what so euer afflictions the wicked suffer in this present life, therein is painted out vnto vs as it were a certaine entrie of hell, fro whence they do alredy see a far of their eternall damnation: and they are so far from being amended or taking any profit thereby, that rather by such beginings they are prepared to the most cruell hell that at length abideth for them. But the Lorde chastising chastiseth his seruantes, but he doth not put them to death. Therefore they confesse that to be beaten with his rodde, was good for them vnto true instruction. But as we read euery where that the holy ones suffer such punishmentes with quiet minde, so they haue alway prayed to escape the first kinde of scourges. Chastise me Lorde (saith Ieremie) but in thy iudgement, not in thy wrath, least thou destroy me. Poure out thy wrath vpon the nations that haue not knowen thee, and vpon the kingdomes that haue not called vpon thy name. And Dauid saith: Lorde rebuke me not in thy wrath, nor correct me in thine anger. And it maketh nothing to the contrarie, that oftentimes it is said, that the Lord is angry with them that be his, when he punisheth their sinnes. As in Esaye: I will confesse to thee O Lorde, because thou hast bene angry with me: thy wrath is turned, & thou hast comforted me. Againe Abacuc. Thou that hast bene angry shall remember mercie. And Michee: I will beare the wrath of the Lord, because I haue sinned against him. Where he putteth vs in minde that not onely they that are iustly punished, nothing preuaile with murmuring against him, but also that the faithfull haue aswagement of their sorrow, in considering the purpose of God. For after the same manner it is said that he doth defile his owne inheritance, which yet (as we knowe) he will neuer defile. But that is spoken not in respect of the purpose or meaning of God that punisheth, but of the vehement feling of sorrow, which they fele that suffer any of his seueritie what so euer it be. But he not only pricketh his faithfull with no smal rigour, but sometimes so woudeith them, that they thinke themselues not far from the damnation of hell. So he testifieth that they haue deserued his wrath, and so it behoueth that they should loth themselues in their euels, and be touched with the greater care to appease God, and carefully make hast to craue pardon. But euen in the very same doing he sheweth a more euident testimonie of his fauorable kindenesse than of his wrath. For y covenant continueth that was made with vs in our true Salomon: the truth

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whereof he that can not decerne, hath affirmed, that it shall neuer
 bee made voide. If (saith he) his children forsake my lawe, and walke
 not in my iudgements: if they defile my statutes, and kepe not my
 commaundementes. I will visite their sinnes with a rodde and with
 stripes: but I will not take away my mercie from him. Of which
 mercie to make vs assured, he saith, that the rodde wherewith he
 will correct the posteritie of Salomon, shalbe of menne, and stripes
 of the children of menne: by which clauses when he meaneth mo-
 deration and lenitie, he therewithall secretly declareth, that they can
 not but bee confounded with extreme and deadly horreur, that fele
 the hand of God to be against them. Howe great regard he hath of
 this lenitie in chastising his Israell, he sheweth in the Prophet: I haue
 purged thee (saith he) in fire: But not as Siluer, for then thou shouldest
 haue bene all consumed. Albeit he teacheth that chastisementes
 serue him for to cleanse him, but he further saith that he vseth the
 same so temperately, that he bee not to much consumed by them.
 And that is needefull. For the more that euery man reuerently sea-
 reth God, and geueth himselfe to follow godlinesse, so much the ten-
 drier he is to beare his wrath For the reprobate, although they grone
 vnder his scourges, yet for that they wey not the cause, but rather
 turne their backe both to their owne sinnes and to the iudgement
 of God, by that slouthfulnesse they gather a hardnesse: or bycause
 they murmure and kicke against him, and do make an vprore against
 their iudge, that furious sudden rage astonieth them with madnesse
 and furor. But the faithfull being admonished by his correction, by
 and by descend to consider their sinnes, & being stricken with dread
 and horreur, they flee in humble wise to pray to him for pardon, vn-
 lesse the Lorde did aswage these sorrowes wherewith the poore sou-
 les torment themselues, they would faine a hundred times euen in
 smal tokens of his wrath.

33 Then let this be the second distinction, that when the repro-
 bate are stryken with the scourges of God, they do alredy after a
 certaine manner beginne to suffer peines by his iudgemēt, and though
 they shall not escape vnpunished, for that they haue not taken hede
 to such tokes of the wrath of God, yet they are not punished to this
 ende, to make them come to a better minde: but onely that, to their
 great hurt, they should proue God to be a iudge and reuenger. But
 children are beaten with rodde, not that they shoulde thereby be
 punished of God for their sinnes, but that they should therby profit
 to amendement. Therefore we take it that they rather haue respect
 to the time to come, than to the time past. This I had rather expresse

in Chrysostomes wordes than mine owne. For this (saith he) God doth lay peine vpon vs, not punishing our sinnes past, but correcting vs against time to come. And so saith Augustine: That which thou suffrest, that for which thou lamentest, is a medicine to thee and no peine, a chastisement and no damnation. Put not away the scourge, if thou wilt not be put away from the inheritance, &c. Know ye brethren that all this miserie of mankinde when the world groweth is a medicinall sorrow, and not a pennall sentence, &c. These sentences I haue therefore thought good to alleage, that the manner of speche that I haue aboue written, shoulde not seme to any man newe and vnused. And hereunto serue all the complaints full of indignation wherein the Lorde oftentimes doth expostulate of the vnkindenesse of the people, for that they stiffly despised all punishments. In Esaye he saith: To what purpose should I strike you any more: from the sole of the foote to the crowne of the hed, there is no whole place. But because the Prophets are full of such sayinges, it shalbe sufficient to haue briefly shewed that God doth punish his Church for none other intent, but that it shoulde be tamed and amend. Therefore when he did cast Saul out of the kingdome, he punished him to reuengement: When he toke from Dauid his yonge sonne, he corrected him to amendement. According to this meaning is that to be taken which Paule saith, when we are iudged of the Lorde, we are corrected, that we should not be damned with this worlde. That is, when we that be the children of God are afflicted with the hande of our heavenly father, this is no peine wherewith we should be confounded, but only a chastisement wherewith we should be instructed. In which pointe Augustine is plainely on our side. For he teacheth that the peines wherewith men are a like chastised by God, ar diuersly to be considered: bycause to the holy ones they are battels and exercises after the forgeuenesse of their sinnes, to the reprobate they are without forgeuenesse peines of wickednesse. In which place he rehearseth how peines were layed vpon Dauid and other godly men, and saith that the same tended to this ende, that their godlinesse shoulde by such humbling of them, be exercised and proued. And where Esaye saith, that the Iewish people had their iniquitie forgeuen them, bycause they had receiued full chastisement at the Lordes hande: this proueth not that the pardon of sinnes hangeth vpon the full payment of the peine: but it is in effect asmuch as if he had said: Bycause ye haue alredy suffred peines enough, and by the greuoulnesse and multitude thereof haue bene now pined away with longe mourning and sorrowe, therefore it is nowe time that receiuing the tidinges

Inferm.
de po-
nitur. &
confess.

Esa. 1. 5.

1. Sam.

15. 23.

2 Sam.

12. 18.

1 Cor.

11. 32.

Lib. de

Pecca-

to, me-

rito, ac

remis. 2.

cap. 33.

& 34.

Esa 40.

2.

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of full mercie, your heartes shoulde reioyce and fele me to be your father. For there God did take vpon him the person of a father, which repenteth him euen of his iuste seueritie, when he was compelled sharply to correct his sonne.

34 With these thoughtes it is necessarie that the faithfull be furnished in bitternesse of afflictions. It is time that the iudgement beganne at the house of the Lorde, in which his name is called vpon. 1.Pet.4. 17. Iere.25. 29. What should the children of God do, if they did beleue the seueritie of God that they fele to be his vengeance? For he that being stricken with the hand of God, imagineth God a punishing iudge, can not conceiue him but angry andemie vnto him, and detest the very scourge of God as a curse and damnation. Finally he can neuer be perswaded that God loueth him, that shall thinke him so minded toward him, that he is still minded to punish him. But he only profiteth vnder the rod of God, that thinketh him to be angry with his sinnes, but merciefull & louinge to himselfe. For otherwise that must needs happen, which the Prophet complaineth that he felt, where he saith. Psa.88. Thy wraths, O God haue passed ouer merthy terrors haue oppressed me. Also that which Moses writeth, bycause we haue fainted in thy wrath: and we haue bene troubled in thy indignation, thou hast set our iniquities in thy sight, and our secretes in the light of thy countenance: because all our dayes are gone away in thy wrath: our yeres are consumed as the word that is passed out of a mouth. On the other side Dauid saith thus of his fatherly chastisements, to teach that the faithfull are rather holpen than oppressed thereby: Blessed is the man whom thou hast corrected O Lorde, and hast instructed in thy lawe, to geue him quiet from euell dayes, while a pit is digged for the sinner. Truly it is a harde tentation, when God sparing the vnbeleuers and winking at their faultes, semeth more rigorous against them that be his. Therefore he gaue them a cause of comfort, the admonishment of the lawe, whereby they shoulde learne, that it is done to prouide for their saluation when they are called againe into the way, and the wicked are caried hedlong into their errors, whose ende is the pit. And it is no difference whether the peine be eulasting or during for a time. For as well warre, famine, pestilence, and sicknesse as the iudgement of eternall death are the curses of God, when they are layed vpon menne to this ende, to be instrumentes of the Lordes wrath and vengeance against the reprobate.

35 Nowe (as I thinke) all men do perceiue whereunto tended that chastisement of the Lorde vpon Dauid: euen to be an instruction that God is greuously displeased with manslaughter and adulterie, against

against which he had shewed so great an indignation in his beloued and faithfull seruant: that Dauid should be taught to be no more so bold to do y^e like deede: & not to be a paine whereby he should make a certaine recompense to God. And so is to be iudged of the other kinde of correction, wherby the Lord punished his people with a sore pestilence, for Dauids disobedience wherinto he was fallen in numbring y^e people. For he did in deede freely forgiue to Dauid the guiltinesse of his sinne: but because it pertained both to the publike example of all ages, and also to the humbling of Dauid, that such a hainous offense shoulde not remayne vnpunished: therefore he most sharply chastised him with his rod. Which marke also we ought to haue before our eyes in the vniuersall curse of mankind. For wheras after pardon obtained, we do all yet suffer the miseries that were laid vpon our first parent for paine of sinne: we perceiue our selues by such exercises to be admonished, how grievously God is displeased with the transgression of his law: that being throwen downe & humbled with knoweledge in conscience of our owne miserable estate, we may the more seruently aspire to true blessednes. But he shalbe most foolish that shall thinke, that the calamities of this present life are layed vpon vs for the guiltines of sinne. And that I thinke was the meaning of Chrysostome when he wrote thus. If God do therefore lay paines vpon vs, that he should call vs, perseuering in euils to repentance, then when repentance is once shewed, the paine shalbe superfluous. Therefore, as he knoweth it to be expedient for euery mans nature, so he handeleth one man more roughly, and an other with more louinge tenderresse. Therefore where he mindeth to teach that he is not vnm measurable in taking punishment, he reprocheth to the hard hearted and obstinate people that being stricken yet they make not an end of sinning. In this meaninge he cōplaineth, that Ephraim was as a cake scorched on the one side, and raw on the other, because the corrections did not pearce into their mindes, that the people hauing their vices boyled out, might be made meete to receiue pardon. Truly he that so speaketh, sheweth, that so soone as a man hath repented, he will by and by become appeasable: and that by our stifnes he is enforced to that rigour in chastising of faultes, which should haue bin preuented with willing amendement. Yet forasmuch as we all are of such hardnes and rudenesse, as vniuersally needeth chastisement: it seemed good to him being a most wise father, to exercise all without exceptiō with a cōmon scourge all their life long. But it is maruelous why they so cast their eyes vpon the only example of Dauid, & are not moued with so many examples, in which they might haue beholdē free for-

2. Sa. 34
15.Hom. 3.
de pro.
uid. ad
Stargi-
rium.Ier. 5. 3.
O c. 7. 7

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Luk. 18. giuenesse of finnes. It is read that the Publicane went out of the temple iustified. There followed no paine. Peter obtayned pardon of his offence, his teares we reade (sayth Ambrose) his satisfaction we read not. And the man sicke of the Palsey heard it spoken to him: Rise: thy finnes are forgiven thee. There was no paine layed vpon him. All the absolutions that are rehearsed in the Scripture, are set out as giue freely. Out of this great nōber of examples, a rule should rather haue bin gathered than of that only example that containeth in it a certayne speciall matter.

Dan. 4. 36 Daniel in his exhortation wherein he counselleth Nabuchadnezer to redeeme his finnes with righteousnesse, and his iniquities with pityinge of the poore: his meaning was not to say, that righteousnesse and mercy are satisfactory appeasementes of God, and redēption of paines (for God forbid that there were euer any redēptiō sauīng only the blood of Christ) but to referre this word Redeeming rather to men than to God, as if he had sayd: O king, thou hast vsed an vnrighteous and violent goruernment, thou hast oppressed the humble, thou hast spoyled the poore, thou hast hardly and vniustly handled thy people: for thy vniust exactions, for thy violence and oppression, now render to them mercy and righteousnesse. Likewise **Pro. 10.** Salomon sayth, that with charity the multitude of finnes is couered: **12.** not before God, but amonge men themselues. For thus is the whole verse: Hatred raiseth vp contentions: but charity couereth all iniquities. In which verse, as his maner is, he doth by way of comparison of contraries, compare the euils that grow of hatreds, with the frutes of charity: in this meaninge, they that hate together, do one bite, barke at, reproch and rayle at an other, and turne all things to the worst: but they that loue together, do dissemble many things amonge themselves, do winke at many things, and pardon many things one to the other: not that the one alloweth the others faulkes, but beareth with them, and helpeth them with admonishinge, rather than galleth them with reproching them. And it is not to be doutēd that Peter alleageth this place in the same sense, vnlesse we will accuse him of deprauiing and wrongfully wresting the Scripture. But whereas he teacheth that sinne is purged with mercifulnesse and liberality, he doth not meane that recompense is therewith made for sinne before the face of the Lorde, so that God beinge appeased by such satisfaction doth release the paine that otherwise he would haue layd vpon the, but after the accustomed manner of the Scripture he declareth that they shall finde him mercifull vnto them that leauinge their former vices and iniquities, do turne to him by godlines & truth: as if he should

should say, that the wrath of God doth cesse and his iudgement rest, when we cesse frō our euill doinges. Neither doth he there describe the cause of pardō, but rather the maner of true conuersion. As many times the Prophets do declare that Hypocrites do in vaine pester God with forged ceremonious vsages in stede of repentance, whereas it is vprightnes of life with the duties of charity that deliteth him. As also the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues commendinge liberality and gentlenesse, teacheth that such sacrifices please God. And when Christ, taunting the Pharises that giuinge heede only to cleaunge of dishes, they neglected the cleannesse of the heart, commaunded them to giue almes that all might be cleane: he did not thereby exhorre them to make satisfaction: but only teacheth what maner of cleannesse pleaseth God. Of which kinde of speech we haue entreated in an other place.

37 As touching the place of Luke, no man that hath with sounde iudgement read the parable that the Lord did there recite, will make vs any controuersie thereupon. The Pharisee thought with himselfe, that the Lord did not know the woman, which he had so easily receiued into his presence. For he thought that Christ would not haue receiued her, if he had knowen her such a sinner as she was. And thereby he gathered, that Christ was not a Prophet that might in such sort be deceiued. The Lord, to shewe that she was no sinner to whom her sinnes were already forgiuen, did put out this parable. There were two detters to one creditour vpō vsurie: the one ought fifty, the other ought five hundred, both had their dettes forgiuen them. Whether oweth more thanke? the Pharisee answered: he to whom most is forgiuen. The Lord replied: learne hereby that this womans sinnes are forgiuē her, because she hath loued much. In which words (as you se) he maketh not her loue the cause, but the prooffe of the forgiuenesse of her sinnes. For they are deriued vpon a similitude of that dettoure, to whome five hundred was forgiuen, to whome he did not say that therefore it was forgiuen, because he had loued much: but therefore loued much, because it was forgiuen. And hereunto must that similitude be applied in this sorte: Thou thinkest this woman to be a sinner: but thou oughtest to know that she is none such, forasmuch as her sinnes be forgiuen her. And that her sinnes be forgiuē her, her loue ought to proue vnto thee, whereby she rendereth thanke for this benefit. It is an argument gathered of the following effect, whereby any thing is proued by signes ensuinge. By what meane she obtayned forgiuenes of sinnes, the Lord openly testifieth: Thy faith, saith he, hath saved thee. Therefore we obtayne forgiuenesse by fayth:

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By charity we giue thankses , and testifie the bountifulnesse of the Lord.

38 As for those things that are commonly founde in the bookes of olde wryters concerninge satisfaction , they litle moue me. I see in deede that many of them, (I will speake plainly) in a maner all whose books remaine, haue either erred in this point, or spokē to crabbedly and hardly: but I will not graunt that they were so rude and vnskilfull as to haue wrytten those thinges in that sense that the new Satisfactioners do reade thē. Chrysostome in one place writeth thus: where mercy is required, examination cesseth: where mercy is asked, iudgement is not rigorous : where mercy is craued , there is no place for paine: where is mercy, there is no inquisition . Where is mercy , the answer is pardoned. Which wordes howsoeuer they be wrested, yet they can neuer be made to agree with the Schoolemens doctrines. In the booke of Ecclesiasticall doctrines, which is fathered vpon Augustine, is red thus : Satisfaction of repentance is, to cut of the causes of sinnes, and not to graunt an entrie to their suggestions. Whereby appeareth that the doctrine of satisfaction that was sayd to be giuen in recompense for sinnes committed , was euen in those times laughed to scorne: forasmuch as they referre all satisfaction to a heedefulnesse in abstaining frō sinnes in time to come. I will not alleage that which the same Chrysostome sayth , that he requireth of vs no more , but that we shoulde confesse our sinnes vnto him with teares : sith such sentences are many times found in his wrytings & others. Augustine in deede in some places calleth the workes of mercy, remedies to obtaine forgiveness of sinnes : but because no man shoulde stumble at that litle word, he himselfe preuenteth it in an other place. The flesh of Christ (sayth he) the true and onely sacrifice for sinnes, not onely these sinnes that are wholly put away in baptisme, but also these that afterward creepe in by weakenes : for which the whole church crieth out at this day , Forgiue vs our trespasses . And they are forgiven by that singular sacrifice.

39 They haue for the most parte called satisfaction, not a recompense to be rendred to God, but an open declaration whereby they that had bin excommunicate when they woulde be receiued againe to the communion, did ascertaine the church of their repētaunce. For there were enioyned vnto them when they did repent certaine fastinges and other thinges , whereby they might perswade men that they were truely and hartily weary of their former life , or rather blotte out the remembrance of their former doinges : and so they were sayd to make satisfaction not to God, but to the Church. Which

Hom. 2.
in Psal.
30.

Hom. 10
in Gen.
Enchir.
ad Lau-
rentiū.
Mat. 6.
12.

is also expressed of Augustine in these wordes in his Enchiridion to Laurence : Out of that auncient custome the confessions and satisfactions that are at this day vsed, tooke their beginning. Truly very viperous birthes, by which is brought to passe, that there remaineth not so much as a shadowe of that better forme. I know that the olde wryters do sometime speake somewhat hardly, and as I sayd euen now, I do not deny that paradiure they erred herein. But those thinges that were besprinkled with a few spots, when they are once handeled with these mens vnwashed handes, are altogether defiled. And if we must contend with the authority of olde wryters : good God, what olde wryters do they thrust vnto vs? A good parte of those wherewith Peter Lombard their champion hath botched vp his patched Sentences, is gathered out of the vnfauory dotages of certaine monkes that are caried about vnder the name of Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine, and Chrysostome. As about this presente question he taketh in a maner all out of Augustines booke of repentance, which is foolishly botched of good and bad by some scraper together. It beareth in deede the name of Augustine, but such a booke as no man beinge but meanely learned, would vouchsaue to acknowledge for his. But whereas I do not so narrowly examine their follies, lette the readers pardon me whom I would ease of that tediousnesse. For to me it should not be very laboursome, and yet very pausible to bewray to their great shame those thinges that they haue heretofore boasted vpon as misteries, but because my purpose is to teach frutefully, therefore I passe them ouer.

Cap. 65
& is rehearsed
in the Decretes
cap. in actionibus.
de peccatis
dist. 1.

The v. Chapter.

Of the supplyings which they adde to satisfactions, as pardons and purgatory.

OVt of this doctrine of satisfactions do flowe indulgences or pardons. For they say that that which our power wanteth to make satisfaction, is supplied by these pardons. And they runne so farre forth into madnesse, that they define them to be the distribution of the merites of Christ & of the martyrs, which the Pope dealeth abroad by his bulles. But although they haue more neede of Helleborus to putge their frenetike braine, than argumentes to answere them, so that it is not much worthy the trauaile to stand vpon confuting such triflinge errors, which are already shaken with many battelrammes, and of themselues grow into decayed age, and bende toward fallinge: yet because a shorre confutation of them shalbe profitable for some that be ignoraunt, I will not altogether o-

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mit it. As for this that pardons haue so longe stande safe, and haue so longe bin vn timer punished, hauinge bin vsed with so outragious and furious licentiousnesse: this may serue to teach vs in how darke a night of errors, men in certaine ages past haue bin drowned. They sawe themselves to be openly and vn timer colouredly scorned of the Pope & his Bulbearers, gainefull markets to be made of the saluation of their soules, the price of saluation to be valued at a few pence, and nothing set out to be frely giuen: that by this colour they be wiped of offerings to be filthily spent vpon brothels, bawdes and banketings: that the greatest blowers abroad of pardons are the greatest despisers of them: that this monster doth daily more & more with greater licentiousnesse ouerrunne the worlde, and grow into outrage, and that there is no ende, newe lead dayly brought, and newe mony gotten. Yet with hye reuerence they receiued, they worshipped and bought pardons, and such as among the rest saw somewhat farther, yet thought them to be godly deceites, wherby men might be beguiled with some profit. At the length, since the world suffered it selfe to be somewhat wiser, pardons waxe colde, and by litle and litle become frozen, till they vtterly vanish away.

2 But forasmuch as many that see the filthy gaminges, the deceites, thestes, and robberies, wherewith the pardoners haue heretofore mocked and begiled vs, yet see not the very fountayne of vngodlinesse from whence they springe: it is good to shew not onely of what sort pardons be, but also what they be, when they are wiped frō all spottes. They call the treasure of the church, the merites of Christ and of the holy Apostles and Martyrs. The principall custody of this barne (as I haue already touched) they faine to be deliuered to the bishop of Rome, that he should haue the distributiō of so great gifts, that he might both giue them by himselfe, and also graunt iurisdiction to other to giue them. Hereupon procede from the Pope sometime plenary pardons, sometime pardons for certaine yeres: from the Cardinals, pardons for a hundred dayes: from Bishoppes, pardons for forty dayes. But they be (as I may naturally describe them) the profaning of the blood of Christ, Sathans mockery, to leade away the christian people from the grace of God, from the life that is in Christ, and to turne them from the true way of saluation. For how could the bloude of Christ be more filthily prophaned, than when it is denied to suffice the remission of sinnes, to reconciliation and satisfaction, vn timer the want thereof as being withered and wasted, shoulde be otherwise supplied and profited? The law and all the Prophetes (saith Peter) beare witnesse of Christ, that by him forgiuenesse of sinne is

to be receiued: Pardons giue remission of sinnes by Peter, Paul and the Martyrs. The blood of Christ (saith Iohn) cleanseth vs frō sinne: 1. Ioh. 1
 Pardons do make the blood of Martyrs the washing away of sinnes. 7.
 Christ (saith Paul) which knew not sinne, was made sinne for vs, y is, 2. Cor. 5
 the satisfaction of sinne, that we might be made the righteousness 21.
 of God in him: Pardons do sette the satisfaction of sinnes in the
 bloude of Martyrs. Paule cried out and testified to the Corinthians, 1. Cor. 1
 that only Christ was crucified and died for them: the pardons pro- 13.
 nounce that Paule and other died for vs. In an other place he sayth
 that Christ purchased the church with his blood: the pardons appoint Act. 10.
 an other price of purchase in y blood of Martyrs. The Apostle saith, 18.
 that Christ with one oblation made perfect for euer them that were Heb. 10.
 sanctified: the pardons crie out to the contrary and say, that sanctifi- 14.
 cation is made perfect by the Martyrs, which otherwise were not suf-
 ficient. Iohn sayth that all the saintes washed their gowns in the Reue. 7.
 blood of the lambe: the pardons teach men to wash their gownes in 14
 blood of saintes.

3 Leo Bishop of Rome, writeth notably wel to y Palestines against Epi. 81.
 these sacrileges. Although (saith he) the death of many saintes hath Psal. 116
 bin precious in the sight of the Lord, yet the killing of no innocent 15.
 hath bin the propitiation of the world. The righteous receiued, but
 gaue not crownes: and out of the valiantnesse of the faithful are gra-
 uen examples of pacience, not gifts of righteousness. For their deathes
 were euery one singular to themselues, & none of the did by his end
 pay the det of an other, forasmuch there is one Lord Christ, in whom
 all are crucified, all are dead, buried, and raised vp againe. Which sen-
 tence (as it was worthy to be remēbred) he repeated in an other place
 There can nothinge be required more plaine to destroy this wicked
 doctrine. Yet Augustine speaketh no lesse fitly to y same effect Thogh Epi. 96.
 (saith he) we die brethren for brethren, yet the blood of no Martyrs Trad. in
 is shed for y forgienes of sinnes. Which thing Christ hath done for Ioh. 84.
 vs, neither hath he therein done that for vs, that we should folow him,
 but hath giue vs a thing to reioice vpon. Againe in an other place, As
 only the sonne of God was made the sonne of mā, to make vs w him Lib. 4.
 the sonnes of God: so he alone for vs hath takē vpon him punishmēt ad Bo-
 without euil deseruings, that we by him might without good deser- nif. ca. 4
 uings obtaine grace not due vnto vs. Truly where as all their do-
 ctrine is parched together of horrible sacrileges and blasphemies, yet
 this is a more monstrous blasphemy than all the other. Let them re-
 member theselues, whether these be not their decrees: that the Mar-
 tyrs haue by their death done more to God, and deserued more, than

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was nedefull for themfelues: and that they had remaining fo great a plenty of deferuings, as did alfo ouerflow vnto other: and that therefore, leaft fo great goodneffe shoulde be superfluous, their bloud is mingled with the bloud of Christ, and of both these bloudes is made the treasure of the church, for the remiffiō and fatisfaction of finnes. And that fo is the fayinge of Paule to be taken: I fupply in my body thofe things that want of the fuffrings of Christ for his body, which is the church. What is this elfe but to leaue Christ only his name, otherwife to make him but a common pety faint, that may fcarcely among the multitude be knowen from the ref? He only, only shoulde haue bin preached, he onely fet foorth, he only named, he only bin looked vnto, when the obtaining of forgiueneffe of finne, fatisfactiō, and fanctification are entreated of. But let vs heare their curtalled argumentes. Leaft the bloude of the Martyrs shoulde be fhed in vaine, therefore let it be employed to the common benefit of the Church. Is it fo? was it no profit to glorifie God by their death? to fubfcribe to his trueth with their bloud? by defpifinge this prefent life, to teftifie that they fought for a better life? by their ftedfaftneffe to ftrengthen the faith of the church, and ouercome the ftubborneffe of the enemies? But this is the matter in deede: they acknowledge no profit of the Martyrs death, if Christ only be the propitiator, if he onely died for our finnes, if he onely was offered vp for our redemption. So (fay they) Peter and Paul might neuertheleffe haue obtayned the crown of victory, if they had died in their beddes. And whereas they haue fought euen to the fhedinge of their bloude, it woulde not agree with y iuftice of God to leaue the fame barren & fruteles. As though God could not tel how to encrease in his feruants their glory, according to the meafure of his gifts. But the church receineth in commune together profite enough, when it is by their triumphes encouraged to a zealous defire to fight.

4 But how maliciously do they wrefte that place of Paule where he Colo. 1. ffaith, that he fupplieth in his body thofe thinges that wanted of the 24. fufferings of Christ? For he referreth not the default or fupplying, to the worke of redemption, fatisfaction, & expiation: but to thofe afflictions wherewith all the members of Christ, that is to fay, all the faithfull must be exercifed, fo longe as they fhall be in this flefh. He fayth therefore, that this remaineth of the fufferings of Christ, that he dayly fuffereth in his members the fame that he once fuffered in himfelfe. Christ vouchfaueh to do vs fo great honor, to reckon and accompt our afflictions his owne. Where as Paule added thefe wordes, For the church, he meaneth not for the redemption, for the reconciliation, for

for the satisfaction of the church, but for the edifyinge and profit of the church. As in an other place he sayth, that he suffereth all things for the electes sakes, that they may obtaine the saluation which is in Christ Iesu. And he wrote to the Corinthians, that he suffered all the troubles that he suffred, for their comfort and saluation. And immediately in the same place he expoundeth himselfe, when he sayth further, that he was made a minister of the church, not for redemption, but accordinge to the dispensation that was committed vnto him, to preach the Gospel of Christ. If they yet require an other expositour, let them heare Augustine. The sufferings of Christ (sayth he) are in Christ only as in the head: and both in Christ & the church, as in the whole body. Whereby Paule being one member saith, I supply in my body that which wanteth in the sufferings of Christ. Therefore if thou what soeuer thou be y heardest this, art one of the members of Christ, whatsoeuer thou sufferest of the that are not the members of Christ, that same wanted in the sufferings of Christ. But wherunto the sufferings of the Apostles taken for the church of Christ do tend, he expoundeth in an other place where he sayth: Christ is to me the gate vnto you: because ye are the shepe of Christ bought with his blood: acknowledging your price, which is not giue of me, but preached by me. Then he addeth. As he hath giuen his soule, so ought we to giue our soules for our brethren, to edifie peace, & to confirme faith. These are Augustines words. But God forbid, that Paul should haue thought that any thing wanted in the sufferings of Christ, as concerning all fulnes of righteousness, saluation and life: or that he meant to adde any thing thereunto, which so plainly and honorably preacheth, that the abundance of grace was so largely poured out by Christ, that it farre surmounted all the force of sinne. By it only all the faines haue bin saued, & not by y merit of their owne life or death, as Peter expressly testified: so that he should be slanderous against God & Christ, that should repose the worthines of any saint any where else than in the only mercy of God. But why do I tary hereupon any longer, as vpon a matter yet doubtfull, sith the very bewrayinge of such monstrous errors is a sufficient confutation of them?

5 Now (to passe ouer such abominations) who taught the Pope to enclose in lead and parchment the grace of Iesus Christ, which the Lord willed to be distributed by the word of the Gospel? Truly either the Gospell of God must be false, or their pardons false. For, that Christ is offred vs in the Gospel, with all abundance of heauenly benefites, with all his merites, with all his righteousness, wisdom and grace, without any exception, Paul witnesseth where he saith, that the

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word of reconciliation was deliuered to the ministers, whereby they might vse this forme of message, as it were Christ giuing exhortation by them: we beseech you, be ye so reconciled to God? He hath made him y^e knew no sinne, to be made sinne for vs, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. And the faithful know of what value is that common partakinge of Christ, which (as the same Apostle witnesseth) is offered vs to be enioyed in the Gospel. Contrariwise the pardons do bring out of the storehouse of the Pope, a certaine pittance of grace, & fasten it to lead, parchment, yea and to a certaine place, & seuer it from the word of God. If a man should aske whence this abuse tooke beginning: it seemeth to haue proceeded herof, that when in time past penitentes were charged with more rigorous satisfactions than all could beare, they which felt themselues aboue measure oppressed with penance enioyned them, required of the church a release. The mitigation that was graunted to such, was called an indulgence or pardon. But when they turned Satisfactions from the Church to God, & sayd that they were recompenses wherby men may redeeme themselves frō the iudgement of God, then they therewithall did also draw these indulgences or pardons to be propitiatory remedies, to deliuer vs from deserued punishments. As for these blasphemers that we haue recited, they forged the so shamelessely, that they can haue no colour at all.

6 Now let the no more trouble vs with their purgation, because it is with this axe already broken, hewed downe, & ouerthrowen from the very fundations. For I do not agree to some mē, that thinke best to dissemble in this point, and make no mention at all of Purgatory, whereupon (as they say) great contentions do arise, but small edification is gotten. Truly I my selfe woulde also thinke such trifles worthy to be negligently passed ouer, if they did not accompt the earnest matters. But forasmuch as purgatory is builded of many blasphemies, and is dayly vpholden with newe blasphemies, and raiseth vp many and grievous offences, truly it is not to be winked at. This parauenture might after a sort haue bin dissembled for a time, that it was inuented by curious and bolde rashnesse without the worde of God: that men beleued of it by, I wot not what reuelations, fained by the craft of Sathan: that for the confirmation of it, certaine places of Scripture were fondly wrested. Albeit the Lord giueth not leaue to mans presumptuousnes so to breake into y^e secret places of his iudgements, & hath seuerely forbidden men to enquire for trueth at dead mē, neglecting his word, & permitteeth not his word to be so vnreuerently defiled. But let vs graunt, that all those things might for a while haue

1. Cor. 1
17.

Deu. 18.
21.

haue bin borne with, as thinges of no great importaunce. But when the cleansing of sinnes is sought else where then in the bloude of Christ, when satisfaction is giuen away to any other thinge, then it is most perillous not to speake of it. Therefore we must crie out not onely with vehement stretching of our voice, but also of our throte and sides: that Purgatory is the damnable deuise of Sathan, that it maketh voide the Crosse of Christ, that it layeth an intolerable scandal vpon the mercy of God, that it feebleth and ouerthroweth our faith. For what else is Purgatory amonge them, but the satisfaction that the soules of men departed do pay after their death? So that ouerthrowing the opinion of satisfaction, Purgatory is immediately ouerthrowen by the very rootes. But if in our former discourse it is more than eident that the bloude of Christ is the onely satisfaction, propitiatory sacrifice and cleansing for the sinnes of the faithfull: what remaineth but that purgatory is a mere and horrible blasphemie against Christ? I passe over the robberies of God wherewith it is daily defended, the offenses that it bredeth in religion, and other thinges innumerable, which we see to haue come out of the same spring of vngodlinesse.

7 But it is good to wringe out of their handes such places as they haue falsly & wrongfully takē out of the Scripture. When (say they) the Lord affirmeth that y sinne against the holy Ghost should not be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come, thereby he sheweth that there is a forgiveness of some sinnes in the worlde to come. But who seeth not that the Lord there speaketh of the fault of sinne? Now if it be so, what is that to their Purgatory, forasmuch as by their opinion the paine is there suffered of those sinnes, wherof they deny not the fault to be forgien in this present life? But that they may no more carp against vs, they shal haue yet a plainer solution. When the Lord meant to cut of all hope of Pardon from so haynous wickednesse, he thought it not enough to say that it should neuer be forgien: but the more to amplify it, he vsed a diuision, wherein he comprehended both the iudgement that euery mans conscience feeleth in this life, & the last iudgement that shalbe openly pronounced at the resurrection: as thogh he should haue said: Beware ye of malicious rebellio, as of most present damnatio. For he that of set purpose shal endeavour to quench the light of the holy Ghost, shall not obtaine pardon, neither in this life which is giuen to sinners for their conuersion, nor in the last day when the lambes shalbe seuered by the angels of God frō the goats, and the kingdome of heauen shalbe cleansed from all offenses. Then they bringe forth that parable out of Matthew: Agree with thine

Mat. 12.

32.

Mar. 3.

28.

Luc. 12.

10.

Mat. 5.

15.

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aduersary, least he deliuer thee to the Iudge, & the iudge to the Sargeant, and the Sargeant to the prison, from whence thou shalt not get out, vntil thou hast payed the vttermoſt farthing. If in this place the Iudge do signifie God, and the aduersary plentiſe the Deuil, the Sargeant the Angell, and the prison purgatory, I wil gladly yeelde vnto them. But if it be euident to all men, that Chriſt meant there to ſhow into how many daungers and miſchieues they caſt themſelues, that had rather obſtinately purſue the extremity of the law, thā deale according to equity & good right, to the ende to exhort his diſciples the more earneſtly to agreement with equity: where thē I pray you ſhall Purgatory be found?

8 They fetch an argument out of ſaying of Paul, where he affirmeth that the knees of thinges in heauen, earth & hels, ſhall bow to Chriſt. For they take it as cōfeſſed, that hels can not there be meant of thoſe that are adiudged to eternall damnation. Therefore it remaineth that it muſt be the ſoules lying in paine in Purgatory. They did not reaſon very euil, if the Apoſtle did by kneelinge meane the true godly worſhipping. But ſith he teacheth only, that there is a dominiō giuen to Chriſt whereby all creatures are to be ſubdued, what prooſe is there to the contrary, but that we may by hels vnderſtand the Deuils, that ſhalbe brought before ſ iudgement of God, to acknowledge him their iudge with feare and trembling? Like as Paul himſelfe expoundeth the ſame prophecy in an other place. All (ſayth he) ſhalbe brought before the iudgemēt ſeate of Chriſt. For it is written: So truly as I liue, euery knee ſhall bow to me. &c. But we may not ſo expound that which is in the Reuelation: I haue heard all creatures, both theſe things that are in heauen, & thoſe that are vpon the earth, and theſe that are vnder the earth, & thoſe that are in the ſeae, & all thoſe that are in thē, I haue heard thē all ſay to him that ſitteth on the Throne & to the Lambe, Bleſſing & honor, and glory, and power, for euer & euer. That I do in deede eaſily graunt, but what creatures do they thinke to be here rehearſed? For it is moſt certaine, that there are contained creatures both without reaſon and without ſenſe. Whereby is affirmed nothing elſe, but that all the partes of the world, from the hieſt toppe of the heauens, to the very midle point of the earth, do in their maner declare the glory of their creator. As for that which they alleage out of the hiſtory of the Machabees, I will not vouchſaue to anſwere it, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to reckon that worke in the number of the holy books. But Auguſtine receiued it for Canonically. But firſt, of what ſure credit did he receiue it? The Iewes (ſayth he) eſteeme not the wryting of the Machabees as they do the law, the Prophetes and

Phil. 2.
10.

Rom. 13
10.

Reue. 5.
13.

2. Mach.
12. 43.

and the Psalmes, of which the Lord himselfe hath witnessed as of his witnessers, saying: It was necessary, that all thinges should be fulfilled that are wrytten in the law, and the Psalmes, and Prophetes, concerning me. But it hath bin receiued of the Church not vnprofitably, if it be soberly read or heard. And Hierom teacheth without any doubting that the authority thereof is of no force to prouing of doctrines. And it euidently appeareth by that old booke, which is entituled vnder the name of Cyprian, concerninge the exposition of the Crede, that it had no place at all in the olde Church. But why do I here strue without cause? As though the author himselfe doth not sufficiently shew, how much he is to be credited, whē in the end he craueth pardon, if he haue spoken any thing not well. Truely he that confesseth his wrytings to nede pardon, sayth plainly that they are not the oracles of the holy Ghost. Beside that, y^e godlines of Iudas is praised for none other cause, but for that he had an assured hope of the last resurrection, when he sent an offering for the dead to Hierusalem. Neither doth the wryter of that history referre that which Iudas did to be a price of redemption, but that they might be partakers of the eternall life with the other faithful, that had died for their contry & religion. This doing was in deede not without superstition and preposterous zeale but they are more thā fooles, that draw a sacrifice of the law so farre as vnto vs: forasmuch as we know that things do cesse by the comming of Christ, that then were in vse.

9 But they haue an inuincible bulwarke in Paul, which can not so easily be battered. If any man (sayth he) build vpon this foundation, gold, siluer, precious stones, timber, heye, stubble, the Lord shall shew euery mans worke what it is: because it shal be reuealed in fier, & the fier shall trie euery mans worke what it is. If any mās worke do burne, it shall suffer losse, but he shalbe safe, but as through the fier. What fier (say they) can that be, but the fier of Purgatory? by which the filthines of sinne are clenfed away, that we may enter pure in to the kingdom of God? But the most part of the old wryters thought it to be an other fier, that is to say, Trouble or the crosse, by which the Lord trieth them that be his, that they should not rest in the filthines of the flesh: & that is much more probable, than in faining purgatory. Albeit I do neither agree with these men, because I thinke I haue attained a certaine and much plainer vnderstanding of that place. But before that I vtter it, I woulde haue thē answere me, whether the Apostles & all y^e sainctes must haue gone through this fier of Purgatory? I know they wil say, nay. For it were to much inconueniēt that they must haue neded to be purged, whose merites they dreame to ouer-

Contra
gaudēt.
epist. 2.
cap. 23.
Luk. 23.

2. Mach
15. 36.

1. Cor. 3

Chry-
fost. Au-
gust. &
others.

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flow aboue measure to all the members of the church. But the Apostle affirmeth it. For he doth not say that the worke of some shalbe proued, but the worke of all. Neither is this my argumēt, but Augustine, which so confuteth that expositiō. And (which is more absurdity) he doth not say, y they shal passe through the fire for all works: but if they haue faithfully builded the church, they shall receiue rewarde when their worke is examined with fier. First we see that the Apostle vsed a Metaphore, when he called the doctrines inuēted by mans braines, wood, hey, & stubble. And the Metaphore hath an apparant rescue: that as wood so soone as it is put in the fier, consumeth & wasteth, so can not those doctrines continue when they come to be examined. Now no man is ignorant that such triall commeth of the holy Ghost. Therefore to folow the true cause of his metaphore, & match the partes together with iust relation, he called the triall of the holy Ghost, fier. For euen as the nerer that gold & siluer are put to the fier, so much the surer proufe they haue of their goodnes and finenes: so the Lords trueth, y more exactly it is weyed with spiritual examination, so much the greater cōfirmation of credit it receiueth. As hey, wood, & stubble put to the fier, are brought to sudden consuming, so the inuentions of men not stablished by the word of God, can not beare the triall of the holy Ghost, but they by and by fal away and perish. Finally, if forged doctrines be compared to wood, hey, and stubble, because like wood, hey, & stubble, they are burned with fire & destroied: but they are not destroied or driven away but by the spirit of the Lord: it followeth that the holy Ghost is the fier wherwith they shalbe proued, whose prouf Paul, according to the common vse of the Scripture, calleth The day of the Lord. For it is called y day of the Lord, whensoever he doth any way shew his presence to mē. But thē his face principally shineth, when his trueth shineth vpo vs. Now haue we proued, that Paul meaneth no other fier, but the triall of the holy Ghost. But how are they saued by y fier, that suffer losse of their worke? That shall not be hard to vnderstande, if we consider of what kinde of men he speaketh. For he toucheth those builders of the church, that keping the true fundation, do build disagreeing matter vpon it, that is to say, they that not swaruing frō the chiefe & necessary articles of faith, do erre in pointes that be smaler & lesse perilous mingling their owne deuises with the word of God. Such I say, must suffer losse of their worke, hauinge their deuises destroied. But themselves are saued, but as by the fier: that is to say, not that their ignorance and errour is allowable before the Lord, but because they are cleansed from it by the grace and power of the holy Ghost. Therefore

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whoſoeuer haue defiled the golden fineneſſe of Gods word with this dong of purgatory, they muſt nedes ſuffer loſſe of their worke.

10 But they wil ſay, it hath bin an auncient vſage of the church. Paule answered this obiection when he comprehendeth his owne time in that ſentence, where he ſayth, that all they muſt ſuffer loſſe of their worke, that in the building of the church, do lay any thing vpon the ſundation that agreeth not with it, Therefore when the aduerſaries obiect againſt me, that it hath bin vſed aboue a thouſande and three hundred yeares, to haue prayers made for the dead: I aſke the againe, by what word of God, by what Reueiacion, by what example it was done. For here they do not only want teſtimonies of Scripture but alſo all the examples of holy men that there are red, do ſhew no ſuch thing. Of the mourning and order of funeralles there are ſometimes found many & long tales: but of prayers you can not ſee one tittle. But of the greater weight that the matter is, the more it ought to haue bin expreſſely ſpoken. But the very old fathers themſelues that prayed for the dead, did ſee that herein they wanted both commaundement of God, and lawfull example. Why then durſt they ſo do? In this I ſay they did ſuffer ſomewhat as men: & therefore I affirme that, that which they did, ought not to be drawen into example. For where as the ſaſfull ought to enterpriſe the doinge of nothing, but vpon aſſured onſcience, as Paule teacheth: this aſſuredneſſe is principally required in prayer. But it is likely that they were led by ſome reaſon vnto it: they ſought ſome comfort to relieue their ſorrow: and it ſeemed vnto them not to ſhew before God ſome teſtimony of their loue toward the dead. Howe mans wit is enclined to this affection, all men know by experience. Alſo the receiued cuſtome was like a burninge brande ſet many mens mindes on fier. We knowe that with all nations in all ages there were funerals done for y^e dead, & their ſoules yearely purged. For though Sathan beguiled fooliſh men with theſe deceits: yet he tooke occaſion ſo to begile by a true principle: that deaths not a deſtruction, but a paſſage out of this life into another. And it is no dout, but that euery very ſuperſtitiõ condeneth the Gentils before the iudgement ſeat of God, for neglecting the care of the life to come which they professed themſelues to beleue. Nowe Chriſtians, becauſe they would not be worſe than Heathen men, were aſhamed to do nothing for the dead, as though they were viterly deſtroyed. Herupon came that ill aduiſed diligence: becauſe if they were ſlow in looking, y^e funerals, in banquetings & offerings, they thought that they had put themſelues in daunger of a great reproche. And that which firſt proceeded from a wrongfull following of the Heathens example,

was so multiplied by often new encrease, that now it is the principal holynesse of Papistry, to help the dead in distresse. But the Scripture ministreth an other much better and perfecter comfort, when it testifieth, that the dead are blessed that die in the Lorde. And it addeth a reason: because from thence forth they rest frō their labours. And we ought not so much tenderly to follow our owne affection of loue, to set vp a wrōgful maner of praying in the church. Truly he that hath but meane wisdom, doth soone perceiue that all that is red hereof in the olde wryters, was done to beare with the common vsage and the ignorance of the people. They themselues also, I graunt, were caried away into error euen as vnaduised lightnes of beliefe is wont to rob mens wits of iudgement. But in the meane time the very readinge of them doth shew, how doutingly they commend prayers for the dead. Augustine in his booke of confessions, reporteth that Monica his mother did earnestly desire, that she might be remembred in celebrating the ministeries at the Altar. An old wiues request, which y^e sonne neuer examined by the rule of the Scripture, but according to his affection of nature, would haue it allowed of other. As for the booke that he made of care for the deade, containeth so many doutings, that of right it ought with the coldnes thereof to quench the heat of a foolish zeale: if any man desire to be a proctor for dead men, truly with cold likelihoodes it wil bring them out of care that were before careful. For this is one pillar of it, that this doing is not to be desired, because it is a custome growē in vse, that the dead should be payed for. But though I graūt to the old writers of the church, that it is a charitable vse to help the dead: yet we must stil hold one rule which a not deceiue: that it is not lawfull for vs in our prayers to vse any thing of our own, but our requestes must be made subiect to the word of God: because it is in his wil to appoint what he wil haue to be asked. Now where as the whole lawe and the Gospell do not so much as i one sillable giue liberty to pray for the dead, it is a prophane abuse of the inuocation of God to attempt more than he commaundeth. But that our aduersaries may not boast that they haue the aunciēt church cōpanion of their error: I say there is great difference betwixt the & it. They vsed a memorial of y^e dead, least they should seeme to haue cast away all care of them: but they did therewithall confess that they doutēd of their state. As for purgatory, they so affirmed nothing that they helde it for a thinge vncertaine. These men require to haue that which they haue dreamed of purgatory, to be holdē wout cēstio for an article of faith. They sclderly & only to passe it lightlyer, did in the cōmunion of the holy supper cōmend their dead to God:

These do continually call vpon the care of the dead, and with importunate praising it, do make it to be preferred aboue all dutieful works of charitie. Yea and it were not harde for vs to bringe forth some testimonies of the olde writers, that do manifestly ouerthrowe all those prayers for the dead, which then weare vsed. As this of Augustine, when he teacheth that all men loke for the resurrection of the flesh and the eternall glorie, and that euery man then receiueth the rest that followeth after death, if he be worthy when he dieth. And therefore he testifieth, that all the Godly do immediatly after death enioy the blessed rest as well as the Prophets, Apostles and martyrs. If their estate be such, what I beseeche you, shall our prayers auaille them? I passe ouer the grosser superstitions, wherewith they haue bewitched the mindes of the simple: which yet are so innumerable and the most part so monstrous, that they can haue no honest collour to excuse them. Also I let passe those most filthy byings and sellings that they haue vsed, while the worlde was in such grosse senselesse ignorance. For both I shoulde neuer make an ende, and also the readers shall without any rehearfall of them, haue here sufficient, wher-vpon they may stablish their consciences.

Hom.in
Ioan.
456.

The vj. Chapter.

Of the life of a Christian man: And first by what argumentes the Scripture exhorteth vs thereunto.

WE haue already said, that the marke whereunto regeneration tendeth, is that in the life of the faithfull there should appeare an agreement and consent betwene the righteousness of God and their obedience: and that so they should confirme the adoption, whereby they are receiued to be children. But although his lawe containe in it selfe that newnesse, whereby the image of God is restored in vs, yet because our dulnesse hath neede both of many prickings forward and helpes, therefore it shalbe profitable to gather out of diuerse places of the Scripture an order of framing of life, that they that haue a desirous minde of amendement, may not wander out of the way in their endeauour. Now when I take vpon me the framing of a Christian mans life, I am not ignorant that I entre into a manifold and plentuous argument, and such as may with the greatnesse thereof fill a long volume, if I wold absolutely entreate of it in all pointes. For we se into what great length are stretched the exhortatorie orations of olde writers, made onely euery one of one seuerall vertue. And that is not done with too much idle babbling. For what so euer vertue a mā purpose to set

out in oration, the stile runneth of it selfe into such largenes with plentie of matter, that a man can not seme to haue discoursed well of it, vnlesse he haue spoken much. But my mind is not to stretche so far the institution of life, which I promise to teache, as peculiarly to go through every speciall vertue, and wander abroad into exhortations. Let such thinges be fetched out of other mens writings, and specially out of the Homelies of the olde fathers. It shalbe enough for me to shewe an orderly trade, wherby a godly man may be guided to a right marke of framing his life, and shortly to apoint out a certain vniuersall rule, by which he may well trie what be his duties. There shall peradventure at some other season be a fit time to make declamations, or I will leaue that to other, which I my selfe am not mete to do. I do naturally loue shortnesse, and peradventure if I would speake more at large, it woulde not frame well with me. And if a longer manner of teaching were neuer so much pleasing, yet I would scarce haue minde to put it in prose. But the course of this present worke requireth to knit vp a simple doctrine with as great shortnesse as I may. As the Phylosophers haue their certaine endes of right and honestie, from which they deriue particular duties and all the companie of vertues: so the Scripture is not without her order in this matter: but holdeth a most goodly well ordred disposition, and much more certaine than all the Phylosophers orders. This only is the difference, that they (as they were vaine glorious men) haue diligently endeououred to attaine an exquisite plainnesse of order, to shewe fourth the ready aptnesse of their witte. But the Spirit of God, because he taught without curious affectation, hath not so exactly nor continually kept an orderly trade: which yet when he sometime vseth, he doth sufficiently declare, that it is not to be neglected of vs.

2 This instruction that the Scripture teacheth, whereof we now speake, standeth chiefly vpon two partes. The first, that there be poured and brought into our mindes a loue of righteousness, to which otherwise we are of nature nothing inclined. The seconde, that there be a rule set out vnto vs, that may not suffer vs to go out of the way in following righteousness. In commendation of righteousness it hath both very many and very good reasons: of which we haue herebefore in diuerse places spoken of some, and other some we shall in this place briefly touch. At what foundation may it better beginne, than when it putteth vs in minde that we must be holy, because our God is holy? For when we were scattered abroad like straying shepe, and disperfed abroad in the maze of the world, he gathered vs together againe, to ioine vs in one flocke with him selfe. When we heare men-
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tion made of our ioining with God, let vs remember that holinesse must be the bonde thereof. Not that by the merite of holinesse we come into common with him: (where as rather we must first cleaue vnto him, that beying endued with his holinesse, we may followe whether he calleth) but because it greatly pertaineth to his glorie, that he haue no fellowship with wickednesse and vncleannesse. Therefore also it teacheth, that this is the ende of our calling, which we ought alway to haue respect vnto, if we will answere God that calleth vs. For to what purpose was it, that we should be drawn out of the wickednesse and filthenesse of the world, if we geue our selues leaue all our life long to wallowe in them still? Moreouer it also admonisheth vs, that to the ende we may be reckened among the people of God, we must dwell in the holy citie Hierusalem. Which as he hath halowed to him selfe, so is it vnlawefull that it be vnholily profaned by the vncleannesse of the inhabitantes. From hence came these sayings, that they shall haue a place in the tabernacle of God that walke without spot, and studie to followe righteousness. &c. Because it is not meete that the Sanctuarie whereon he dwelleth, shoulde be like a stable full of filthinesse.

Psa. 35.
8.
Psa. 15.
2. 3c 23.

3 And the better to awake vs, it sheweth that God the father, as he hath ioined vs to him selfe in his Christ, so hath printed an image for vs in him, after which he would haue vs to be fashioned. Now let them finde me a better order among the Phylosophers, that thinke that the philosophie concerning manners, is in them onely orderly framed. They when they will excellently well exhorte vs to vertue, bring nothing els but that we should liue agreeably to nature. But the Scripture bringeth here exhortation from the true wellspringe, when it not onely teacheth vs to referre our life to God, the authour of it, to whom it is bonde: but also when she hath taught that we are swarued out of kinde from the true originall & state of our creation, she immediatly addeth, that Christ by whom we come againe into fauour with God, is set before vs for an example, that we should expresse the forme thereof in our life. What may a man require more effectually then this one thing? Ye what may a manne require more than this onely thing? For if the Lorde hath by adoption made vs children with this condition, that our life shoulde resemble Christ the bond of our adoption: if we do not geue and auowe our selues to righteousness, we do not onely with most wicked breach of allegiaunce depart from our creatour, but also we forswear him to be our sauour. Then the Scripture taketh matter of exhortation out of all the benefites of God, which she reherseth vnto vs, & all the partes

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Mala. 1. of our saluation. And sheweth that sith God hath shewed himselfe a
 6. father vnto vs, we are worthy to be cōdemned of extreme vnthanke-
 fulnesse, if we do not likewise in our behalfe shewe our selues chil-
 Ephes. dren vnto him. Sith Christ hath cleansed vs with the washing of his
 5. 1. blood, and hath made vs partakers of this cleansing by baptisme, it
 1. Iohn. is not semely that we shoulde be spotted with newe filthinesse. Sith
 3. 1. he hath graffed vs into his body, we must carefully take hede that
 Ephes. we sprinkle not any spot or blot vpon vs that are his members. Sith
 15. he him selfe that is our head, is ascended into heauen, it behoueth
 Heb. 10 vs that laying away earthly affection, we do with all our heart aspire
 1. Cor. to heauenward: Sith the holy Ghost hath dedicated vs temples to
 6. God, we must endeuour that Gods glorie may be honorably set out
 1. Cor. by vs, and must not do any thing wherby we may be prophaned with
 6. filthinesse of sinne: Sith both our soule and our body are ordeined
 13 1. Pet. 1. to heavenly incorruption and an vnperishing crowne, we must dili-
 1. Ioh. 15 gently trauaill, that the same may be kept pure and vncorrupted vnto
 3. the day of the Lorde. These (I say) be the best layed foundations to
 Ephes. 5. bilde a mans life, and such as the like are not to be found among the
 Colo. 3. 1. Cor. 3. Philosophers, which in commendation of vertue do neuer climbe
 2. Cor. 6. aboute the naturall dignitie of man.

1. The 4 And here is a fit place to speake vnto them, that hauinge no-
 5. 15. thing but the title and badge of Christ, yet would be named Christiās.
 But with what face do they boast of his holy name: sith none haue
 any fellowship with Christ, but they that haue receiued a true know-
 Ephes. 4. ledge of him out of the worde of the Gospell? But the Apostle saith,
 that all they haue not rightly learned Christ, that are not taught that
 they must cast away the old man which is corrupted according to the
 desire of errour, and haue not put on Christ. Therefore it is proued
 that they falsly, yea and wrongfully pretēde the knowledge of Christ,
 although they can eloquently and roundely talke of the Gospell.
 For it is not a doctrine of tong, but of life: and is not conceiued as
 other learnings be, with onely vnderstanding and memorie, but is
 then onely receiued when it possesseth the whole soule, and findeth
 a seate and place to hold it in the most inward affection of the heart.
 Therefore either let them cesse, to the sclaunder of God, to boast of
 that which they are not, or let them shew themselues not vnworthy
 scholars for Christ their maister. We haue geuen the first place to the
 doctrine wherein our religion is contained, because our saluation be-
 ginneth at it: but the same must be poured into our hearre, and passe
 into our maners, yea and transforme vs into it, that it be not vnfrute-
 full vnto vs. If the Philosophers do iustly chafe against them, and do
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with shamefull reproche driue them from their companie, that professing an art that ought to be the scholemaitres of life, do turne it into a Sophisticall babbling: with how much better reason shall we detest these trifling Sophisters, that are contented to role the Gospell vpon the top of their tongues, the effectuall working whereof ought to pearce into the innermost affections of the heart, to rest in the soule, & to alter the whole man a hundred times more, than the colde exhortations of Philosophers?

5 Yet do I not require, that the maners of a Christian man sauour of nothing but the absolute Gospell: which neuerthelesse both were to be wished, and we must endeouour vs toward it. But I do not so seuerely require a Gospellike perfection, that I would not acknowledge him for a Christian that hath not yet attained vnto it. For so should all men be excluded from the Church, sith there is no man found that is not by a great space distant from it, and many haue hitherto but a litle way proceded toward it, who yet should be vniustly cast away. What thē? let that be set for the marke before our eyes, to which alone all our endeouour may be directed. Let that be apointed the goale for vs to runne and trauaile vnto. For it is not lawefull for thee so to make partition with God, to take vpon thee part of these thinges that are commaunded thee in his word, and to leaue part at thine owne choise. For first of all he euery where commendeth integritie as the chiefe part of worshipping him: by which word he meaneth a pure simplicitie of mind that is without all deceitful colour & faining: against which a double heart is set as cōtrarie: as if it should be said, that the beginning of liuing vprightly is spirituall, when the inward affection of the mind is without faining dedicate to God to obserue holinesse & righteousnes. But because no man in this earthly prison of the body hath so great strength to hast with such freshnesse of runninge, as he perfectly ought to do, and the greater number are so feble, that with staggering and haltinge, yea and creping vpon the ground, they auance but slowly forward: let vs euery one go according to the measure of his litle power, and procede on our iourney begon. No man shall go so vntowardly, but he shall euery day get some ground, though it be but litle. Therefore let vs not cesse to trauail so, that we may continually procede somewhat in the way of the Lord. And let vs not despeire vpon the sclendernesse of our going forward, for howsoeuer the successe aunswere not our desire, yet we haue not lost our laboure when this day passeth yesterday: so that with pure simplicitie we loke vnto our marke, and long toward the ende of our course, not soothingly flattering our selues, nor tenderly bearing with

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our owne euils, but with continuall endeouour trauailing to this, that we may still become better than our selues, till we attaine to goodnesse it selfe: which in deede we seke for and followe all our life long: but we shall then only attaine it, when being vnclothed of the weakenes of the flesh, we shalbe receiued into the full fellowship thereof.

The vij. Chapter.

The summe of a Christian life: where is entreated of the forsaking of our selues.

Rom.
12.1.

Albeit that the lawe of the Lorde haue a most aptly well disposed order to frame a mans life, yet it semed good to the heauely scholemaister to instruct men yet with a more exact trade to the same rule that he had set fourth in his law. And the beginning of that trade, is this: that it is the durie of the faithfull to yelde their bodies to God a liuing, holy and acceptable sacrifice vnto him: and that therein standeth the true worshipping of him. Herevpon is gathered occasion to exhorthe men, that they do not applie them selues to the fashion of this world, but be transformed in renewinge of their minde, that they may proue what the will of God is. Nowe this is a great thing, that we be consecrate and dedicate to God: that we should from thenceforth thinke, speake, imagine, or do nothing but to his glorie. For the thing that is consecrate, can not be applied to vnholly vses, without great wronge done vnto him. If we be not our own, but the Lordes, it appeareth what errour is to be auoided, and whereunto all the doinges of our life are to be directed. We are not our owne: therefore let neither our owne reason nor our owne will beare rule in our counselles and doinges. We are not our owne: therefore let vs not make this the ende for vs to tend vnto, to seke that which may be expediēt for vs according to the flesh. We are not our owne: therefore so much as we may, let vs forget our selues and all things that are our owne. On the other side, we are Gods: therefore let vs liue and dye to him. We are Gods: therefore let his wisdom and will gouerne all our doinges. We are Gods: therefore let all the partes of our life tend towarde him as their onely lawful end. Oh how much hath he profited, that hauing learned that himselfe is not his owne, hath taken frō him selfe the rule & gouernment of himselfe to geue it to God. For as this is y most strong working pestilence to destroy men, that they obey the selues: so it is the onely hauen of safetie, neither to knowe nor will any thing by him selfe, but onely to follow God going before him. Let this therefore be the first steppe, that man departe from himselfe, that he may apply
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Ro. 14.
2.

all the force of his wit to the obeying of the Lorde. Obeying I call not onely that which standeth in obedience of the worde, but that whereby the minde of man, voide from his owne sensualitie of flesh, bendeth it selfe wholly to the will of Gods spirit. Of this transformation (which Paule calleth renewing of the minde) where as it is the first entrie into life, all the Phylosophers were ignoraunt. For they make onely Reason the gouerneffe of man: they thinke she onely ought to be heard: finally to her onely they geue and assigne the rule of manners. But the Christian Phylosophie biddeth her to geue place, and to yeld and be subiect to the holy Ghost: so that man may not liue him selfe, but beare Christ liuing and reigning in him. Ephc. 4. 23. Galat. 10.

2 Herevpon followeth also this other point, that we seeke not the things that be our owne, but those things that be according to the will of the Lord, and that make to the aduancemēt of his glory. This is also a profe of great profiting, that in a manner forgetting our selues, and altogether leauing the regarde of our selues, we trauail to employ our study to God and his commaundements. For when the Scripture biddeth vs to leaue priuate regard of our selues, it doth not onely race out of our mindes the couetousnesse of hauing, the greedy seeking for power and fauour of men: but also rooteth out ambition and all desire of worldly glorie, and other more secrete pestilences. Truly a Christian man must be so fashioned and disposed, to thinke throughout all his life, that he hath to do with God. In this sort, as he shall examine all his doings by Gods will and iudgement: so he shall reuerently direct vnto him all y^e earnestly bent diligence of his minde. For he that hath learned to loke vpon God in all things that he hath to do, is therewithall turned a way from all vaine thoughtes. This is that forsaking of our selues, which Christ euen from their first beginning of instruction so earnestly gaue in charge to his Disciples: which when it ones hath gotten possession in the heart leaueth no place at all, first neither for pride, nor disdainfulnes, nor vain glorious boasting, then neither for couetise, nor filthy lust, nor riotousnesse, nor deintinesse, nor for other euils that are engēdred of the loue of our selues. Contrariwise whersoever it reigneth not, there either most filthy vices do range without shame, or if there be any spice of vertue, it is corrupted with peruerse desire of glory. For shew me a man, if thou canst, that vnles he haue forsaken him selfe according to y^e cōmaundement of the Lord, will of his owne free will vse goodnesse among men. For all they that haue not ben possessed with this feling, if they haue followed vertue, they haue done it at y^e least for praises sake. And all y^e Phylosophers that euer most of all affirmed that vertue wasto

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be desired for it selves sake, were puffed vp with so great pride, that it appeared that they desired vertue for no other thinge, but that they might haue matter to be proude vpon. But God is so nothing at all delited, neither with those gapers for the peoples breath, nor with these swelling beastes, that he pronounceth that they haue already receiued their rewarde in the world, and maketh harlottes and Publicanes nerer to the kingdome of heauen, than them. And yet we haue not throughly declared with how many and how great stoppes man is hindred from that which is right, so long as he hath nor forsaken him selfe. For it was truely said in time past, that there is a world of vices hidden in the soule of man. And thou canst finde no other remedies, but denying thy selfe, and leauing regarde of thy selfe, to bende thy minde to seeke those thinges that the Lorde requireth of thee, and to seke them therefore onely because they please him.

Tit 2.
12.

3 In an other place the same Paule doth more plainly, although shortly, go through all the partes of a well ordred life, saying: The grace of God that bringeth saluation vnto all men, hath appeared and teacheth vs, that we should denie all vngodlinesse, and worldly lustes, and that we should liue sobre minded, righteously and Godly in this present worlde, loking for the blessed hope and glorious appearing of the mighty God, and of our saviour Iesus Christ, which gaue him selfe for vs to redeme vs from all vnrighteousnesse, and to purge vs a peculiar people vnto him selfe feruently geuen vnto good works. For after that he hath set forth the grace of God to encourage them, to make redy the way for vs to worshippe God, he taketh away two stoppes that do most hinder vs, that is to say, Vngodlinesse, wherunto we are naturally to much enclined, and Worldly desires, which extende further. And vnder the name of vngodlinesse, he not onely meaneth superstitions, but also comprehendeth all that disagreeeth with the earnest feare of God. And worldly lustes are in effect as much as the affections of the flesh. Therefore he commaundeth vs in respect of both the tables of the lawe, to put of our owne wit, and to forsake all that our owne reason and will informeth vs. And all the doinges of our life he bringeth into three partes, sobrietie, righteousness, and godlinesse: of the which sobrietie without doubt signifieth as well chastitie and temperaunce, as a pure and measurably sparing vse of temporall things, and a patient sufferance of pouertie. Righteousnesse conteineth all the duties of equitie, to geue euery man his owne. The thirde is Godlinesse, that seuereth vs from the defilinges of the world, & with true holinesse ioineth vs to God. These things, when they be knit together with an vnseparable knot, make a full perfect-

perfection. But for as much as nothing is more hard, than forsaking the reason of the flesh, yea subduinge and renouncing her desires, to geue our selues to God and our brethren, and to studie for an angel-like life in the filthy state of this earth: therefore Paule, to loose our mindes from all cares, calleth vs back to the hope of blessed immortallitie, admonishing vs not to strue in vaine: because as Christ hath ones appeared the redemer, so at his last comming, he shall shew the frute of the saluation that he hath purchased. And thus he driueth away the enticementes that blinde vs, and make vs not to aspire as we ought to the heavenly glorie: yea and he teacheth that we must trauaill as men being from home in this worlde, that the heavenly inheritaunce be not lost or fall away from vs.

4 Nowe in these wordes we perceiue, that the forsaking of our selues hath partly respect to men, and partly, yea chiefly to God. For where as the scripture biddeth vs so to behaue our selues with men, that we preferre them before vs in honour, that we faithfully employ our selues wholly to procure their commodities: therefore it greueth such commaundements as our minde is not able to receiue, but first being made voide of naturall sense. For (with such blindness we runne all into loue of our selues) every man thinketh him selfe to haue a iust cause to aduaunce him selfe, and to despise all other in comparison of him selfe. If God haue geuen vs any good gift, by and by bearing our selues bold therof we lift vp our courage, & not only swel, but in a maner burst with pride. The vices wherewith we abound, we do both diligently hide from other, and to our selues we flatteringly faine them light and slender, and sometime embrace them for vertues. And if the same good giftes, which we praise in our selues, or better do appeare in other, least we shoulde be compelled to geue place to them, we do with our enuiousnesse deface them and finde fault with them. If there be any faultes in them, we are not contented seuerely and sharply to marke it, but we also odiously amplifie it. Herevpon groweth that insolence, that euery one of vs, as though he were priuiledged from the common estate, would be hier than the rest, and carelessly and proudly set light by euery man, or despise them as inferiours. The poore yeld to the rich, base people to gentlemen, seruantes to their maisters, vnlearned to the learned: but there is no man that doth not nourishe within himselfe some opinion of excellencie. So euery man in flattering himselfe, beareth a certaine kingdome in his brest. For presumptuously taking vpon them somewhat whereby to please themselves, they iudge vpon the wittes and manners of other men. But if they come to contention, there bur-

Rom. 13
20.
Phil. 2.
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steeth out their poison. For many do make a shewe of great mekenesse, so longe as they finde all things gentle and louely : but howe many a one is there that kepeth that continuall course of modestie, when he is pricked and stirred to anger? And there is no remedie hereof, but that the most hurtfull pestilence of loue, of soueraingtie and selfe loue be rooted out of the bottome of their heartes, as it is rooted out by the doctrine of the Scripture. For there we are so taught, that we must remember that the good giftes that God hath geuen vs, are not our owne good things, but the free giftes of God, whereof if any be proude, they bewraye their owne vnthankesfulnesse. Who maketh thee to excell? Paule saith, if thou hast receiued all things, why dost thou boast as if they were not geuen thee? Then, that we must with continuall reknowledging of our faultes, call our selues back to humilitie. So shall there remaine in vs nothing to be proude vpon, but there shalbe much matter to abace our selues. Againe, we are commaunded, whatsoeuer giftes of God we see in other men, so to reuerence and esteeme those gifts, that we also honour those menne in whom they be. For it were a great lewdnes for vs, to take from them that honour, the God hath vouchesaued to geue them. As for their faults, we are taught to winke at them, not to cherish them with flattering, but that we should not by reason of those faultes triumphe against them, to whome we ought to beare good will and honour. So shall it come to passe, that with what man so euer we haue to do, we shall behaue our selues not onely temperatly and modestly, but also gently and frendly. As a man shall neuer come any other way to true mekenesse, but if he haue a heart endued with abacing of himselfe, and reuerencing of other.

5 Nowe howe hard is it, for thee to do thy dutie in seeking the profit of thy neighbour? Thou shalt herin labour in vaine, vnlesse thou depart from regard of thy selfe, and in a manner put of thy selfe. For howe canst thou performe these things that Paule teacheth to be the workes of charitie, vnlesse thou forsake thy selfe, to geue thy selfe wholly to other? Charitie (saith he) is patient and gentle, not proude, not disdainfull, enuieth not, swelleth not, seeketh not her owne, is not angry, &c. If this one thing be required, that we seke not the things that are our owne, we shall do no small violence to nature, which so bendeth vs to the onely loue of our selues, that it doth not easily suffer vs negligently to passe ouer our selues & our owne things, to watch for other mens commodities, yea to depart with our owne right to resigne it to an other. But the Scripture, to leade vs thither as it were by the hand, warneth vs that what so euer gracious giftes

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1. Cor.
4. 7.

1. Cor.
13. 4.

we obtaine of the Lorde, they are committed vnto vs vpon this condition, that they should be bestowed to the common benefit of the Church: and that therefore the true vse of all Gods graces is a liberall and bountifull communicating of them to other. There can be no certaine rule, nor more forceable exhortatiō could be deuised for the kepinge of the same, than when we be taught that all the good giftes that we haue, are things of God deliuered, committed to our trust vpon this condition, that they shoulde be disposed to the benefit of our neighbours. But the Scripture goeth yet further, when it compareth them to the powers wherewith the members of mans body are endued. No mēber hath his power for himself, nor applieth it to his priuate vse: but poureth it abroad into the other membres of the same body, and taketh no profit therof, but such as proceedeth from the common commoditie of the whole body. So whatsoeuer a godly man is able to do, he ought to be able to do it for his brethren, in prouidinge none otherwise priuately for himselfe, but so that his minde be bent to the common edification of the Church. Let this therefore be our order for kindnesse and doing good: that whatsoeuer God hath bestowed vpon vs, whereby we may helpe our neighbour, we are the Bailies thereof, and bound to render accompt of the disposing of it. And that the onely right disposing is that which is tried by the rule of loue. So shall it come to passe, that we shall alway not only ioine the trauaill for other mens commoditie with the care of our owne profit, but also set it before the care of our owne. And that we should not happen to be ignorant that this is the true lawe of disposing all the giftes that we receiue of God, he hath in the olde time set the same lawe euen in the smalest giftes of his liberalitie. For he cō-
 maunded the first frutes of corne to be offred vnto him, by which
 the people might testifie that it was vnlawfull for them to take any
 frute of the goods that were not first consecrate to him. If the giftes
 of God be so onely then sanctified vnto vs, when we haue with our
 owne hande dedicate them to the authour thereof, it is euident that
 it is an vntrue abuse thereof that doth not sauour of such dedicatiō.
 But it shalbe vaine for thee to go about to enriche the Lorde with
 communicating to him of thy things. Therefore sith thy liberalitie
 can not extende vnto him, as the Prophet saith, thou must vse it
 toward his saintes that are in earth. Therefore almes are compared
 to holy oblations, that they may now be correspondent to these of
 the lawe.

Exo. 22.
29. and
23. 19.

Psa. 16.

3.
Heb. 13.
16.

6 But, y we should not be very w doing good (which otherwise must needes come quickly to passe) that other thing must be adioined

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1 Cor. 13. 4. which the Apostle speaketh of, that charitie is patient and not moued to anger. The Lorde commaundeth to do good to all vniuersally, of whom a great part are most vnworthy, if they be considered by their owne deseruing. But here y^e Scripture helpeth with a very good meane, when it teacheth that we must not haue respect what men deserue of themselves, but that the image of God is to be considered in all men, to which we owe all honour and loue. But the same is most diligently to be marked in them of the householde of faith, in so much as it is in them renewed and restored by the Spirite of Christ. Therefore Gala. 6. 10. whatsoeuer man thou light vpon, that needeth thy helpe, thou hast Esa. 53. 7. no cause to withdraw thy selfe from doing him good. If thou say that he is a stranger: but the Lorde hath geuen him a marke, that ought to be familiar vnto thee, by the reason that he forbiddeth thee to despise thine owne flesh. If thou say that he is base and nought worth: but the Lord sheweth him to be such a one, to whom he hath vouchesaue to geue the beautie of his image. If thou say that thou owest him nothing for any thing that he hath done for thee: but God hath set him as it were in his place, in respect of whom, thou knowest so many and so great benefites wherewith he hath bound thee vnto him. If thou say that he is vnworthy that thou shouldest labour any thing at all for his sake: but the image of God whereby he is commended to thee, is worthy that thou shouldest geue thy selfe & al that thou hast vnto it. But if he haue not only deserued no good at thy hande, but also prouoked thee with wronges and euell doings: euen this is no iuste cause why thou shouldest cesse both to loue him and to do for him the dutifull workes of loue. Thou wilt say, he hath far otherwise deserued of me. But what hath the Lorde deserued? Which when he commaundeth thee to forgeue all wherein he hath offended thee, truely he willeth the same to be imputed to himselfe. Luc. 17. 3. Truly, this is that only way to come to that which is viterly against the nature of man, much more is it hard for man. I meane, to loue Matt. 5. 44. them that hate vs, to recompense euell with doinge good, to render blessings for reproches: if we remember that we must not consider the malice of men, but loke vpon the image of God in them, which defacing and blotting out their faultes, doeth with the beautie and dignitie of it selfe allure vs to embrace it.

7 Therefore this Mortification shall then onely take place in vs, when we performe the duties of charitie. But it is not he that performeth them, that onely doeth all the dutifull workes of charitie, although he leaue none of them vndone, but he that doth them of a sincere affection of loue. For it may happen, that a man may fully per-
forme

forme to all menne all that he oweth, so much as concerneth outward duties: and yet he may be far from the true performing of it. For you may see some that would seeme very liberall, which yet do geue nothing but either with pride of lōke; or with churlishnesse of wordes they vpbraide it. And we be come to such wretchednesse in this vnhappy worlde, that almost no almes are geuen of any menne, or at least of the most parte of men, without reproching. Which peruerfnesse should not haue bene tolerable among the very heathen. For of Christians is somewhat more required than to shew a cherefulness in countenance, and make their doinges louely with gentleness of wordes. First they must take vpon them the personage of him whom they see to neede their helpe, and then so pitie their case, as if themselves did fele and suffer it: so that they may bee caried with feelinge of mercie and gentleness euen as they would be to helpe themselves. He that shall come so minded to helpe his brethren, will not onely not defile his doinges with any arrogante or vpbraydinge, but also neither will despise his brother to whom he doth good as one needing his helpe, nor treade him vnder foote as one bounde vnto him: no more than we vse to reproch a sicke member, for eating whereof the whole body laboreth, or to thinke it specially bounde to the other members, bycause it hath drawen more helpe vnto it than it hath recompensed. For it is thought that the common enterpartning of duties betwene members of one body, hath no free kinde of gifte, but rather that it is a payement of that which being due by the lawe of nature it were monstrous to denie. And by this reason it shall followe, that he may not thinke himselfe discharged that hath performed one kinde of duetie, as it is commonly vsed, that when a riche manne hath geuen any thinge of his owne, he leaueth other charges to other men, as not belonging to him. But rather euery manne shall thinke thus with himselfe, that he is altogether deeter to his neighbours, & that he must determine none other ende of vsing his liberalitie, but when abilitie faileth, which how large so euer it be, must be measured by the rule of charitie.

8 Now let vs more fully declare the principall parte of forsaking our selues, which we said to haue respect to God. We haue said much of it already, which it were superfluous to rehearse againe: it shalbe sufficient to entreate of it so far as it frameth vs to quietnesse of minde and sufferance. First therefore in seking the commoditie or quietnesse of this present life, the Scripture calleth vs hereunto, that resigning vs and our thinges to the Lords will, we should yeld vnto him the affectiōs of our heart to be tamed and subdued. To couet wealth

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and honors , to compasse authoritie , to heape vp riches , to gather together all such follies as serue for royaltie and pompe , our lust is outrageous, and our greedinesse infinite. On the other side of pouerty, ignobilitie, and base estate , we haue a maruellous feare and maruellous hatred , that moue vs to trauaile by all meanes to eschue them. Hereby a man may see , how vnquiet a minde they haue, how many shifts they attempt, with what studies they wery their life, that frame their life after their owne deuise : to attaine those things that their affection of ambition or couetousnesse requireth , and on the other side to escape pouertie and basenesse. Therefore the godly must kepe this way, that they be not entangled with such snares. First let them not either desire , or hope for , or thinke vpon any other meane of prospering, than by the blessing of the Lorde; and therefore let them safely and boldly rest themselues vpon it. For how so euer the flesh thinke it selfe sufficient of her selfe , when she either trauaileth by her owne diligence, or endeuoreth with her owne studie, or is holpen by the fauour of men, to the attaining of honour and wealth: yet it is certaine, that all these things are nothing, and that we shall nothing preuaile with wit or trauaile, but in so much as the Lorde shall prosper both. But on the other side his onely blessing findeth a way through all stoppes , to make all things procede with vs to a ioyfull and lucky ende. Then how soeuer we may most of all obtaine any glorie or wealth without it (as we daily see the wicked to get heapes of great honours and riches) yet for as much as they vpon whom resteth the curse, do fele no parcell of felicitie, we can obtaine nothing without his blessing that shall not turne vs to euell. And it is not at all to be coueted, that maketh men more miserable.

9 Therefore if we beleue that all the meane of prosperous successe and such as is to be wished , consisteth in the onely blessing of God , which being absent , all kindes of miserie and calamitie must happen vnto vs : this remaineth also , that we do not greedily endeavour to wealth and honours standing vpon our owne finesse of wit or diligence , nor leaning to the fauour of men , nor trusting vpon a vaine imagination of fortune , but that we alway looke vnto the Lorde, to be led by his guiding to what so euer he hath provided. So first it shall come to passe , that we shall not violently rush to the catching of riches and inuading of honours , by wronge , by guile and euell crafty meanes, or extortion with doing iniury to our neighbours , but shall onely followe those fortunes that may not leade vs from innocence. For who may hope for the helpe of Gods blessing among fraudes , extortions, and other suttile meanes of wickednesse?

For

For as Gods blessing followeth noman but him that thinketh purely, and doth rightly, so it calleth back all them of whom it is desired, from crooked thoughtes, and corrupt doings. Then we shalbe bridled that we burne not with inmeasurable desire of growing rich, nor ambitiously gape for honours. For with what face may a man trust to be holpen of God, to obtaine those thinges that he desireth against his worde? For God forbidde that God shoulde geue the helpe of his blessing to that which he curseth with his owne mouth. Last of all, if it succede not according to our wish and hope, yet we shalbe restrained from impatience, and from cursing our estate what soeuer it be: bycause we know that that is to murmur against God, at whose will richesse and pouertie, basenesse and honours are disposed. Brefely, he that resteth himselfe in such sorte as is a foresaid vpon the blessing of God, neither will by euell suitelties hunt for those thinges that menne are wont outragiously to couet, by which crafty meanes he thinketh that he shall nothing preuaile: nor if any thing happen prosperously will impute it to himselfe, and to his owne diligence endeouour or to fortune, but will assigne it to God the author. But if while other mens estates do flourish, he go but scenderly forward, yea or slide backward, yet he will beare his ill fortune with greater quietnesse and moderatiō of minde, than a prophane manne will beare a meanely good successe, which is not altogether so good as he desired: bycause he hath a comfort wherein he may more quietly rest, than vpon the hiest toppe of wealth and authoritie: bycause he accompteth that his thinges are ordered by God as is available for his saluation. So we see that Dauid was minded, and yeldeth himselfe to be ruled by God, he declareth himselfe to be like to a weined childe, and that he walketh not in high things or maruellous about himselfe.

Psa. 131.

10 And the godly mindes ought to haue that quietnesse and sufferance not onely consisting in this behalf: but also it must extend to all chaunces wherunto our present life is subiect. Therefore no man hath rightly forsaken himselfe, but he hath so resigned himselfe vpon wholly to the Lorde, that he suffreth all the partes of his life to be gouerned by his will. He that is so framed in minde, what so euer happen, will neither thinke himselfe miserable, nor will with enuiousnes against God complaine of his fortune. Howe necessary this affection is, shall hereby appeare; if you consider to howe many chaunces we be subiect. Diuerse kindes of diseases do trouble vs, sometime the pestilence cruelly reigneth, sometime we are sharply vexed with calamities of warre, sometime frost or haile deuouring the hope of the

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yere bringeth barrenesse, that driueth vs to dearch: somtime our wife, parentes, children or kinsfolkes are taken away by death, our house is consumed with fier: these be the thinges at chauncing whereof men curse their life, detest the day of their birth, haue heauen and light in execration, murmure against God, and (as they be eloquent in blasphemies) accuse him of vniustice and crueltie. But a faithfull manne must euen in these chaunces beholde the mercyfull kindenesse and fatherly tendernesse of God. Therefore whether he see his house destroyed, his kinsfolke slaine, yet he will not therefore cesse to praise God, but rather will turne himselfe to this thought: Yet the Grace of the Lorde that dwelleth in my house, will not leaue it desolate. Or if when his corne is blasted or bitten, or consumed with frostes, or beaten downe with haile, he see famine at hand, yet he will not despeir, nor speake hatefully of God, but will remaine in this confidence, We are yet in the Lordes protection, and shepe brought vp in his pastures: he therefore will finde vs foode euen in extremest barrenesse. Or if he bee troubled with sicknesse, euen then he will not be discouraged with bitternesse of sorrow, to burst out into impatience and quarell thus with God: but considering the righteousnesse and lenitie in Gods correction, he will call himselfe back to patience. Finally, what so euer shall happen, because he knoweth it ordeined by the hand of God, he will take it with a well pleased and thankefull minde, least he should stubbornly resist his authoritie, into whose power he hath yelded himselfe and all his. Therefore let that foolish and most miserable comfort of the Heathen be far from a Christian mans heart, which to strengthen their mindes against aduersities, did impute the same to fortune, with whom they compted it foolish to be angry, because she was blinde and vnaduised, that blindly wounded both the deseruing and vnderferuing For contrariwise this is the rule of godlinesse, that the onely hand of God is the iudge and gouernes of both fortunes, and that it runneth not forward with vnaduised sodeine rage, but with most orderly iustice dealeth among vs both good thinges and euell.

The viij. Chapter.

Of the bearinge of the crosse, vvhich is a part of the forsaking of our selues.

Mat. 16.
24.

BVt a Godly minde must yet climbe vp hier, euen to that wherunto Christ calleth his disciples, that euery one take vp his crosse. For all whom the Lorde hath chosen and vouchesaued to receiue into his companie, must prepare themselues to a hard,

hard, trauailesome and vnquiete life, and full of many and diuerſe kindes of incommodities. So it is the will of the heavenly father, to exercise them in such sorte, that he may haue a true prooffe of them that be his. Beginning at Christ, his first begotten sonne, he proceedeth with this order toward all his children. For whereas Christ was the best beloued sonne about the rest, & in whom the fathers minde was fully pleased, yet we see howe he was not tenderly and deintily handled: so that it may be truly sayd, that he was not only exercised with a perpetuall crosse so long as he dwelled in earth, but that all his life was nothing else but a kinde of continuall crosse. The Apostle sheweth the cause thereof to be, that it behoued that he shoulde learne obedience by those things that he suffered. Why then should we priuilege our selues from that estate, wherunto it behoued Christ our head to be subiect, specially sith he became subiect thereunto for our cause, to shew vs an example of patience in himselfe? Therefore the Apostle saith that this is the appointed end of al y childre of God, to be fashioned like vnto him. Whereupon also in hard & sharp chaunces, which are reckened aduersities and euils, ariseth a great comfort vnto vs, that we communicate with the sufferings of Christ: that as he entred out of a maze of all troubles into the heavenly glory, so we may be diuerſe tribulations be brought into the same glory. For so saith Paul himselfe, that when we learne the communicatinge of his afflictions, we do also conceiue the power of his resurrection: & when we are fashioned like vnto his death, we are so prepared to the fellowship of his glorious risinge againe. How much may this auaille to aswage all the painefulnesse of the crosse, that the more we are afflicted with aduersities, so much the more sure is our fellowshipe with Christ confirmed? by communicating whereof, our sufferings are not only made blessed vnto vs, but also do much help vs to the furtherance of our saluation.

Mat. 3.
17. & 17

Ro. 8. 2.

Act. 14.
12.
Philip. 3
10.

2 Beside that, our Lorde had no neede to take vpon him to beare the crosse, but to testifie & proue his obedience to his father: but we for diuerſe causes, haue neede to lead our life vnder a continual crosse. First (as we be naturally bent to attribute all thinges to our flesh) vnlesse our weakenes be shewed vs as it were before our eyes, we do easily esteeme our owne strength aboute due measure, & dout not that whatsoeuer happen, it will continue vnbroken and vnouercome against all harde assaults. Whereby we are caried into a foolishhe and vaine confidence of flesh, and then trusting thereupon, we stubbornly waxe proud against God himselfe, as though our own powers without his grace did suffice vs. This arrogancy he can no way bec-

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ter beate downe, than when he proueth vnto vs by experience, not only how feeble, but also how fraile we be. Therfore he afflicteth vs either with shame, or pouerty, or losse of children, or sicknesse, or other calamities; which we beinge vnable to beare in respect of our selues, do by and by sinke downe vnder them. Beinge so humbled we learne to call vpon his strength, which only maketh vs to stande vp-right vnder the heauy burden of afflictions. Yea the most holy, howe wel soeuer they know that they stand by the grace of God & not by their owne force, yet are too much assured of their owne strength & constancy, vnles by the triall of the crosse, he bring them into a more inward knowledge of themselues. The slouthfulnesse crept into Dauid: I sayd in my rest, I shall neuer be moued, Lorde, thou hadst stablished in thy good pleasure a strength to my hil, thou hiddest away thy face, I was stricken. For he confesseth that with sluggishnesse in prosperity his senses were dulled, that not regardinge the grace of God, vpon which he should haue hanged, he leaned vnto himselfe, to promise himselfe perpetuall continuance. If this chaunced to so great a Prophet; which of vs ought not to be fearefull, that we may be heedfull? Therefore whereas in prosperity they flatter themselves with opinion of a greater constancy and patience, when they are once humbled with aduersity, they learne that their former opinion was but hypocrisie. The faithfull (I say) beinge admonished by such examples of their diseases, do thereby profit to humility, that beinge vnclouthed of the wrongfull confidence of the flesh, they may resorte to y^e grace of God. And where they are once come to his grace, they feeles the presence of Gods strength, wherein is abundantly sufficient succour for them.

3 And this is it that Paul teacheth, that by troubles is engendred patience, by patience prooue. For whereas God hath promised y^e faithful that he will be present with the in troubles, they feeles the same to be true, when they stand patiently, being vpholde by his hand, which by their owne strength they were not able to do. Patience therefore bringeth a proufe by experience to y^e holy ones, that God when nede requireth, wil in dede performe the help that he hath promised. And thereby also their hope is confirmed: forasmuch as it were too much vnthankfulnesse not to looke for in time to come, the same trueth of God that they had already by experience proued to be constant and sure. We see nowe howe many good thinges do come vnto vs in one knot by the crosse. For, ouerthrowing the opinion that we falsly presume of our owne strength, & discloinge our hypocrisie that delieth vs, it shaketh away the hurtfull confidence of the flesh, and teacheth

vs being so humbled, to rest vpon God only, by which it commeth to passe, that we neither be oppressed nor fall downe. And after victory followeth hope, insomuch as the Lord in performing that which he hath promised, stablisheth the credit of his trueth for time to come. Truly, although there were no moe reasons but these, it appeareth how much the exercise of y^e crosse is necessary for vs. For it is a matter of no small importāce, to haue the blinde loue of thy selfe wiped away, that thou maist well know thine owne weakenes. To fele thine owne weakenesse, that thou maiest learne to distrust thy selfe: to distrust thy selfe, that thou maist remoue thy confidence from thy selfe vnto God: to rest with confidence of heart vpon God, that being vpholden by his help, thou maist cōtinue vnouercome to the last end: to stande fast by his grace, that thou maist vnderstand that he is true in his promises: to know by prooffe the truth of his promises, that thy hope may be strengthened therby.

4 The Lord hath also an other ende of afflictinge his, to trie their patience, and instruct vs to obedience. Not that they can vse any obedience toward him, other than the same that he giueth them: but so it pleaseth him by open examples to make approued by witnesses, & to set forth the graces that he hath bestowed vpon his holy ones, that they should not lie idly hidde within them. And therefore in bringing forth into open shew the strength of suffrance and constancy, wherewith he hath furnished his seruantes, it is sayd that he trieth their patience. And from hense came these sayings: that God tempted Abraham, & had prooffe of his godlinesse, by this that he refused not to offer vp in sacrifice his owne & only sonne. Therefore Peter teacheth, that our faith is so proued in troubles, as golde is tried in a fornace: And who can say that it is not expedient, that the most noble gift of patience, which a faithfull man hath receiued of his God, should be brought forth into vse, that it may be made certainly knowne and manifest? For otherwise men will not esteeme it as it is worthy. Now if God himselfe doth rightfully whē he ministreth matter to stirre vp the vertues that he hath giuen to his faithfull, that they should not lie hidden, yea lie vnprofitable and perish: then is there good reason of the afflictions of the holy ones, without which their paciēce should be nothing. I say also that by the crosse they are instructed to obedience, because they are so taught to liue not after their owne wish, but after the will of God. Truly if all things should flowe vnto them after their owne minde, they would not know what it were to follow God. And Seneca rehearseth that this was an olde Proverbe, when they exhorted any man to suffer aduersities, Followe God. By which

Ge. 22.1

1. Pe. 1.

7.

De vita

beata.

cap. 15.

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they declared, that then only men truely entred vnder the yoke of God, when he yelded his hand and backe to Gods correction. Now if it be most righteous, that we should shew our selues in all thinges obedient to the heauēly father, then we ought not to refuse, that he should by all meanes accustom vs to yeld obedience vnto him.

5 But yet we perceiue not how necessary this obedience is for vs, vnlesse we do also consider, howe wanton our flesh is to shake of the yoke of God, so soone as it hath bin but a litle while deintily and tenderly handeled. The same happeneth vnto it, that chaunceth to stubborne horses, which if they be a fewe dayes pampred idley, they can not afterward for fearcenesse be tamed, neither do know their rider, to whose gouernment they somewhat before obeied. And this is continual in vs that God cōplaineth to haue bin in the people of Israell, Deu. 33
15 that being well fed and couered with fatnesse, we kicke against him that fed and nourished vs. The liberality of God should in dede haue allured vs to consider and loue his goodnesse, but forasmuch as our euill nature is such, that we are alway corrupted with his tender v-sage, it is more than necessary for vs, to be restrayned by some discipline, that we runne not outragiously into such a stubborne wantonnesse. So that we should not grow fierce with vnmeasurable abundance of riches, that we should not waxe proud being listd vp with honors, that we should not become insolent, being puffed vp with other good gifts, either of the soule, body or fortune, the lord himself, as he foreseeeth it to be expedient, preuenteth it, and with the remedy of the crosse subdueth & bridleth the fearcenesse of our flesh, & that diuerse wayes, so much as is healthfull for euery man. For all are not a like sicke of all one diseases, or do a like neede of hard healing. And thereupon is to be seene howe some are exercised with one kinde of crosse, and some with an other. But whereas the heavenly Phisician handeleth some more gently, & purgeth some with sharper remedies, when he meaneth to provide for the health of all: Yet he leaueth none free or vntouched, because he knoweth all without exception to be diseased.

6 Moreouer, the most mercifull father needeth not only to preuent our weakenesse, but many times to correct our passed offences. Therefore so oft as we be afflicted, the remembrance of our forepassed life ought by and by to entre into our minde: so without dout we shall finde that we haue done somewhat worthy of chastisement. Yet we ought not chiefly to grounde our exhortation to patience vpon the acknowledging of sinne. For the Scripture ministreth vs a farre better consideration, when it sayth, that the Lord correcteth vs with ad-
uersities,

1. Cor.
11.8.

uerſities, that we ſhould not be damned with this world. Therefore we ought euen in the very ſharpenes of tribulatiōs to acknowledge the kindenes & goodnes of our father toward vs, forasmuch as euen then he ceſſeth not to further our ſaluation. For he doth afflict, not to deſtroy or kill vs, but rather to deliuer vs from the damnation of the world. That thought ſhall leade vs to that, which the Scripture teacheth in an other place: My ſonne, reſuſe not y^e Lords correctiō. nor be weary when thou ſhalt be rebuked of him. For whom the Lord lo-
Prou. 3. 11.
 ueth, he correcteth, and embraceth him as a father doth his childe. When we know his rod to be the rod of a father, is it not our duety rather to ſhewe our ſelues obedient children and willinge to learne, than with obſtinacy to do like deſperate men, that are hardned with euill doinges? The Lord leſeth vs, vnleſſe he call vs backe by correction when we are fallen away from him: ſo that the author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrues rightly ſayth that we are baſtards, and not chil-
Heb. 12. 8.
 dren if we be out of correction. Therefore we are moſt ſloward, if we can not ſuffer him when he declareth his good will and the care that he hath for our ſaluation. This the Scripture teacheth to be the difference betwene the vnbeleuers and the faithfull, that the vnbeleuers as the bondſlaues of a rooted and hardned wickednes, are made the worſe & more obſtinate with whipping: the faithfull, like children hauing an honeſt freedome of nature, do thereby profit to repentance. Now muſt thou chooſe of whether number thou wilt be. But becauſe I haue ſpoken of this matter in an other place, I am content to touch it briefly, and ſo will make an end.

7 Morouer it is a ſingular comfort, whē we ſuffer perſecution for righteousnes. For then we ought to thinke, how great an honor God vouchſaueth to graunt vs, that he ſo garniſheth vs with the peculiar marke of his ſouldiours. I meane that they ſuffer perſecution for righteousnes, not only that ſuffer for deſenſe of the Goſpell, but alſo that are troubled for any deſenſe of righteousnes. Whether therefore in maintaininge the trueth of God againſt the lies of Sathan, or in raking in hande the deſenſe of good men and innocentes againſt the wrongs of the wicked, we be driuen to runne into the diſpleaſure & hatred of the worlde, whereby our life or goods, or eſtimation may come in daunger: let it not be grienous or lothſome vnto vs to employ our ſelues for God, or let vs not thinke our ſelues miſerable in thoſe things in which he hath with his owne mouth pronounced vs bleſſed. Pouerty in dede, if it be conſidered in it ſelfe, is miſerable: Matt. 5.
 likewise baniſhment, contemptuous eſtate, priſonment, ſhame: Finally, 10.
 death is the vitermoſt of all calamities. But when the fauour of our

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God breatheth vpon vs, there is none of all these things, but it turneth to our felicity. Therefore let vs rather be content with the testimony of Christ, than with the false estimation of the flesh. So shall it come to passe, that we shall reioise as the Apostles did, whē God shal accompt vs worthy to suffer reproch for his name. For why? If we being innocent, & knowinge our selues cleare in our conscience, are by the naughty dealinge of wicked men spoiled of our goods: we are indeede brought to pouerity therby among mē, but so richesse do truely grow vnto vs in heauen before God. If we be thrust out of our houses, we are the more inwardly receiued into the household of God. If we be vexed & despised, we take so much the deeper rootes in Christ. If we be noted with reproches & shame, we are insomuch the more honorable place in the kingdom of God. If we be slaine, so is the entry made open for vs vnto blessed life. Let vs be ashamed to esteeme lesse these things, vpon which the Lord hath set so greate a price, thā shadowish and fickle enticing pleasures of present life.

8. Sith therefore the Scripture doth with these & like admonitiōs giue sufficient comfort for the shames or calamities, that we suffer for defense of righteousnes, we are too much vnthankfull if we do not gladly and cherefully receiue them at the Loods hande: specially sith this is the kinde of crosse, most properly belonging to the faithfull, whereby Christ will be glorified in vs. As also Peter teacheth. But it is more grieuous to gentle natures to suffer shame than a hundred deathes: therefore Paul expressly admonisheth that we shall not only suffer persecutions, but also reproches, because we trust in the liuinge God. As in an other place he teacheth vs after his example to walke through sclaunder and good reporte. Yet there is not required of vs such a cherefulness as may take away all feeling of bitterness and sorrow, or else the patience of the holy ones in the crosse were no paciēce, vnles they should be both tormēted with sorrow & vexed with griefe. If there were no hardines in pouerity, no paine in sickenes, no griefe in shame, no horror in death, what valiantnes or temperance were it to beare thē indifferently? But when every one of these doth with the naturall bitterness therof bite the hearts of vs all, herin doth the valiantnes of a faithful man shew it selfe, if being assayed with the feeling of such bitterness, how grievously soeuer he be troubled with it, yet with valiantly resisting he ouercommeth it, his patience vttereth it selfe herein, if being sharply prouoked, he is yet so bridled with the feare of God, that he bursteth not out into any distemper. His cherefulness appeareth herin, if being wounded with sadness and sorrow, he resteth vpon the spiritual comfort of God.

9 This conflict, which the faithfull do sustaine against the natural feeling of sorrow, while they study for patience & temperance, Paul ^{1. Cor. 4} hath very well described in these words. We are put to distresse in all ^{8.} things, but we are not made sorrowfull: we labour, but we are not left destitute: we suffer persecution, but we are not forsaken in it: we are throwen downe, but we perish not. You see how to beare the crosse patiently, is not to be altogether astonished and without all feeling of sorrowe. As the Stoikes in olde time did foolishly describe a valiant harted man, to be such a one as putting of al nature of man, was a like moued in prosperity and in aduersity, in sorrowfull and ioyfull state; yea such a one as like a stone was moued with nothinge. And what haue they profited with this hie wisdom? Forsooth they haue painted out such an image of wisdom as neuer was found, & neuer can hereafter be amonge men: But rather while they coueted to haue to exact and precise a patience, they haue taken away all the vse of patience out of mans life. And at this day also amōg Christians there are new Stoikes, that reckon it a fault not only to grone and wepe, but also to be sad and carefull. But these strange conclusions do commonly proceede from idle men, which busying themselves rather in speculation than doing, can do nothing but brede vs such new founde doctrines. But we haue nothinge to do with that stony Philosophie, which our maister and Lord hath condemned not only by his word but also by his example. For he mourned and wept both at his owne and other mens aduersities. The worlde (sayth he) shall reioyse, but you shal ^{Ioh. 17.} mourne and wepe. And because no man should finde fault therwith, ^{20.} by his open proclamation, he hath pronounced them blessed that mourne. And no maruell. For if all weping be blamed, what shall we ^{Mat. 5.} iudge of y Lord himselfe, out of whose body dropped bloudy teares? ^{4.} If euery feare be noted of infidelity, what shall we iudge of that qua- ^{Luc. 22.} king feare, wherwith we read that he was not sclenderly stricken. If all ^{44.} sadnes be misliked, how shall we like this, that he confesseth his soule to be sad euen to the death?

10 This I thought good to speake to this end, to call godly mindes from despeire: that they should not therefore altogether forsake the study of patience, because they can not put of the natural affection of sorrow: which must needs happen to them, that make of patience a senselesse dulnes, and of a valiant and constant man, a stocke. For the Scripture giueth to the holy ones the praise of patience, when they are so troubled with hardnes of aduersities, that yet they be not overcome nor throwen downe with it: when they be so pricked with bitterness, that they be also delited with spirituall ioy: when they bes

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Ioh. 21.
10.

distressed with griefe, that yet they receiue courage againe beinge cheared with the comfort of God. Yet in the meane time that repugnancy abideth still in their heartes, that naturall sense eschueeth and dredeth those thinges that it knoweth to be against it: but the affection of godlines trauaileth euen through all those difficulties to the obeying of Gods wil. This repugnancy the Lord expressed when he sayd thus to Peter: When thou wast yong thou didst gird thy selfe & didst walke whether thou wouldest: But when thou art old, an other shall girde thee and leade thee whether thou shalt not be willinge. Neither is it likely that Peter, when the time came that he must glorifie God by his death, was drawn vnwillingly and resistinge vnto it. Else his martyrdom should haue but small praise. But howsoeuer he did with great cherefulnesse of heart obey the ordinance of God, yet because he had not put of the nature of mā, he was doubly strained with two sortes of wils. For when he did by himselfe consider the bloody death that he shoulde suffer, beinge stricken with horroure thereof, he would gladly haue escaped it. On the other side, when it came in his minde, that he was called vnto it by the commaundement of God, then conqueringe and treadinge downe feare, he gladly, yea and cherefully tooke it vpon him. This therefore we must endeavour if we will be the Disciples of Christ, that our mindes be inwardly filled with so great a reuerence & obedience to God, as may tame and subdue to his ordinaunce all contrary affections. So shall it come to passe, that with whatsoeuer kinde of crosse we be vexed, eue in the greatest anguishes of minde, we shall constantly keepe patience. For aduersities shall haue their sharpnes, wherwith we shalbe bitten: so when we are afflicted with sickenes, we shal both grone and be disquieted and desire health: so beinge pressed with pouerty, we shalbe pricked with the stings of carefules and sorrow: so shall we be stricken with griefe of shame, contempt and iniury: so shall we yelde due tears to nature at the buriall of our friendes: but this alway shalbe the conclusion, But the Lorde willed so. Therefore let vs follow his will. Yea euen in the midst of the prickings of sorow, in the midst of mourning and teares, this thought must needs come betwene, to encline our heart to take cherefully the very same thinges, by reason whereof it is so moued.

11 But forasmuch as we haue taken the chiefe cause of beariinge the crosse, out of the consideration of the will of God, we must in few wordes define what difference is betwene Philosophicall & Christian patience. Truly very few of the Philosophers climbed to so hie a reason, to vnderstand that the hande of God doth exercise vs by afflictions

tions,& to thinke that God is in this behalfe to be obeyed. But they bring no other reason, but because we must so do of necessity. What is this else, but to say that thou must yeelde vnto God, because thou shalt trauail in vaine to wraastle against him? For if we obey God, only because we so must of necessity: the if we might escape, we would cesse to obey. But the Scripture biddeth vs to consider a farre other thing in the will of God, that is to say, first iustice and equity, then the care of our saluation. These therefore be the Christian exhortations to patience, whether pouerty, or banishment, or prisonment, or shame, or sicknesse, or losse of parentes, or children, or any other like thing do grieue vs, we must thinke that none of these things doth happen, but by the will and prouidence of God, and that he doth nothing but by most iust order: For why? do not our innumerable and daily offences deserue to be chastised more sharply, & with more grievous correction, than such as the mercifull kindnesse of God layeth vpon vs? Is it not most great equity, that our flesh be tamed, & as it were made acquainted with the yoke, that she do not wantonly growe wilde accordinge to her nature? Is not the righteousnesse and trueth of God worthy, that we should take paine for it? But if there appeare an vndoubted righteousnes in our afflictions, we can not without vnrighteousnes either murmure or wraastle against it. We heare not now that colde songe: We must giue place, because we so must of necessity, but we heare a liuely lesſon & full of effectualnes: We must obey, because it is vnlawfull to resist: we must suffer patiently, because impatience is a stubbornnesse against the righteousnesse of God. But now, because that thinge only is worthy to be loued of vs, which we know to be to our safety and benefit, the good father doth this way also comfort vs, when he affirmeth that euen in this that he afflicteth vs with the crosse, he prouideth for our safety. But if it be certaine that troubles are healthfull for vs, why should we not receiue them with a thankful and well pleased minde? Therefore in patiently suffering them, we do not forceably yeelde to necessitie, but quietly agre to our owne benefite. These thoughtes (I say) do make that how much our mindes are griued in the crosse with naturall feelinge of bitternesse, so much they be cheared with spirituall gladnesse. Whereupon also followeth thankesgiuinge, which can not be without ioy. But if the praise of the Lord and thankesgiuing proceedeth of nothing but of a cherefull and ioyfull heart, and there is nothing that ought to interrupt the same praising of God and thankesgiuing in vs: hereby appeareth howe necessary it is that the bitternesse of the crosse be tempered with spirituall ioy.

BVt with whatsoeuer kinde of trouble we be distressed, we must alway looke to this ende, to vse our selues to the contempt of this present life, and thereby be stirred to the meditation of the life to come. For, because God knoweth well howe much we be by nature enclined to the beastly loue of this worlde, he vseth a most fitte meane to drawe vs backe, and to shake of our sluggishnesse, that we shoulde not sticke too fast in that loue. There is none of vs that desireth not to seeme to aspire & endeuour all their life long to heauenly immortality. For we are ashamed to excel brute beastes in nothinge: whose state shoulde be nothinge inferiour to ours, vnlesse there remayne to vs a hope of eternity after death. But if you examine the deuises, studies and doinges of euery manne, you shall finde nothing therein but earth. Hereupon groweth that senselesnesse, that our minde beinge daseled with vaine glisteringe of riches, power and honors, is so dulle that it can not see farre. Our heart also beinge possessed with couetousnesse, ambition and lust, is so weyed downe, that it can not rise vp higher. Finally all our soule entangled with enticementes of the flesh, seeketh her felicity in earth. The Lord, to remedy this euill, doth with continuall examples of miseries teach this of the vanity of this present life. Therfore that they shoulde not promise themselues in this life a sounde and quiet peace, he suffereth them to be many times disquieted and troubled either with warres, or vprores, or robberies, or other iniuries. That they shoulde not with too much greedinesse, gape for fraile and transitory riches, or rest in the riches that they already possesse, sometime with banishment, sometime with barrennesse of the earth, sometime with fire, sometime by other means he bringeth them to poerty, or at least holdeth them in measure. That they should not with too much ease take pleasure in the benefites of mariage, he either maketh them to be vexed with the frowardnes of their wiues, or plucketh them downe with ill children, or punisheth them with want of issue. But if in all these things he tenderly beareth with them, yet least they should either swell with foolish glory, or inmeasurably reioyse with vaine confidence, he doth by diseases & dangers set before their eyes, howe vnstable, and vanishinge be all the goods that are subiect to mortality. Then onely therefore we rightly profit in the discipline of the crosse when we learne that this life, when it is considered in it selfe, is vnquiet, troublesome and innumerable wayes miserable, and
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in no point fully blessed: & that all those that are reckoned the good things thereof are vncertaine, fickle, vaine, and corrupted with many evils mixed with them. And hereupon we do determine, that here is nothing to be sought or hoped for but strife: & that when we thinke of our crowne, then we must lift vp our eyes to heauen. For thus we must beleue. That our minde is neuer truly raised to the desire and meditation of the life to come, vnlesse it haue first conceiued a contempt of this present life.

2 For betwene these two there is no meane, the earth must either become vile in our sight, or holde vs bounde with intemperate loue of it. Therefore if we haue any care of eternitie, we must diligently endeour to louse our selues from these fetters. Now because this present life hath many flattering pleasures wherewith to allure vs, a great shewe of pleasauntnesse, grace, and sweetenesse, wherewith to delite vs: it is much behoueful for vs to be now and then called away, that we be not bewitched with such allurementes. For what, I pray you, would be done if we did here enioy a continuall concourse of good things and felicity, sith we can not with continual spurres of euils be sufficiently awaked to consider the misery thereof? Not onely the learned do know, but also the common people haue no Prouerbe more common than this, that mans life is like a smoke or shadow: and because they sawe it to be a thinge very profitable to be knowen, they haue set it out with many notable sentences. But there is nothinge that we do either more negligently consider, or lesse remember. For we go about all thinges, as though we would frame to our selues an immortality in earth. If there be a corps caried to buriall, or if we walke amonge graues, then, because there is an image of death before our eyes, I graunt we do maruelously well discourse like Philosophers vpon the vanity of this life. Albeit we do not that continually, for many times all these things do nothing moue vs. But when it happeneth, our Philosophie lasteth but a while, which so soone as we turne our backes, vanissheth away, and leaueth no steppe at all of remembrance behind it: finally it passeth away as a clapping of hands vpon a stage at any pleasaunt sight. And we forgettinge not onely death, but also that we be subiect to death, as though we had neuer heard any reporte thereof, fall to a carelesse assurednesse of earthly immortality. If any man in the meane time tel vs of the Prouerb, that man is a creature of a dayes continuance, we graunt it in deede: but so heedelesly, that still the thought of euerlasting continuance resteth in our minde. Who therefore can deny, that it is a great profit to vs all, not only to be admonished in wordes, but by all the examples

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of experience that may be to be conuincd of the miserable estate of earthly life: forasmuch as euen whē we are conuincd, we scarcely cesse to stand amased with peruerse and foolish admiration of it, as though it contained the vttermoſt end of good things. But if it be necessary that God instruct vs, it is our duty likewise on our behalues to harken to him when he calleth & awaketh our dulnesse, that despisinge the worlde we may with all our heartes endeouour to the meditation of the life to come.

3 But let the faithfull accuſtome themſelues to ſuch a deſpiſing of preſent life, as may neither engendre a hatred thereof, nor any vnthankfulnes toward God. For this life, howſoeuer it is ful of infinite miſeries, is yet worthily reckened among the not ſclender bleſſings of God. Therefore if we acknowledge no benefite of God in it, we are gilty of no ſmall vnthankfulneſſe toward God himſelfe. But ſpecially it ought to be to the faithfull a teſtimonie of Gods good will, forasmuch as it is wholly directed to the furtherance of their ſaluation. For before that he openly deliuer vnto vs the inheritance of eternall glory, his will is to ſhew himſelfe a Father vnto vs by ſmaller examples: and theſe be the benefites that are daily beſtowed vpon vs. Sith therefore this life ſerueth vs to vnderſtande the goodneſſe of God, ſhall we diſdaine it as though it had not a crumme of goodneſſe in it? We muſt therefore put on this feelinge and affection, to reckon it amonge the giſtes of goodneſſe that are not to be reſused. For though there wanted teſtimonies of Scripture, of which there are both many and moſt euident, very nature it ſelfe doth exhorte vs to giue thanks to the Lorde, for that he hath brought vs into the light of it, that he graunteth vs the uſe of it, that he giueth vs all neceſſary ſuccours for the preſeruation of it. And this is a much greater reaſon, if we conſider that we are in it after a certaine maner prepared to the glory of the heauenly kingdome. For ſo the Lorde hath ordained that they which in time to come ſhalbe crowned in heauen, muſt fight certaine battels in earth, that they ſhoulde not triumphe, till they had overcome the hard aduentures of the battell, and obained the victory. Then an other reaſon is, that we do by diuerſe benefites beginne therein to taſte the ſweeteneſſe of Gods liberality, that our hope and deſire ſhould be wherted to long for the reueling thereof. Whē this is determined, that it is a giſt of Gods clemency that we liue this earthly life, for which as we be bound vnto him, ſo we ought to be mindefull and thankful: then we ſhall in fit order come to conſider the moſt miſerable eſtate thereof, to this end that we may be deliuered from too much greedineſſe of it, whereunto as I haue before ſayd,

sayd, we are of our selues naturally enclined.

4 Nowe whatsoeuer is taken from the wrongfull desire of this life, ought to be added to the desire of a better life. I graunt in dede that they thought truely, that thought it best not to be borne, & the next, to die quickly. For what could they being destitute of the light of God and true religion, see therein but vnhappy & miserable? And they did not without reason, that mourned and wept at the birthes of their friendes, & solemnely reioysed at their burials, but they did it without profit, because being without the right doctrine of faith, they did not see howe that may turne to good to the godly, which is of it selfe neither blessed nor to be desired: and so they ended their iudgement with desperation. Let this therefore be the marke of the faithful in iudging of mortall life, that when they vnderstand it to be of it selfe nothing but misery, they may resort wholly the more freshly and readily to the eternal life to come. When we come to this cōparison, then this present life may not onely be safely neglected, but also vtterly despised and lothed in comparison of the other. For if heauen be our contrey, what is the earth else but a place of banishment? If the departing out of the world be an entring into life, what is the world but a graue? to abide in it, what is it else but to be drowned in death? If to be deliuered from the body is to be set in perfect liberty, what is the body else but a prison? If to enioy the presence of God is the hiest summe of felicity, is it not miserable to lacke it? But til we be escaped out of the world, we wander abroade frō the Lord. Therefore if the earthly life be compared with the heauenly life, doutlesse
 2. Cor. 5
 6. it ought to be despised & troden vnder foote. But it is neuer to be hated, but in respect that it holdeth vs in subiection to sinne, & yet that hatred is not properly to be layd vpon our life. But howsoeuer it be, yet we must be so moued either with wearinesse or hatred of it, that desiring the end of it, we may be also ready at the will of the Lord to abide in it: so that our wearines may be farre from al grudging & impatience. For it is like a place in battel array, wherein the Lorde hath placed vs, which we ought to kepe till he call vs away. Paule in deede
 Rom. 7.
 24. lamenteth his state that he is holden bond in the bondes of the body longer thā he wished, & sigheth with feruent desire of his redēption: neuertheles to obey the commaundement of the Lord, he professed himself ready to both, because he acknowledgeth himself to owe this
 Phil. 1.
 23. vnto God, to glorifie his name, either by death or life: and that it is in Gods hand to determine what is most expediēt for his glory. Therefore if we must liue & die to the Lord, let vs leaue to his will the time of our life & death: but so that we be still feruent in desire of death, and be con-

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tinually occupied in meditation therof, & despise this life in comparison of the immortality to come, and wish to forsake it when it shall please the Lord because of the bondage of sinne.

5 But this is most ruinous, that in steade of that desire of death, many that boast themselves to be Christians, are so afraid of it, that they tremble at every mention of it, as of a thing betokening vnluckely & vnhappy. Truly it is no marvell, if naturall sense in vs do quake for feare when we heare of the dissolving of vs. But this is in no wise tolerable, that there be not in a Christian mans breast the light of godlines, that shoulde with greater comfort overcome and suppress that feare, how great soeuer it be. For if we consider that this vntedfast, faulty, corruptible, fraile withering, & rottenne tabernacle of our body, is therefore dissolved, y it may afterward be restored again into a stedfast, perfect, vncorruptible & heavenly glory: shall not faith compell vs feruently to desire that which nature feareth? If we consider that by death we are called home out of banishment, to inhabite our contry, yea a heavenly contry, shal we obtaine no comfort thereby? But there is nothing that desireth not to abide continually. I graunt, and therefore I affirme, that we ought to looke vnto the immortality to come, where we may attaine a stedfast state that no where appeareth in earth. For Paul doth very well teach, that the faithfull ought to go cherefully to death: not because they would be vnclothed, but because they desire to be newly clothed. Shal brute beastes, yea & lifelss creatures, euen stocks & stones, knowing their present vanity, be earnestly bent to looking for the last day of the resurrection, that they may with the children of God be deliuered from vanity, & shal we that are endued with the light of wit, & aboue wit enlightened with the spirit of God, when it standeth vpon our being, not lift vp our mindes beyond this rottennes of earth? But it pertaineth not to my present purpose, nor to this place, to speake against this peruersnes. And in the beginning I haue already professed, that I woulde not here take vpon me the large handling of common places. I would counsel such fearefull mindes to read Cyprians booke of Mortality, vnlesse they were mete to be sent to the Philosophers, that they may beginne to be ashamed when they see the contempt of death that those do shew. But this let vs hold for certainly determined, that no man hath well profited in Christes schoole, but he that doth ioyfully looke for the day both of death & of the last resurrection. For both Paul describeth all y faithfull by this marke, & also it is common in the Scripture, to call vs thither as oft as it wil set forth a ground of perfect gladnes Reioise (saith the Lord) & lift vp your heads, for your redemption commeth nere

2. Cor.
5 1
Rom. 8.
19.

Tit 2.
12.
Luk. 22.
18.

at hand. Is it reasonable, I pray you, that the thing which he willed to be of so great force to raise vp ioy & cherefullnes in vs, should brede nothing but sorrow & discouragemēt? If it be so, why do we stil boast of him as our Schoolemaister? Let vs therefore get a sounder mind, & howsoeuer the blinde & senselesse desire of the flesh do striue against it, let vs not dout to wish for the comming of the Lord, not only with wishing, but also with groning & sighing, as a thing most happy of all other. For he shall come a redemer to vs, to draw vs out of this infinit gulfe of euils & miseries, and to leade vs into that blessed inheritance of his life and glory.

6 This is certainly true: all the nation of the faithfull, so long as they dwel in earth, must be as shepe appointed to slaughter, that they may be fashioned like Christ their head. Therefore they were in most lamentable case, vnlesse they had their minde raised vp into heauē, & surmounted all that is in the world, and passed ouer the present face of things. Contrariwise whē they haue once lifted their heades aboue all earthly things, although they see the wealth and honors of the wicked flourishing, if they see thē enioying quier peace, if they see thē proude in gorgiounes and sumptuousnesse of all things, if they see thē to flow in plentiful store of all delires, beside that if they be spoiled by their wickednesse, if they sustaine reprochful dealings at their pride, if they be robbed by their couetousnes, if they be vexed by any other outrage of theirs: they will easily vphold themselves in such aduersities. For that day shalbe before their eies, when the Lorde shall receiue his faithfull into the quiet of his kingdom, when he shal wipe all teares from their eies, when he shall clothe them with the robe of glory & gladnes, when he shall feede thē with y^e vnspeakeable sweetnesse of his deinties, when he shall aduance them to the fellowshippe of his hie estate: finally when he shall vouchsaue to enterparten his felicity with them. But these wicked once that haue florished in the earth, he shall throw into extreme shame, he shall change their delites into tormentes, their laughing and mirth into weping and gnashing of teeth, he shall disquiet their peace with terrible torment of conscience, he shall punish their deintinesse with vnquenchable fier, & shall put their heades in subiectiō to those godly mē, whose patience they haue abused. For this is righteousnesse (as Paule testifieth) to giue release to the miserable & to them that are vniustly afflicted, & to render affliction to the wicked that do afflict the godly, when the Lorde Iesus shal be reuealed from heauen. This truely is our onely comfort, which if it be taken away, we must of necessity either despaire, or flatteringly delite our selues with the vayne comfortes of the worlde to

Rom. 8.

36.

1. Cor.

15. 19.

Esa. 25.

18.

Reue. 7.

17.

1. The. 2

6.

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Plal. 73. our owne destruction. For euen the prophet confesseth that his feete staggered, when he taried too long vpon consideringe the present prosperity of the wicked: and that he could not otherwise stande stedfast, but when he entred into the sanctuary of God, and bended his eyes to the last end of the godly & the wicked. To conclude in one word, then only the crosse of Christ triumpheth in the hearts of the faithfull vpon the Deuill, flesh, sinne & the wicked, when our eyes are turned to the power of the resurrection.

The x. Chapter.

How we ought to vse this present life, and the helps thereof.

BY such introductions the Scripture doth also well informe vs what is the right vse of earthly benefites: which is a thinge not to be neglected in framing an order of life. For if we must liue, we must also vse the necessary helps of life: neither can we eschue euen those things that seeme rather to serue for delite than for necessity. Therefore we must keepe a measure, that we may vse them with a pure conscience, either for necessity or for delight. That measure the Lorde appointeth by his worde, when he teacheth that this life is to them that be his, a certaine iorney through a straunge cuntry, by which they trauaile toward the kingdome of heauen. If we must but passe through the earth, doubtlesse we ought so farre to vse the good thinges of the earth, as they may rather further than hinder our iourney. Therefore Paul doth not vnprofitably counsell vs so to vse this worlde, as though we vsed it not: and to bye possessions with such a minde as they vse to be solde. But because this place is slippery, and so slope on both sides, that it quickly maketh vs to fall, let vs labour to fasten our foote there, where we may stande safely. For there haue bin some, that otherwise were good and holy menne, which when they sawe intemperance and ryot continually to range with vnbridled lust, vnlesse it be sharply restrained, & were desirous to correct so great a mischiefe, they could find none other way, but suffred mā to vse the benefites of the earth, so far as necessity required. This was in dede a Godly counsell, but they were to seuer. For (which is a very perillous thinge) they did put streighter bondes vpon consciences, than those wherewith they were bound by the word of God. And they expounde necessity, to abstaine from all thinges which a man may be without. And so by their opiniō, a mā might scarcely take any more foode than bread & water. And some be yet more seuer: as it is red of Crates the Thebane, that did throwe his goods into the sea, because

because if they were not destroyed, he thought that he should be destroyed by them. Many at this day, while they seeke a pretence, whereby the intemperance of the flesh in vse of outwarde things may be excused, and while they go about to prepare a way for the flesh raging in wantonnes, do take that as a thing confessed, which I do not graunte them, that this libertie is not to be restrained with any limitation of measure, but that it is to be left to euery mans conscience to vse as much as he seeth to be lawfull for him. Truly I confesse, that consciences neither ought nor can in this point be bounde by certaine and precise formes of lawes. But for as much as the Scripture teacheth generall rules of lawfull vse, we must surely measure the vse according to these rules.

2 Let this be a principle: that the vse of Gods giftes swarue not out of the way, when it is referred to that ende, whereunto the authour him selfe hath created and appointed them for vs, for as much as he hath created them for our good and not for our hurt. Therefore no man can kepe a righter way, than he that shall diligently loke vnto this ende. Nowe if we consider to what ende he hath created meates, we shall finde that he meant to make prouision not onely for necessitie but also for delite and pleasure. So in apparell, beside necessitie he appointed an other ende, which is comelinesse and honestie. In herbes, trees, and frutes, beside diuerse profitable vies, there is also a pleasantnesse of sight, and swetenesse of smell. For if this were not true, the Prophet would not reckon among the benefites of God that wine maketh glad the heart of man, and that oyle maketh his face to shine: the Scripture would not echewhere, to set fourth his liberalitie, rehearse that he hath geuen all such things to men. And the very naturall qualities of things do sufficiently shew, to what ende and how far we may vse them. Shall the Lord haue set in floures so great a beutie, as presenteth it selfe to our eyes: shall he haue geuen so great a swetenesse of saueur as naturally floweth into our smelling: and shall it be vnlawfull either for our eyes to take the vse of that beutie, or for our smelling to feele that swetenesse of saueur? what? Hath he not so made difference of colours, that he hath made some more acceptable than other? what? Hath he not geuen to gold and siluer, to iuorie and marble, a speciall grace whereby they might be made more precious than other metalles or stones? Finally hath he not made many things commendable vnto vs without necessary vse?

3 Therefore away with that vnnaturall Philosophie, which in graunting vs of the creatures no vse but for necessitie, not onely doth niggardly bereue vs of the lawfull vse of Gods liberalitie, but also can

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not take place, vnlesse it first haue spoiled man of all his senses and made him a blocke. But on the other side we must with no lesse diligence prouide a stay for y^e lust of the flesh, which if it be not brought into order, ouerfloweth without measure: and it hath (as I haue said) defenders of it, which vnder pretense of allowed libertie do graunt vnto it all thinges. First there is one bridle put in the mouth of it, if this be determined, that all thinges are created for vs to this ende, that we should know the authour of them, and geue him thanks for his tender kindnesse toward vs. Where is thy thanks geuing, if thou so gluttonously fill thy selfe with deinty meates or with wine, that thou either be made senselesse, or vnfit to do the duties of godlinesse and of thy calling? Where is the reknowledging of God, if thy flesh by to great abundance boiling in filthy lust, doth with her vncleannesse infecte thy minde, that thou canst not see any thinge that is right or honest? In apparell, where is thankfulnessse to God, if with costly gorgiuousnesse thereof we both fall in admiration of our selues and disdaine other? If with the trimnesse and cleannesse of it, we prepare our selues to vnchastitie? Where is the reknowledging of God, if our minde be fixed vpon the gainesse of our apparell? For many so geue all their senses to bodely delites, that the minde lieth ouerwhelmed. Many are so delited with marble, gold, and paintings, that they become as it were menne made of marble, that they bee as it were turned into metalles, and bee like vnto painted Images. The smelle of the kitchen, or swetenesse of saour so dulleth some, that they can smell nothing that is spirituall. And the same is also to be seen in the rest. Therefore it is certaine that hereby the licenciousnesse of abusing is somewhat restrained, and that rule of Paule confirmed, that we be not to carefull of the flesh, for the lustes therof, to which if we graunt to much, they boile out aboue measure and temper.

Rom. 13
14.

4 But there is no surer nor redier way than that which is made vs by the contempt of this present life, and the meditation of heauenly immortalitie. For therupon follow two rules; the one, that they which vse this world, should be so minded as though they vsed it not, they that mary wiues as though they did not mary: they y^e bye as though they did not bye, as Paule teacheth. The other, that they should learne as well to beare pouertie, quietly and patiently, as abundance moderately. He that biddeth thee to vse this world as though thou didst not vse it, doth cut away not onely the intemperance of gluttonie in meat and d-inke, and to much deintinesse, sumptuousnesse, pride, hautinesse, and nicenesse, in fare, bilding, and apparell, but also all care and affection that may either withdrawe thee or hinder thee from

1. Cor.
7. 3.

from thinking of the heavenly life, or from study to garnish thy soule. But this was long ago truly said of Cato: that there is great carefullnesse of trimming our body, and great carelesnesse of vertue. And it is an olde prouerbe that they which are much busied in care of their body are commonly carelesse of their soule. Therefore, although the libertie of the faithfull in outward things is not to be restrained to a certain forme, yet truly it must be subiect to this law, to beare very little with their owne affections, but contrariwise still call vpon them selues with continually bent minde, to cut of all shew of superfluous plentie, much more to restraine ryotous excesse, and to take diligent hede, that they do not of helpes make to them selues hinderances.

5 The other rule shalbe, that they that haue but small and slender riches, may learne to lacke patiently, that they be not carefully moued with immeasurable desire of them: which paciēce they that kepe, haue not a litle profited in the Lords schole: as he that hath not at least somewhat profited in this behalfe, can scarcely haue any thing whereby to proue him selfe the scholar of Christ. For beside this that the most part of other vices do accompanie the desire of earthly thinges, he that beareth pouertie impatiently, doth for the most part bewray the contrarie disease in abundance. I meane hereby that he which wilbe ashamed of a poore cote, wilbe proude of a costly cote: he that will not be content with a hungry supper, will be disquieted with desire of a deintier, and would also intemperately abuse those deinties if he had them: he that hardly and vnquietly beareth a priuate and base state, will not abstaine from pride if he climbe to honors. Therefore let all them that haue an vnfained zeale of Godli-
 Phil. 4.
 12.
 nesse, endeouour to learne by the Apostles example, to be full and hungry, to haue store & suffer want. The Scripture hath also a third rule, whereby it tempereth the vse of earthly things, of which we haue spoken somewhat when we entreated of the preceptes of charitie. For the Scripture decreeth that all earthly things are so geuen vs by the bountifullnesse of God, and appointed for our commoditie, that they may be as things deliuered vs to kepe, wherof we must one day yeelde an accompt. We must therefore so dispose the, that this saying may continually sound in our eares, yeld an accompt of thy bailiweke. Therewithall let this also come in our minde. Who it is that asketh such an accompt, euen he that hath so much commended abstinēce, sobrietie, honest sparing, and modestie, and abhorreth riotous sumptuousnesse, pride, ostentation and vanitie, which alloweth no other disposing of goodes, but such as is ioined with charitie: which hath already with his owne mouth condemned all those delitefull things

that do withdrawe a mans minde from chastitie and cleannesse , or do dull his wit with darkenesse.

6 Last of all, this is to be noted, that the Lord biddeth euery one of vs in all the doings of his life , to haue an eye to his calling. For he knoweth with how great vnquietnesse mans wit boileth, with how skipping lightnesse it is caried hether and thether , howe greedy his ambition is to holde diuerse things at ones. Therefore that all things should not be confounded with our follie and rashnesse , he hath apointed to euerie man his duties in seuerall kindes of life. And that no man rashly runne beyond his bondes, he hath named all such kindes of lyfe, vocations. Therefore euery mans seuerall kinde of life is vnto him as it were his standing apointed him by God , that they should not all their life vncertainly wander about. And this diuision is so necessary , that all our doings are measured thereby in his sight, and oftentimes contrary to the iudgement of mans reason and Philosophie. There is no deede accompted more noble, euen among the Philosophers, than for a man to deliuer his contrie from tyrannie: but by the voice of Gods iudgement the priuate man is openly condemned that layeth hand vpon a tyrant. But I will not tarry vpon rehearsing of examples , It is sufficient if we knowe that the calling of the Lorde is in euery thing the beginning and fundation of well doing: to which he that doth not direct himselfe , shall neuer kepe a right way in his doings . He may paradventure sometime do somewhat seeming worthy of praise : but whatsoeuer that be in the sight of men, before the throne of God it shalbe reiected : moreouer there shalbe no conuenient agreement in the partes of his life . Therefore our life shall then be best framed, when it shalbe directed to this marke : For then, no man caried with his owne rashnesse will attempt more than his calling may beare , because he knoweth that it is not lawefull to passe beyond his bondes. He that shalbe a man of base estate , shall contentedly liue a priuate life , least he shoulde forsake the degree wherein God hath placed him. Againe this shalbe no small relese to cares, labors, greues, and other burdens, when a man shall know that in all these things , God is his guide. The more willingly the magistrate will execute his office: the housholder will bind him selfe to his dutie : euery man in his kinde of life will beare and passe through the discommodities, cares, tediousnesse, and anguishes thereof : when they are perswaded that euery mans burde is laid vpon him by God. Herevpon also shall growe singular comfort , for as much as there shalbe no worke so filthy and vile, (if it be such a one as thou obey thy calling in it) but it shineth & is most precious in the sight of God.

The xj. Chapter.

*Of the iustificacion of Faith, and first of the definition of the
name and of the thing.*

I Thinke I haue already sufficiently declared before, howe there remaineth for men being accursed by the lawe one onely helpe to recouer saluation: againe, what Faith is, and what benefites of God it bestoweth vpon man, and what fruites it bringeth fourth in him. The summe of all was this; that Christ is geue vs by the goodnesse of God, and conceived and possessed of vs by faith, by partaking of whome we receiue principally twoo graces: the first, that being reconciled to God by his innocencie, we may nowe in stede of a iudge haue a mercifull father in heauen: the second, that being sanctified by his Spirit, we may geue our selues to innocencie and purenesse of life. As for regeneration, which is the second grace, we haue already spoken of it as much as semed to be sufficient. The manner of iustification was therefore lesse touched, because it serued well for our purpose, first to vnderstande both how the Faith by which alone we receiue frely geuen righteousness by the mercie of God, is not idle from good workes: & also what be the good workes of the holy ones, wherevpon part of this question entreareth. Therefore they are first to be thoroughly discussed, and so discussed that we must remembre that this is the chiefe stay of vpholding religiō, that we may be the more carefull and hede full about it. For vnlesse thou first knowe, in what state thou art with God, and what his iudgement is of thee: as thou hast no ground to stablishe thy saluation, so hast thou also none to raise thy reuerēt feare toward God. But the necessitie of this knowledge shall better appere by knowledge it selfe.

2 But that we stumble not at the first entrie, (which we should do if we should entre disputation of a thing vnknownen) let vs first declare what is meant by these speches, Man to be iustified before God, To be iustified by faith or by workes. He is said to be iustified afore God, that is pronounced by the iudgement of God both iust and accepted for his owne righteousness sake. For as wickednesse is abhominable before God, so a sinner can not finde fauour in his eyes, in respect that he is a sinner, or so long as he is accompted such a one. Therefore wheresoeuer sinne is, there also appereth the wrath and vengeance of God. He is iustified that is not accompted in place of a sinner but of a iust man, and by reason thereof he standeth fast before the iudgement seate of God when all sinners fall. As if an innocēt be brought to be arained before the seate of a righteous iudge,

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when iudgement is geuen accordinge to his innocencie, he is saide to be iustified before the iudge: so he is iustified before God that being exempt out of the number of sinners hath God a witnesse and affirmer of his righteousness. Therefore after the same manner a man shalbe said to be iustified by workes, in whose life there is founde such cleanness and holynesse, as may deserue the testimonie of righteousness before y^e throne of God: or he that with the vprightnes of his workes is able to aunswere and satisfie Gods iudgement. Cōtrariwise he shalbe said to be iustified by faith that being excluded from the righteousness of workes, doth by faith take holde of the righteousness of Christ: wherewith when he is clothed, he appeareth in the sight God, not as a sinner, but as righteous. So we simply expound iustification to be an acceptation, whereby God receiuing vs into fauour taketh vs for righteous. And we say that the same consisteth in forgeuenesse of sinnes, and imputation of the righteousness of Christ.

3 For confirmation hereof there are many and euident testimonies of Scripture. First it can not be denied, that this is the proper and most vsed significatiō of the word. But because it is too long to gather all the places and compare them together, it shalbe enough to put the readers in minde of them, for they may of them selues easely marke them. But I will bring fourth some, where this iustification that we speake of is expressly entreated of by name. First where Luke sayeth that the people when they had heard Christ did iustifie God. And where Christ pronounceth that wisdom is iustified by her children: he doth not meane there, that they do geue righteousness, which alway remaineth perfect with God, although all the world go about to take it away from him: nor in this place also to make the doctrine of saluation righteous, which hath euer that of it selfe. But both these speches are as much in effect, as to geue to God and his doctrine the praise that they deserue. Againe whē Christ reprocheth the Pharisees, that they iustifie them selues, he doth not meane that they obtaine righteousness by well doing, but do vaine gloriously seke for the same of righteousness, whereof in deede they be void. They that are skilfull of the Hebrue tongue do better vnderstande the sense of this phrase: in which tongue they are not onely called wicked doers, that are guilty in their conscience of any wicked doing, but also they that come in daunger of iudgement of condemnation. For when Bersabe sayeth that she and Solomon shalbe wicked doers, she doth not therein acknowledge any offense, but complaineth that she and her son shalbe put to shame, to be numbred among the reprobate

Luc. 7.
21.
Luc. 7.
37.

Luc. 17.
25.

1. Reg. 1
21.

probate and condemned. But by the processe of the text it easely appeareth, that the same worde in Latine also, can not otherwise be taken but by way of relation, and not to signifie any qualitie. But as concerning the matter that we are nowe in hande with: where Paule saith that the Scripture did forsee, that God iustificieth the Gentiles by faith, what may a man vnderstande thereby, but that God doth impute righteousness by faith? Againe, when he saith that God iustificieth the wicked man that is of the faith of Christ, what meaning can be thereof, but by the benefit of faith to deliuer them from the damnation which their wickednesse deserued? And yet he speaketh more plainly in the conclusion, when he cried out thus, Who shall accuse Gods elect? It is God that iustificieth, who shall condemne? It is Christ that died, yea that rose againe, and nowe maketh intercession for vs. It is as much in effect as if he should say, Who shall accuse them whome God acquiteth? who shall condemne them whose patrone Christ is and defendeth them? To iustifie therefore is nothing els, than to acquite him that was accused, from guiltinesse as allowinge his innocencie. Sith therefore God doth iustifie vs by the intercession of Christ, he doth acquite vs, not by allowance of our owne innocency, but by imputation of righteousness, that we may be compted for righteous in Christ, which are not righteous in our selues. So in the 13. Chapter of the Actes, in Paules sermon: by him is forgeuenesse of sinnes preached vnto you, and euery one that beleueth in him is iustified from all those things, from which you could not be iustified in the lawe of Moses. You see that after forgeuenesse of sinnes, iustification is added in place of an exposition. You see plainly that it is taken for absolution, you see that it is taken away from the workes of the lawe. you see that it is the mere beneficiall gift of Christ, you see that it is receiued by faith. Finally you see that there is a satisfaction spoken of where he sayeth that we are iustified from sinnes by Christ. So when it is said that the Publicane came iustified out of the Temple, we can not say that he obtained righteousness by any deseruing of workes. This therefore is saide that after pardon of his sinnes obtained, he was compted for righteous before God. He was therefore righteous, not by approuinge of workes, but by Gods free absolution. Wherefore Ambrose sayeth very well, that calleth the confession of sinnes a lawefull iustification.

4 But to leaue strining about the word: If we loke vpon the thing it selfe as it is described vnto vs, there shall remaine no more doubt. For truely Paule doth expresse iustification by the name of acceptation, when he saith (Ephes. 1.2.5.) we are appointed vnto adoption

Gal. 3.8
Rom. 3.26.

Rom. 8.33-

Act. 13.38

Luc 18.14

In Psal. 118.
Homil. 12.

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by Christ, according to γ good pleasure of God, vnto the praise of his glorious fauour, whereby he hath accompted vs acceptable or in fauour. For the same is meant by it that is saide in an other place, that God doth freely iustifie. In the 4. Chapter to the Romaines, he first calleth it an imputation of righteousness, and sticketh not to say that it consisteth in forgeuenesse or sinnes. That man (saide he) is called of Dauid a blessed man, to whom God accōpteth or imputeth righteousness without workes, as it is written: Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven. &c. Truly he there doth entrate not of one part of iustification, but of all iustification wholly. And he testifieth that Dauid in that place maketh a definition of iustification, when he pronounceth that they are blessed to whom is geuen free forgeuenesse of sinnes. Whereby appereth that this righteousness whereof he speaketh, is in comparison simply set as contrary to guiltinesse. But for this purpose, that is γ best place where he teacheth, that this is the summe of the message of the Gospell, that we should be reconciled to God: because it is his will to receiue vs into fauour through Christ, in not imputing sinnes vnto vs. Let the reders diligently wey all the whole processe of the text. For by & by after, where he addeth by way of exposition, that Christ which was without sinne was made sinne for vs, to expresse the manner of reconciliation, doubtlesse he meaneth nothing els by the word recōciling but iustifying. And that which he saith in an other place, that we are made righteous by the obedience of Christ, could not stand together, vnlesse we be accompted righteous before God, in him, and without our selues.

5 But where as Osiander hath brought in, I wote not what monster of essentiall righteousness, whereby, although his will was not to destroy free righteousness, yet he hath wrapped it within such a mist, as darkeneth godly mindes, & bereueth them of the earnest feling of the grace of Christ: therefore ere I passe further to other thinges, it is worth γ labour to cōfute this doting errour. First this speculation is but of mere & hungry curiositie. He doth in deede heape together many testimonies of Scripture, to proue that Christ is one with vs, and we one with him, which nedeth no profe: but because he kepeth not this bonde of vnitie, he snareth him selfe. But we which holde that we are made all one with Christ by the power of his Spirit, may easily vndo all his knottes. He had conceived a certaine thing very neare to the opinion of Manichees, to desire to conuey the substance of God into men. Herevpon riseth an other inuention of his that Adam was fashioned after the Image of God, because euen before the fall Christ was ordained the paterne of the nature of man. But by cause I would

would be shorte, I will tarry vpon the matter that I haue presently in hande. He saith that we are one with Christ. We graunt. But we denie that the substance of Christ is mingled with oures. Moreouer we say that this principle that Christ is righteousness to vs, because he is an eternall God, the fountaine of righteousness & the very selfe righteousness of God, is wrongfully drawen to defende his deceites. The readers shall pardon me, if I do now but touche these things that the ordre of teaching requireth to be differred into an other place. But although he excuse himselfe from meaning nothing els by the name of essentiall righteousness, but to resist this opinion that we are accompted righteous for Christes sake: yet he plainly expresth that he is not contented with that righteousness that is purchased for vs by the obedience and sacrifice of Christ, but saith that we are substantially righteous in God, as well by substance as by quality poured into vs. For this is the reason why he so earnestly affirmeth, that not only Christ, but also y^e father & the holy Ghost do dwell in vs. Which although I graunt to be true, yet I say that he wrongfully wresteth it. For he should haue considered the manner of dwelling; that is, that the father and the holy Ghost are in Christ, and as the fulnesse of the Godhead dwelleth in him, so do we possesse whole God in him. Therefore all that he saith seuerally of the father & the holy Ghost, tēdeth to no other ende but to draw y^e simple from Christ. And then he thrusteth in a mixture of substances, whereby God pouring himselfe into vs, doth make vs as it were a part of himselfe. For he reckeneth it almost a matter of nothing, that it is wrought by the power of the holy Ghost, that we grow into one with Christ, & that he is our heade & we his membres, vnlesse his very substance be mingled with vs. But in the father & the holy Ghost (as I haue said) he doth more openly bewray what he thinketh, euē this, that we be iustified not by the only grace of the Mediator, and that righteousness is not simply or perfectly offered vs in his persone, but that we are made partakers of the righteousness of God, whē God is essentially made one with vs.

6 If he did say no more, but that Christ in iustifying vs, is by essentiall conioining made oures: and that not onely he is our heade, in that he is manne, but also that the substance of the diuine nature is powred into vs. He should with lesse hurte feede him selfe deintily, and peraduenture so great a contention should not haue bene raised for this doubtinge errour. But sith this beginning is like a cuttle that with casting out of blacke and thicke bloode hideth her many tailes, we must needes earnestly resiste vnlesse we will wittingly & willingly suffer that righteousness to be taken from vs, which only bringeth

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vs confidence to glory of saluation. For in all this discourse, the name of righteousness, and this worde iustifying, extende to two partes: that to be iustified is not onely to be reconciled to God with free pardon, but also to be made righteous, that righteousness is not a free imputation but a holinesse and vprightnesse, which the substance of God remaining in vs doth breath into vs. Then he stoutly denieth, that Christ is our righteousness in respect that being a priest he did with satisfactorily purging sinnes appease his father towarde vs, but in respect that he is eternall God and life. To proue that first point, that God doth iustifie not onely by forgeuing but also by regenerating, he asketh whether God doth leaue them whom he doth iustifie such as they were by nature, chaunging nothing of their vices. The aunswere hereof is very easy: that as Christ can not be torne in partes so these two things which we together and iointly receiue in him, that is to say righteousness and sanctification, are inseparable. Therefore, whomsoever God receiueth into fauour, he doth also therewithall geue them the spirit of adoption, by the power whereof he newly fashioneth them after his image. But if the brightnesse of the sunne can not be seuered from the heate thereof, shall we therefore say that the earth is warmed with the light, and enlightened with the heate? There is nothing more fit for this purpose, than this similitude. The sunne with his heate geueth life and frutesfulnesse to the earth, with his beames he geueth light and brightnesse. Here is a mutuall and vnseparable conioining: yet reason forbiddeth to conuey to the one that which is peculiar to the other. Like absurditie is in this confusion of two sortes of graces, that Osiander thrusteth in. For because God doth in deede renew them to the obseruing of righteousness whom he freely accompreth for righteous, therefore Osiander confoundeth that gift of regeneration with this free acceptation, and affirmeth that they be al one and the selfesame thing. But the Scripture joining them both together, yet doth distinctly reckon them, that the manifold grace of God may y better appere vnto vs. For that saying of Paule is not superfluous, that Christ was geuen vs vnto righteousness and sanctification. And whensoever he reasoneth to proue by the saluation purchaced for vs by the fatherly loue of God, and by the grace of Christ, that we are called to holinesse and cleannesse, he plainly declareth that it is one thing to be iustified and an other to be made newe creatures. But when Osiander cometh to the Scripture, he corrupteth as many places as he allegeth. Where Paule saith that faith is accompted for righteousness to him that worketh not, but beleueth in him that iustificeth the wicked man, he expoundeth it to

make

make righteous. With like rashnesse, he depraueth all the fourth Chapter to the Romans, and sticketh not with like false colour to corrupt that place which I euen now alleged, Who shall accuse the electes of God? it is God that iustificieth: where it is plaine that he speaketh simply of guiltinesse and acquiting, & the meaning of the Apostle hangeth vpon a comparing of cōtraries. Therefore Osiander is found too fond a babbler, as well in that reason as in alleging the testimonies of Scripture. And no more rightly doth he speake of the name of righteousness, in saying that faith was accompted to Abraham for righteousness, after that embracing Christ (which is the righteousness of God and God him selfe) he excelled in singular vertues, whereby appereth that of two whole places he hath wrongfully made one corrupt place. For the righteousness that is there mentioned, pertaineth not to the whole course of his calling: but rather the holy Ghost testifieth, that although the vertues of Abraham were singularly excellent, and that with long continuance he at length had encreased them: yet he did no other way please God, but by this, that he receiued by faith the grace offered in the promise. Wherevpon followeth, that in iustification there is no place for workes, as Paule very well affirmeth.

7 As for this that Osiander obiecteth, that the power of iustifying is not in faith of it selfe, but in respect that it receueth Christ, I willingly graūt it. For if faith did iustifie of it selfe, or by inward force, as they call it and as it is alway feble and vnperfect, could not worke iustification but in part, so should the iustification be maimed, that should geue vs but a peece of saluation. As for vs, we imagine no such thing, but in proper speaking do say, that God onely iustificieth: and then we geue the same to Christ, because he was geuē vs vnto righteousness: and faith we compare as it were to a vessell. For except we came emptie with open mouth of our soule to craue the grace of Christ, we can not be able to receiue Christ. Wherevpon we gather that we do not take from Christ the power of iustifying, when we teache that he is first receiued by faith, before that his righteousness be receiued. But yet I do not admit the crooked figures of this Sophister, when he saith that faith is Christ: as if an earthen pot were a treasure, because gold is hiddē in it. For the reason is not vnlike, but that faith although it be by it selfe of no worthines or price, may iustifie vs in bringing Christ, as a pot full of money maketh a man riche. Therefore I say that faith, which is onely the instrument to receiue righteousness, is vnfitly mingled with Christ, which is the materiall cause and both author and minister of so great a benefit. Nowe is this

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doubt also dissolued. Howe this worde Faith ought to be vnderstanded when we entreate of iustification.

8 In the receiuing of Christ he goth further: for he sayeth, that the inward worde is receiued by the ministratiō of the outwarde worde, thereby to drawe vs from the priesthode of Christ and the persone of the Mediatour to his outwarde Godhed. As for vs, we deuide not Christ, but we say that he is the same eternall worde of God, which reconciling vs to God in his flesh, gaue vs righteousness: and we confesse that otherwise he could not haue fulfilled the office of Mediatour, and purchaced vs righteousness, vnlesse he had bene eternall God. But this is Osianders doctrine, where as Christ is both God and man, that he was made righteousness to vs, in respect of his nature of Godhed, and not of manhode. But if this properly belong to the Godhed, then it shall not be peculiar to Christ, but common with the father and the holy Ghost, for as much as there is not one righteousness of the one, & an other of the other. Morouer that which was naturally from eternitie, could not be conueniently said to be made to vs. But although we graunt this, that God was made righteousness for vs: howe shall it agree that that which is set betwene, is made of God? Truly that properly belongeth to the persone of the Mediatour: which though he containe in him selfe the nature of Godhede, yet here he is specially signified by his proper title, by which he is seuerally discerned from the father and the holy Ghost. But he foolishly triumpheth in that one worde of Hieremie, where he promiserh that the Lord Iehoua shalbe our righteousness, but out of that he shall gather nothing, but that Christ which is righteousness, is God openly shewed in the flesh. In an other place

Iere. 15. we haue rehearsed out of Paules sermō, that God purchaced to himselfe the Church with his blood, if any man gather therevpon, that the blood wherewith sinnes were purged was diuine, and of the nature of Godhed, who can abide so fowle an error? But Osiander thinketh that with this so childishe a cauillation he hath gotten all things, he swelleth, he leapeth for ioy, and stuffeth many leaues full with his bigge wordes: when yet there is a plaine and redy solution for it in saying that the worde Iehoua in deede when he is made the issue of David shalbe the righteousness of the godly: But Esaye teacheth in what sense, saying: My iust seruant shall with knowledge of himselfe iustifie many. Let vs note that the father speaketh: that he geueth to the sonne the office of iustifying: he addeth a cause, for that he is iust, and setteth the manner or meane as they call it in the doctrine wherby Christ is known. For it is a more comodious exposition

Iere. 15.

Act. 20.
28.

I sa. 53.
13.

sition to take this worde *Daah* knowledge passiuely. Herevpon I gather first that Christ was made righteousness when he did put on the fourme of a seruauant: secondely that he did iustifie vs in respect that he shewed him selfe obedient to his father: and that therefore he doth not this for vs according to his nature of Godhed, but according to the office of dispensation committed vnto him. For although God alone is the fountaine of righteousness, & we be made righteous by no other meane but by the partaking of him: yet because we are by vnhappy disagreement estranged from his righteousness, we must needes come downe to this lower remedy, that Christ may iustifie vs with the force of his death and resurrection.

9 If he obiekt that this is a worke of such excellency, that it is aboue the nature of man, and therefore can not be ascribed but to the nature of God, the first I graunt: but in the second I say that he is vnwisely deceiued. For although Christ could neither cleanse our soules with his blood, nor appease his father with his sacrifice, nor acquite vs frō guiltinesse, nor do the office of priest, vnlesse he had bene true God, because the strength of the flesh had bene to weake for so great a burden: yet it is certain that he performed all these things according to his nature of manhod. For if it be demaunded how we be iustified, Paule answereth, by the obedience of Christ. But did he any otherwise obey than by taking vpon him the shape of a seruāt? wherevpon we gather that righteousness was geuē vs in his flesh. Likewise in the other wordes (which I maruell that Oslander is not ashamed to allege so often) he apointeth the fountaine of righteousness no where els but in the flesh of Christ. Him that knew no sinne he made sinne for vs, that we might be by righteousness of God in him. Oslander with full mouth aduanceth the righteousness of God, and triumpheth as though he had proued that it is his imaginatiue Ghost of essentiall righteousness: when the wordes sound far otherwise, that we be righteous by the cleansing made by Christ. Very yong beginners should not haue bene ignorant that the righteousness of God is taken for the righteousness that God alloweth, as in Iohn, where the glorie of God is compared with the glorie of men. I knowe that sometime it is called the righteousness of God, whereof God is the authour and which God geueth vs: but though I say nothing, the readers that haue their sound wit do perceiue that nothing els is meant in this place but that we stande vpright before the iudgement seate of God, being vpholden by the cleansing sacrifice of Christes death. And there is not so great importtance in the word, so that Oslander do agree with vs in this point that we are iustified in Christ, in this

Rom 5.
19.

Ioh. 10.

respect that he was made a propiciatorie sacrifice for vs, which can not agree with his nature of Godhed. After which sort, when Christ meaneth to seale the righteousness & saluation that he hath brought vs, he setteth before vs an assured pledge thereof in his flesh. He doth in deede call him selfe the lyuely bred, but expressing the manner here, he addeth that his flesh is verily meate, and his blood is verily drinke. Which manner of teaching is sene in the Sacramentes, which although they direct our faith to whole Christ, and not to halfe Christ, yet they do there withall teache that the matter of righteousness and saluation remaineth in his flesh: Not that in that that he is onely man, he either iustifieth or quickeneth of him selfe, but because it pleased God to shewe openly in the mediatour that which was hidden and incomprehensible in him selfe, whereupon I am wont to say, that Christ is as it were a fountaine set opē for vs, out of which we may drawe that which otherwise should without fruite ly hidden in that close and depe spring that riseth vp vnto vs in the persone of the Mediatour. In this manner & meaning, I do not deny that Christ as he is God and man doth iustifie vs, and that this is also the worke of the father & the holy Ghost as well as his. Finally, that the righteousness whereof Christ maketh vs partakers, is the eternall righteousness of the eternall God, so that he yelde to the sure and plaine reasons that I haue alledged.

10 Nowe that he shoulde not with his cauellations deceiue the vnskillfull, I graunt that we want this incomparable benefit, till Christ be made ours. Therefore we set that conioyning of the head and the membres, the dwelling of Christ in our heartes, and that mysticall vnion, in the hiest degree: that Christ being made ours, may make vs partakers of the giftes wherewith he is endued. Therefore we do not beholde him a far of out of our selues, that righteousness may be imputed vnto vs, but because we haue put on him, and are grafted into his body: finally because he hath vouchsafed to make vs one with him, therefore we glorie that we haue a fellowship of righteousness with him. So is Oslanders slaunderous cauillation confuted, where he saith that we compt faith righteousness, as though we spoiled Christ of his right, when we say that we come by faith empty to him, to geue rounge to his grace, that he onely may fil vs. But Oslander refusing this spirituall conioyning, enforceth a grosse mingling with the faithfull, and therefore he odiously calleth all them Zuinglians that subscribe not to his fantastickall error, concerning essentiall righteousness: because they do nor thinke that Christ is substantially eaten in the Lordes supper. As for me, I compt it a great glorie to be so reproched

proched of a proude man & geuen to his owne erros. Albeit he toucheth not me onely, but also other writers well knowen to the world, whom he ought to haue modestly reuerēced. It moueth me nothing, which meddle not with mine owne priuate cause: and so much the more sincerely I handle this cause, being free from all corrupt affection. Where as therefore he so importunately requireth essentiall righteousnesse, and the essentiall dwelling of Christ in vs, it tendeth to this ende: First that God should with a grosse mixture poure himself into vs, as he faineth a fleshly eating of Christ in y^e supper: secondly that God shoulde breath his righteousnesse into vs, whereby we may be really righteous with him: for by his opinion, this righteousnesse is as well God him selfe, as the goodnesse or holinesse, or purenesse of God. I will not spende much labour in wiping away the testimonies that he bringeth, which he wrongfully wresteth from the heauently life to this present state. Through Christ (sayth Peter) are ^{1. Pet. 1.} geue vs the precious & most great promises, that we should be made ^{4.} partakers of the nature of God: As though we weare nowe such as the Gospell promised that we shalbe at the last comming of Christ: yea Iohn telleth vs, that we shall then see God as he is, because we ^{1. Iohn. 3. 1.} shalbe like vnto him. Onely I thought good to geue a small tast to the readers, that I do of purpose passe ouer these trifles: not for that it is harde to confute them, but because I will not be tedious in a superfluous worke.

II But in the secōde point lurketh more poison, where he teacheth that we are righteous together with God. I thinke I haue already sufficiently proued, that although this doctrine were not so pestilent, yet because it is colde and frutelesse, & of it selfe so vaine that it melteth away, it ought worthely to be vsauorie to sound and godly Readers. But this is an intolerable wickednesse, vnder pretēse of double righteousnesse, to enfeble the earnest assuraunce of saluation, and to cary vs aboue the cloudes, that we should not embrace by faith the grace of propiciation, & call vpon God with quiet mindes. Osiander scorneth thē, that teach that this word Iustifying is a law terme: because, we must be righteous in deede. And he abhorreth nothinge more than so say, that we be iustified by free imputation. But, if God do not iustifie vs by acquiting and pardoning, what meaneth that saying of Paule, God was in Christ reconciling the world to him selfe, not im- ^{1. Cor. 5. 2.} puting to men their sinnes. For, him that had done no sinne, he made sinne for vs, that we might be the righteousnes of God in him. First I winne thus much, that they be iudged righteous that be reconciled to God. The manner howe is declared, for that God iustificeth

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by forgeuing: as in an other place iustification is set as contrary to accusation, which comparing of them as contraries, doth clerely shewe that it is a phrase borrowed from the vse of the lawe. And there is no man being but meanly practised in the Hebrew tongue, if he haue a sober braine, that is ignoraunt that this phrase came from thence, and whereunto it tendeth, and what it meaneth. Nowe where Paule sayeth that Dauid described y^e righteousnesse without workes,

Rom. 4. in these wordes, Blessed are they whose sinnes are forgiven: Let
7. Osiander aunswere me whether this be a full definition or but halfe
Pl. 32.1. a one. Truely Paule bringeth not in the Prophet for a witnesse, as though he taught that forgivenesse of sinnes is but a part of righteousness, or a thing that ioineth with other to the iustifying of man: But he includeth whole righteousness in free forgivenesse, pronouncing the man blessed, whose sinnes are couered, to whom God hath forgiven iniquities, and to whom he imputeth no transgressions. He doth measure and iudge such a mans felicitie thereby, because he is not this way righteous in deede, but by imputation. Osiander taketh exception and sayeth, that this should be sclaunderous to God, and contrary to his nature, if he should iustifie them that in deede remaine still wicked. But we must remember, as I haue already saide, that the grace of iustifying is not seuered from regeneration, although they be seuerall things. But because it is more than sufficiently known by experience, that there abide alwaies in the righteous some remnantes of sinne, it must needes be that they be farre otherwise iustified than they be reformed into newnesse of life. For this later point of reformation, God so beginneth in his elect, & throughout the whole course of their life, by litle & litle, & sometime slowly procedeth in it, that they be alway before his seat in danger of y^e iudgement of death, But he iustifieth them, not by partmeale, but so that they may freely, as clothed with the purenes of Christ, appere in heaven For no portion of righteousness could appease our consciences, till they be satisfied that God is fully pleased with vs, because we be righteous in his sight with out exception. Whereupon followeth, that the doctrine of iustification is misturned, yea ouerturned from the very foundatiō, when doutinge is cast into mens mindes, when the affiance of saluation is shaken, when the free and dredlesse inuocation is hindered, yea when quiet and tranquillitie with spirituall ioy is not stablished.

Gala. 3. Wherevpon Paule gathereth an argument by contraries, to proue,
18. that the inheritance is not by the lawe. For by this meane faith should be made voide, which if it haue respect to workes, is ouerthrowen, because none of the most holy shall therin finde wherevpon to trust.

This

This difference of iustifyinge and regeneratinge (which two thinges. Osiander confounding together, calleth two sortes of righteounes) is very well expressed by Paule: For speaking of his reall righteounes in deede, or of the vprightnes wherewith he was endued (which Osiander nameth essentiall righteounesse) he lamentably crieth out: Wretch that I am: who shall deliuer me from the body of this death? Rom. 7. But fleeinge to the righteounes which is grounded vpon the onely 24 mercy of God, he gloriously triumpheth ouer both life, death, reproches, hunger, sword, and all aduersities. Who shall accuse the electes of God whome he iustifieth? For I am surely perswaded, that nothing Rom. 8. shall seuer vs frō his loue in Christ. He plainly publisheth, y^e he hath 33 the righteounes which alone fully sufficeth to saluatiō before God, so that the wretched bondage which he knowing to be in himselfe, did alitle before bewaile his estate, may not monish nor any way hinder his boldnes to glory. This diuersity is sufficiently knowen, and so familiar to all the holy ones, that grone vnder the burden of iniquities, & yet with victorious confidence, do mount vp aboue all feares. As for this that Osiander obiectioneth, that it disagreeeth with the nature of God, it falleth vpon himselfe. For although he clotheth the holy ones with a double righteounes as it were with a furred garment, yet he is compelled to confesse that without forgiuenesse of sinnes they neuer pleased God. If that be true, then at least let him graunt, that they which are not righteous in deede, are accompted righteous accordinge to the appointed proportion of imputation, as they call it. But how farre shall a sinner extend this free acceptation that is put in place of righteounes? shall he measure it by the pound or by the ounce? Truly he shall hang doutfull and wauering to this side & that side, because he may not take vnto him so much righteounesse as shalbe necessary to stablishe confidence. It is happy that he that would binde God to a law, is not iudge of this cause. But this shall stande stedfast, that thou mayst be iustified in thy sayinges and ouercome when thou art iudged. But howe great presumption is it Ps. 51.6 to condemne the chiefe iudge when he freely acquiteth, that this aunswere may not be in force, I will haue mercy vpon whome I will haue mercy. And yet the intercession of Moses which God did put to silence with this saying, tended not to this ende that he should spare Exo. 27. 19. none, but that he should acquite altogether, taking away their condemnation although they were guilty of offense. And we do say that they which were lost haue their sinnes buried and so are iustified before God: because, as God hateth sinne, so he cā loue none but thē whom he iustifieth. But this is a maruellous manner of iustifyinge,

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that they being couered with the righteousnesse of Christ stand not in feare of the iudgement which they haue deserued, and when they worthily condemne themselves are accompted righteous without themselves.

12 But the readers are to be warned, that they take good heede to the mistery which he braggeth that he will not hide from them. For after that he hath longe and largely trauailed to proue that we do not obtaine fauour with God by the only imputatiō of the righteousnesse of Christ, because this should be impossible for him to compt them for righteous that are not righteous, (I vse his owne wordes) at length he concludeth that Christ was giuen vs vnto righteousness, not in respect of his nature of manhoode but of his nature of Godhead: and that although this righteousnesse can not be found but in the person of the Mediatour, yet it is the righteousnesse not of mā but of God. he doth now binde vp his rope made of two righteousnesses, but he plainely taketh away the office of iustifying from Christes nature of manhode. But it is good to see how he disagreeeth. It is sayd in the same place, that Christ was made vnto wisdom, which belongeth to none but to the eternal word. Therefore Christ in that he is man is not wisdom. I answered that the onely begotten sonne of

Col. 2.3 God was in deede his eternall wisdom, but in Paules wrytinges that name is giuen him in diuerse wise, because all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are layd vp in him. That therefore which he had with his father, he disclosed vnto vs: and so that which Paul saith is not referred vnto the essence of the sonne of God, but to our vse, and is rightly applied to Christes nature of manhoode: because although he shined a light in darkenes, before that he did put on flesh,

Iohn. 8. yet it was a hidden light till the same Christ came foorth in the nature of man, the shining sunne of righteousness, which therefore calleth himselfe the light of the world. Also it is foolishly objected of him, that the power of iustifying is farre aboue both Angels and men: forasmuch as this hangeth not vpon the worthinesse of any creature, but vpon the ordinance of God. If Angels will take vpon them to satisfie God, they can nothinge preuaile, because they are not appointed therunto. But this singularly belonged to Christ being man, which

Gal. 3.13 was made subiect to the law, to redeme vs from the curse of the law. Also he doth sclaunderously cauill, that they which deny that Christ is our righteousness accordinge to his nature of Godhead, do leaue but one part of Christ, & (which is worse) do make two gods, because although they confesse, that God dwelleth in vs, yet they say againe that we are not righteous by the righteousness of God. For although

we

we call Christ the author of life, in respect that he suffered death to destroy him that had the power of death, we do not by and by take away that honor from whole Christ as he was openly shewed God in the flesh, but we only make a distinction how the righteousness of God is conueied vnto vs, y^e we may enjoy it. In which point Osiander hath too fowly erred. Neither do we deny that that which is openly giuen vs in Christ, proceedeth frō the secret grace & power of God: & we strue not against this, that the righteousness which Christ giueth vs is the righteousness of God that proceedeth from God: but we hold this stedfastly, that we haue righteousness & life in the death & resurrection of Christ. I ouerpasse that heaping together of places wherof he may wel be ashamed, wherwith he hath tediously cōbred the readers without choise & without common reason, to proue that wherfoeuer is made mention of righteousness, there ought to be vnderstanded this essentiall righteousness. As where David calleth vpon the righteousness of God to help him: whereas he doth the same aboue a hundred times, Osiander sticketh not to corrupt so many sentences. And nothing strōger is the other obiection, that that is properly and rightly called righteousness, whereby we be moued to do rightly, but that God only worketh in vs both to will & to performe. For we do also not deny, but that God reformeth vs with his Spirit vnto holiness of life and righteousness: but we must first see whether he do this by himselfe and immediatly, or by the hand of his Sonne, with whom he hath left all the fullness of his holy Spirit, that with his abundant store he should supply the nede of his members. Moreouer although righteousness come vnto vs out of the secret fountaine of the godhead, yet it followeth not that Christ which sanctified himselfe in the flesh for our sakes, was righteousness vnto vs according to his nature of godhead. No lesse fonde is that which he sayth, that Christ himselfe was righteous by the righteousness of God. Because vnlesse y^e wil of his father had moued him, he could not himselfe haue satisfied y^e office cōmitted vnto him. For though we haue in an other place sayd, that all the deseruings of Christ himselfe do procede from the mere good will of God, yet y^e maketh nothing to that fantasticall thing, wherwith Osiander bewitcheth both his owne & simple mens eyes. For who woulde suffer a man to gather this conclusion, that because God is the fountaine & beginning of our righteousness, therefore we be essentially righteous, & the essence of Gods righteousness dwelleth in vs? In redēginge the church (sayth Esay) God did put on his righteousness as a harnesse: but did he so to spoile Christ of his armure which he hadde giuen him, to make him to be no perfect

Heb. 2.

4.

Phil. 2.

13.

Ioh. 17.

19.

Esa. 59.

17.

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redeemer? But the Prophet meant nothing else but that God borrowed nothing out of himselfe, nor was holpen by any aide to redeme vs. Which thing Paul briefly expressed in other wordes, saying that he gaue vs saluation to the shewing of his righteousness. But this doth not ouerthrowe that which he teacheth in an other place, that we are righteous by the obedience of one man. Finally whosoever wrappeth vp a double righteousness, that poore soules may not rest in the mere only mercy of God, he doth in a mockery crowne Christ with thornes.

13 But forasmuch as a great parte of men, imagineth righteousness to be made of faith and workes, let vs first shew this also, that the righteousness of faith and workes do so differ, that when the one is stablished, the other must needs be ouerthrowen. The Apostle sayeth that he esteemed all things as dong, that he might winne Christ and finde in him the righteousness that is of God by fayth, compringe not his righteousness that which is by the law, but that which is by the faith of Iesu Christ. You see that here is also a cōparison of cōtraries & that here is declared that he which wil obtaine the righteousness of Christ, must forsake his owne righteousness. Therefore in an other place he sayeth, that this was the cause of fall to the Iewes that going about to stablish their owne righteousness, they were not subiect to the righteousness of God. If in stablishing our owne righteousness we shake away the righteousness of God, therefore to obtaine Gods righteousness our owne must be vtterly abolished. And he sheweth the same thinge, when he sayth, that our gloryinge is not excluded by the law, but by faith. Whereupon followeth that so long as there remaineth any righteousness of workes, howe litle soeuer it be, there still remaineth to vs some matter to glory vpon. Now if faith exclude all glorying, then the righteousness of workes can no wise be coupled with the righteousness of faith. To this effect he speaketh so plainly in the 4. chapter to Romaines, that he leaueth no rōume for cauillations or shifts: If (sayth he) Abraham was iustified by workes, he hath glory. And immediatly he addeth: but he hath no glory in the sight of God. It followeth therfore that he was not iustified by workes. Then he bringeth an other argument by contraries, when reward is rendered to workes, that is done of det and not of grace. But righteousness is giuen to faith according to grace: Therefore it is not of the deseruinges of workes. Wherefore farewell their dreame, that imagine a righteousness made of faith & workes mingled together.

14 The Sophisters thinke that they haue a suttle shift, that make to

to themselves sport and pastime with wresting of Scripture and with vaine cauillations. For they expound works in that place to be those which me not yet regenerate do only literally & by the endeouour of free will without the grace of Christ: & do say that it belongeth not to spirituall workes. So by their opinion a man is iustified both by faith & by workes, so that the workes be not his owne, but the gifts of Christ and frutes of regeneration. For they say that Paule spake so for none other cause, but to conuince y Iewes, trusting vpon their owne workes, that they did foolishly presume to claime righteousness to themselves, sith the only Spirit of Christ doth giue it vs, and not any endeouour by our owne motion of nature. But they do not marke that in the comparison of the righteousness of the lawe and the righteousness of the Gospell, which Paul bringeth in in an other place, all workes are excluded with what title soeuer they be adorned. For he teacheth that this is the righteousness of the lawe, that he should obtaine saluation that hath performed that which the law commaundeth: & that this is y righteousness of faith, if we beleue that Christ died and is risen againe. Moreouer we shall hereafter shew in place fit for it, that sanctification & righteousness are seuerall benefites of Christ. Whereupon followeth that the very spirituall workes come not into the accompt, when the power of iustifyinge is ascribed to faith. And where Paul denieth (as I euen now alleaged) that Abraham had any thinge whereupon to glory before God, because he was not made righteous by workes: this ought not to be restrained to the literall and outward kinde of vertues, or to the endeouour of free will. But although the life of the patriarch Abraham were spirituall & in maner Angelike, yet he had not sufficient deseruinges of workes to purchase him righteousness before God. Ga. 3. 11

15 The Scholemē teach a litle more grossly that mingle their preparations: but these do lesse infect the simple and vnskilful with corrupt doctrine, vnder pretense of Spirit and grace hiding the mercy of God which onely is able to appease trembling consciences. But we confesse with Paul that the doers of the law are iustified before God: but because we are all farre from the keeping of the law, hereupon we gather, that the workes which should most of all haue auailed to righteousness, do nothing help vs because we lacke thē. As for the cōmon Papistes or Schoolemen, they are in this point doubly deceiued: both because they call faith an assurednesse of conscience in lookinge for reward at the hande of God for deseruinges, and also because they expounde the grace of God not to be a free imputation of righteousness, but the holy Ghost helping to the endeouour of holinesse. They

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Heb. 11. read in the Apostle that he which commeth to God, must first beleue
6. that there is a God, and then that he is a render of reward to them
that seeke him. But they marke not, what is the maner of seeking. And
Sent. li. that they are deceiued in the name of grace, is plainly proued by
3. dist. their owne wrytings. For Lombard expoundeth, that iustification by
16. ca. 2. Christ is giuen vs two wayes. First (sayth he) the death of Christ doth
iustifie vs, when by it charity is stirred vp in our heartes, by which we
are made righteous. Secondly that by the same death sinne is de-
stroyed, whereby Sathan held vs captiue, so that nowe he hath not
whereby to condemne vs. You see how he considereth the grace of
God principally in iustificatiō, to be so far as we are directed to good
works by the grace of the holy Ghost. He woulde forsoth haue folo-
wed the opinion of Augustine: but he foloweth him a far of, & goeth
far out of the way from rightly followinge him: because if Augustine
haue spoken any thing plainly he darkeneth it, if there be any thinge
in Augustine not very vnpure, he corrupteth it. The Scholemē haue
stil straied from worse to worse, till with headlong fall at length they
be rolled downe into a Pelagian error. And the very sentence of
Augustine, or at least his manner of speakinge is not altogether to be
receiued. For though he singularly well taketh from man all praise of
righteousnesse and assigneth it wholly to the grace of God, yet he
referreth grace to sanctification, wherby we are renued into newnesse
of life by the holy Ghost.

16. But the Scripture, when it speaketh of y^e righteousness of faith,
leadeth vs to a far other ende, that is to say, that turning away frō the
loking vpō our owne workes, we should only loke vnto the mercy of
God & perfectiō of Christ. For it teacheth this order of iustification,
that first God vouchsaueth to embrace man beinge a sinner with his
mere & free goodnes, considering nothing in him but misery wherby
he may be moued to mercy, forasmuch as he seeth him altogether
naked & voide of good workes, fetching frō himselfe the cause to do
him good: then, that he moueth the sinner himselfe with feeling of his
goodnes, which despeiring vpon his owne workes casteth al y^e summe
of his saluation vpon Gods mercy. This is the feelinge of faith, by
which feling the sinner cometh into possession of his saluation, when
he acknowledgeth by the doctrine of the Gospel that he is recoiled
to God: that obtaininge forgiveness of sinnes by meanes of the right-
eousnes of Christ, he is iustified: & although he be regenerate by the
Spirite of God, he thinketh vpon continuall righteousness layed vp
for him not in the good workes to which he applieth himself, but in y^e
only righteousness of Christ. Whē these things shalbe euery one par-
ticular

particularly weied, they shall giue a perfect declaration of our sentence. Albeit they might be better disposed in an other order thā they are set forth, But it maketh litle matter, so y they hang together in such sort that we may haue the whole matter truely declared & surely proued.

17 Here it is good to remember the relation that we haue before said to be betwene faith and the Gospell : because it is sayd for this cause that faith iustificieth, for that it receiueth & embraceth the righteousness offered in the gospel. And whereas it is sayd to be offered by the gospel, thereby all consideration of works is excluded. Which thing Paul declareth many times else where, but most plainly in two places For, to the Romaines, cōparing the law & the gospel together he sayth: the righteousness that is by the law is thus, the mā that doth these things shall liue in them. But the righteousness that is of faith offereth saluation, if thou beleue in thy heart and confesse with thy mouth the Lord Iesus, & that the father hath raised him vp from the dead. See you not how he maketh this the difference of the law and the gospel, that the law giueth righteousness to workes, and the gospel giueth free righteousness without helpe of workes? it is a notable place, and that may deliuer vs out of many hard doutes, if we vnderstande that the same righteousness that is giuen vs by the gospel is free from all conditions of the law. This is the reason, why he doth more than once with great seeming of contrariety set the promise by way of opposition against the lawe, as if the inheritance be of the law, then is it not of the promise : and all the rest in the same chapter to the same effect. Truely the law it self hath also her promises. Therefore there must needs be in the promises of the gospel, somethinge different & diuerse from the promises of the law, vnlesse we will confesse that the comparison is very fonde. But what diuersity shall this be, vnlesse it be that they are freely giuen, and vpholden by the only mercy of God, whereas the promises of the law hang vpon the condition of workes. Neither lette any manne here carp against me, and say, that in this place the righteousness is reiected which menne of their owne force and freewill would compell God to receiue : forasmuch as Paul without exception teacheth that the law in commaund-
 Rom. 10
 5.
 Ga. 3. 18
 Ro. 8. 29
 dinge profiteth nothinge: because there is none not only of the common multitude, but also of the perfectest, that fulfilleth it. Loue vndoubtedly is the chiefe point of the law : when the Spirite of God frameth vs vnto it, why is it not to vs a cause of righteousness, but for that euen in the holy ones it is vnperfect, and therefore of it selfe deserueth no reward.

18 The second place is this. It is manifest that no man is iustified

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by the law before God: Because the righteous man shall liue by faith,

- Ga. 3. 12** But the law is not of faith: but the man that doth these things shall liue in them. How could this argument otherwise stande together, vnlesse we agree vpon this point, that workes come not into the accompt of faith, but are vtterly to be seuered from it? The lawe (sayth he) differeth from faith. Why so? because workes are required to the righteousness thereof. Therefore it followeth that workes are not required to the righteousness of faith. By this relation it appeareth, that they which are iustified by faith are iustified beside the deseruing of workes, yea without the deseruing of workes, because faith receiueth that righteousness which the Gospel giueth. And the Gospel differeth from the law in this point, that it bindeth not righteousness to workes, but setteth it in the only mercy of God. Like hereunto is that
- Rom. 4. 2.** which he affirmeth to the Romaines, that Abraham had nothing to glory vpon, because faith was imputed to him vnto righteousness, & he addeth a confirmation, because then there is place for the righteousness of faith, whē there are no workes to which a reward is due. Where be workes (sayth he) due reward is rendered vnto them: that which is giuen to faith is freely giuen. For the very meaning of the words that he vseth in that place serue to proue the same. Whereas he adioyneth within a litle after, that therefore we obtaine the inheritance by faith as according to grace, hereupon he gathereth that the inheritance is of free gift, because it is receiued by faith: and howe commeth y, but because faith without any help of workes leaneth wholly vpon the mercy of God? And in the same meaning, without dout he teacheth in an other place, that the righteousness of God was openly shewed without the law, although it haue witness borne of it by the law & the Prophets: because excluding the law, he sayth that it is not holpen by workes, and that we obtaine it not by working, but come empty that we may receiue it.

19 By this time the reader perceiueth with what equity the Sophisters do at this day cauill at our doctrine, when we say that man is iustified by faith only. They dare not deny that man is iustified by faith because it is so often found in Scripture. but because this word, Only, is neuer expressed, they can not abide to haue such an addition made. Is it so? But what will they answer to these wordes of Paule, where

Ro. 4. 2. he affirmeth that righteousness is not of faith except it be freely giuen? Howe can free gift agree with workes? And with what cauillations will they mocke out, that which he sayth in an other place, that

Rom. 1. 17. the righteousness of God is manifestly shewed in the Gospel? If righteousness be manifestly shewed in the Gospel, surely therein is

con-

contained not a torne or halfe righteousness but full and perfect. Therefore the law hath no place therein. And they stand vpon not onely a false but also a foolish shift about this exclusiue word, Only. Doth not he perfectly enough giue all thinges to onely sayth, that taketh all thinges from workes? What, I pray you meane these say- Rom. 3.
 inges: that righteousness was manifestly shewed without the lawe: 21. & 24
 that man is iustified freely and without the workes of the lawe? Here they haue a witty shift to escape withall, which although they deuised it not theselues but borrowed it of Origen & certaine of the old wyters, yet is very foolish. They prate that the ceremoniall workes of the law, not the morall, are excluded. They profit so with continuall brawlinge, that they knowe not the very first rules of Logike. Do they thinke that the Apostle doted when he alleaged these places to proue his sayinge? The man that shall do these thinges shall liue in Ga. 3. 10
 them: and, Cursed is euery one that fulfilleth not all thinges that are wrytten in the volume of the lawe. Vnlesse they be madde, they will not say that life was promised to the keepers of Ceremonies, or curse throtened onely to the breakers of them. If these places be to be vnderstanded of the morall law, it is no dout that the morall workes alio are excluded from the power of iustifying. To the same purpose serue Rom. 3.
 these argumentes that he vseth: because the knowledge of sinne 10. & 4.
 was by the lawe, therefore righteousness is not by the lawe. Because 15.
 the lawe worketh wrath, therefore it worketh not righteousness. Because the lawe can not make conscience assured, therefore also it can not giue righteousness. Because faith is imputed vnto righteousness, therefore righteousness is not a reward of worke, but is geuen beinge not due. Because we are iustified by faith, therefore gloryinge is cutte of. If there had bin a law giuen that might giue life, Ga. 3. 21
 then righteousness were truely by the law: but God hath shutte vp all vnder sinne that the promise might be giuen to the beleuers. Let them nowe fondly say if they dare, that these thinges are spoken of ceremonies and not of manners: but very children would hisse out so great shamelesnesse. Therefore let vs holde this for certaine, that the whole lawe is spoken of, when the power of iustifyinge is taken away from the law.

20 But if any man maruell why the Apostle vsed such an addition, not beinge content with onely naming of workes: the reason is ready to be shewed for it. For, although workes be so hiely esteemed, yet they haue that value by the allowance of God, rather than by their owne worthinesse. For who can boast vnto God of any righteousness of workes, but that which he hath allowed? Who dare claime any re-

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ward as due vnto the, but such as he hath promised? They haue therefore this of the bountifulnes of God, y they are cōpted worthy both of the name & reward of righteousness: & they be of value only for this cause, whē the purpose of him that doth them is by the to shew

Ga. 3. 7 his obediēce to God. Wherefore y Apostle in an other place, to proue that Abraham could not be iustified by workes, alleageth that y law was giuen, almost foure hundred & thirty yeares after the couenant made. Vnlearned mē would laugh at such an argumēt, because there might be righteous workes before the publishing of the law. But because he knew y there was no such value in workes but by the testimony & vouchsauiug of God, therefore he taketh it as a thing cōfessed y before the law they had no power to iustifie. We vnderstand why he namely expresseth y worke of the law, whē he meaneth to take away iustification from any workes because controuersy may be moued of those & none other. Albeit sometime he excepteth all workes without any addition, as when he sayth that by the testimony of Dauid bles-

Ro. 4. 6 sednes is assigned to that man; to whom the Lord imputeth righteousness without workes. Therefore they can with nō cauellations bring to passe, but that we shal get this general exclusiue, only. And they do in vaine seeke that trifling sutelty, that we are iustified by that only faith which worketh by loue, so that righteousness must stande vpon

Ga. 5. 6 loue. We graunt in deede with Paul, that no other faith iustifieth, but that which is effectually workinge with charity: but that faith taketh not her power of iustifying from that effectualnes of charity. Yea it doth by no other meane iustifie, but because it bringeth vs into the communicating of the righteousness of Christ. Or else all that which the Apostle so earnestly preffeth, shoulde fall to nought. To him that worketh (sayth he) the reward is not reckened accordinge to grace, but accordinge to det. But to him that worketh not, but beleueth in him that iustifieth the vnrighteous, his faith is imputed vnto righteousness, Could he speake more euidently than in so saying? that there is no righteousness of faith but where there are no workes to which any reward is due: & that onely then faith is imputed vnto righteousness, when righteousness is given by grace that is not due.

21 Now let vs examine how true that is, which is sayd in the definition, that the righteousness of faith is the recōciliation with God, which consisteth vpon the only forgiuenes of sinnes. We must alway returne to this principle, that the wrath of God resteth vpon all mē, so long as they continue to be sinners. That hath Esay excellētly wel set out in these wordes: The hand of the Lord is not shortned, that he is not able to saue: nor his eare dulled that he cā not heare: but your

iniqui-

iniquities haue made disagreemēt betwene you & your God, & your finnes haue hidden his face from you that he heareth you not. We heare that sinne is the diuision betwene man & God, & the turninge away of Gods face from the sinner. Neither can it otherwise be. For it is disagreeing frō his righteousness to haue any fellowship with sinne. Wherefore the Apostle teacheth that man is enemy to God till he be restored into fauour by Christ. Whom therefore the Lord receiueth into ioyninge with him, him he is sayd to iustifie: because he can neither receiue him into fauour nor ioyne him with himselfe, but he must of a sinner make him righteous. And we further say, that this is done by the forgiuenesse of finnes. For if they whom the Lord hath reconciled to himselfe be iudged by their workes, they shalbe found still sinners in deede, who yet must be free & cleane from sinne. It is certaine therefore that they whom God embraceth, are no otherwise made righteous, but because they are cleansed by hauing the spottedtes of their finnes wiped away by forgiuenes, that such a righteousness may in one word be called the forgiuenes of finnes.

22 Both these are most clerely to be seene by these words of Paul, which I haue already alleaged: God was in Christ reconcilinge the world to himselfe, not imputing their finnes to man, & he hath left with vs the word of reconciliatiō. And then he addeth the summe of his message, that him which knew no sinne he made sinne for vs, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. Here he nameth righteousness and reconciliation without difference, that we may perceiue that the one is mutually contained vnder the other. And he teacheth the manner to attaine this righteousness to be when our finnes are not imputed vnto vs. Wherefore doubt thou not hereafter how God doth iustifie vs, when thou hearest that he doth reconcile vs to himselfe by not imputing finnes. So to y Romaines he pro- ueth by the testimony of Dauid, that righteousness is imputed to man without workes, because Dauid pronounceth the man blessed whose iniquities are forgiven, whose finnes are couered, to whom the Lord hath not imputed his offenses. Without doubt by blessednes he there meaneth righteousness. As sith he affirmeth the same to stande in the forgiuenesse of finnes, there is no cause why we should otherwise define it. Therefore Zacharie the father of Iohn the Baptist singeth that the knowledg of saluatiō consisteth in the forgiuenes of finnes. Which rule Paule followinge in his Sermon which he made to the Antiochians concerninge the summe of saluation, as Luke reporteth it, concluded in this maner: by him forgiuenes of finnes is preached vnto you, & euery one that beleueth in him is iustified from all these

Rom. 5.
8.

2. Cor. 3
19.
2. Cor. 3
11.

Ro. 4. 6.

Luk. 1.
77.

Act. 13.
38.

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things, frō w̄ ye could not be iustified in the law of Moses. The Apostle so knitieth the forgiuenes of sinnes with righteousness, ȳ he sheweth ȳ they be both all one. Wherupō he rightfully reasoneth ȳ the righteousness is freely giuen vnto vs, which we obtaine by the louing kindnes of God. Neither ought it to seme a strāge vnused speech, that the faithful are righteous before God, not by workes, but by free acceptatiō: sith both it is so oft found in ȳ Scripture, & the old authors also do sometime so speake. For Augustin saith thus in one place: The righteousness of the saintes in this world stādeth rather in forgiuenes of sinnes, thā in perfection of vertues. Wherwith agreeth the notable sentēces of Bernard: Not to sinne is the righteousness of God: but ȳ righteousness of man, is the merciful kindenes of God. He had before affirmed that Christ is to vs righteousness in absolution, and therefore that they only are righteous that haue obtained pardon by mercy.

23 Herupō also followeth this, that by the only meane of Christes righteousness, we obtain to be iustified before God. Which is asmuch in effect as if it were said, ȳ mā is not righteous in himself, but because the righteousness of Christ is by imputatiō enterpartened with him, which thing is worthy to be heedefully marked. For ȳ trisinge error vanisheth away, to say ȳ mā is therefore iustified by faith, because faith taketh part of the Spirit of God by which he is made righteous, which is so cōtrary to the doctrine aboue taught, ȳ they can neuer be made to agree together. For it is no dout ȳ he is void of his own righteousness, ȳ is taught to seke righteousness without himselfe. This the Apostle affirmeth most plainly when he writeth ȳ he which knew no sinne was made for vs a propitiatory sacrifice to cleanse away sinne, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. You see ȳ our righteousness is not in vs but in Christ, & ȳ it belongeth to vs only by this title, because we be partakers of Christ, because we possesse all his riches with him. And it maketh nothing to the contrary ȳ in an other place he teacheth, ȳ sinne was condēned of sinne in the flesh of Christ, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in vs: where he meaneth no other fulfillinge, but ȳ which we obtaine by imputation. For the Lorde Christ doth in such sort cōmunicate his righteousness with vs, that after a certaine marvellous maner, he poureth the force therof into vs, so much as pertaineth to the iudgement of God. It appeareth that he did no otherwise meane, by ȳ other sentēce which he had spoken a litle before: As by the disobedience of one man we were made sinners, so by the obedience of one mā we are iustified. What is it else to set our righteousness in ȳ obedience of Christ, but to affirme that hereby only we are accepted righteous, because the obedience of Christ

De ci-
uit. dei.
cap. 27.
Ser. 23.
in cant.
Ser. 22.

2. Cor.
5. 21.

Ro. 8 3.

Rom. 6.
19.

Christ is imputed vnto vs as if it were our owne? Therefore me thinkes that Ambrose hath excellently well shewed how there is an example of this righteousness in the blessing of Iacob. For as Iacob hauing not of himselfe deserued the preeminency of the first begotten sonne, hid himselfe in the apparel of his brother, & being clothed with his brothers cote y^e sauored of a most swete smell, he crept into y^e fauour of his father, & receiued the blessing to his owne commodity vnder the person of an other: so we do lie hiddē vnder the precious purenes of Christ our elder brother, that we may get a testimony of righteousness in y^e sight of God. The words of Ambrose are these: Whereas Isaac smelt the sauour of the garmentes, paraduenture this is meant therby, that we are not iustified by workes but by faith: because fleshly weakenes hindreth workes, but the brightnes of faith which meritheth forgiuenes of sinnes, ouershadoweth the error of deedes. And truly so it is. For, that we may appeare before the face of God vnto saluation, it is necessary for vs, to smell sweetely with his odour, and to haue our faultes couered and barred with his perfection.

Li. 2 de
Iac. &
vita be-
ata.

The xij. Chapter.

That, to the end vve may be fully perswaded of the free iustification, vve must lift up our mindes to the iudgement seate of God.

ALthough it appeareth by most euident testimonies, that all these thinges are true, yet we shall not clearly perceiue how necessary they be, vntill we haue set before our eyes those things y^e ought to be the grounds of all this disputation. First therefore let vs remember this, that we purpose not to speake of the righteousness of a worldly iudicial court, but of the heavenly iudgement seate: that we should not measure by our owne small portiō, by what vprightnes of workes Gods iudgement may be satisfied. But it is maruelous to see with what rashnes & boldnes it is commonly debated. Yea & it is to be scene how none do more boldly or with fuller mouthes (as the saying is) prate of the righteousness of workes, than they y^e are either monstruously sicke of open outward diseases, or be ready to burst with inward vices. That cometh to passe because they thinke not vpon the righteousness of God, whereof if they had neuer so litle feelinge, they would neuer make so great a mockery of it. And truly it is out of measure lightly regarded, when it is not acknowledged to be such & so perfect that nothing be imputed vnto it but euery way whole & absolute, & defiled with no vncleannesse: such as neuer was & neuer shall be able to be founde in man. It is in deede easie and ready for euery man in Schooles to talke vainely vpon the worthines of workes to iustifie men. But when they come into the sight of God,

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such dalliances must auoide, because there is earnest doing vsed, and no trifling strife about words. To this, to this I say, we must apply our minde, if we wil profitably enquire of true righteousnes, how we may answere the heavenly iudge when he calleth vs to accompt. Lette vs thinke him to be a iudge, not such a one as our owne vnderstandings do of themselves imagine : but such a one as he is painted out in the Scripture, with whose brightnes the starres shalbe darkened, by whose strength the hils do melt away, by whose wrath the earth is shaken, by whose wisdom the wise are taken in their fitteltie, by whose purenesse all things are proued vnpure, whose righteousnesse the Angels are not able to beare, which maketh the innocent not innocēt, whose vengeance when it is once kindled pearceth to the bottome of hel. If he (I say) sit to examine mens doings, who shall appeare assured before his throne? who shall dwell with a deuouringe fier? sayth the Prophet. Who shall abide with continuall burninges? he that walketh in righteousneses & speaketh truth, &c. But let such a one come forth, whatsoeuer he be. But that aunswere maketh, that none commeth forth. For this terrible saying soundeth to the contrary: Lord if thou make iniquities, Lorde, who shal abide it? truely all must needes immediatly perish, as it is wrytten in an other place: Shall man be iustified if he be compared with God, or shall he be purer thā his maker? Beholde they that serue him are not faithfull, and he hath found peruersnes in his Angels. How much more shal they that dwel in houses of clay, & that haue an earthly fundation, be consumed with mothes? they shalbe cut downe from the morninge to the euening. Beholde amonge his Saintes there is none faithfull, and the heavens are not cleane in his sight: how much more is man abhominable and vnprofitable, which drinketh iniquity as water? I graunt in dede that in the booke of Iob, is mention made of a righteousnesse that is hier than the keeping of the law. And it is good to vnderstand this distinction: because although a man did satisfie the law, yet he could not so stand to the triall of that righteousnesse that passeth all senses. Therefore although Iob be cleare in his owne conscience, yet he is amased, and not able to speake because he seeth that very angelike holinesse can not appease God, if he exactly weye their workes. But I therefore will at this time ouerpasse that righteousnesse which I haue spoken of, because it is incomprehensible: but only this I say, that if our life be examined by the rule of the wrytten law, we are more than senseles if so many curses wherewith the Lord hath willed vs to be awaked do not torment vs with horrible feare, & amonge other this generall curse, Cursed is euery one that doth not abide in all the thinges that are

Esa. 33.
14.

Psa. 130.
3.
Iob. 4
17.

Iob. 15.
15.

Deu. 27
26.

are wrytten in the booke. Finally all this discourse shalbe but vn-
suuery and cold, vnlesse euery man yelde himselfe guilty before the hea-
uently iudge, and willingly throw-downe and abace himselfe, beinge
carefull how he may be acquitted.

2 To this, to this I say, we should haue lifted vp our eies, to learne
rather to tremble for feare, than vainly to reioise. It is in deede easie,
so long as y^e cōparison extendeth no further than men, for euery man
to thinke himselfe to haue somewhat which other ought not to despise.
But when we rise vp to haue respect vnto God than suddenly y^e con-
fidence falleth to the ground & commeth to nought. And in the same
case altogether is our soule in respect of God, as mans body is in re-
spect of the heauen. For the sight of the eie, so long as it cōtinueth in
vewing things that lie nere vnto it, doth shew of what pearcing force
it is, but if it be once directed vp to the sunne, then beinge daseled and
dulled with the too great brightnes therof, it seeth no lesse feblenes
of it selfe in beholding of the sunne, thā it perceiued strength in be-
holding inferiour things. Therefore let vs not deceiue our selues with
vaine confidence, although we compt our selues either egall or su-
perior to other men: but that is nothing to God, by whose will this
knowledge is to be tried. But if our wildenes can not be ramed with
these admonitions, he will answere to vs as he sayd to the Pharisees:
you be they that iustifie your selues before mē: but that which is hie
to men is abominable to God. Now go thy way and proudly boast
of thy righteousness among men, while God from heauen abhorreth
it. But what say the seruantes of God that are truly instructed with
his Spirit? Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, because euery
living man shal not be iustified in thy sight. An other sayth, although
in somewhat diuerse meaning. Man can not be righteous with God: if
he will contende with him, he shall not be able to answere one for a
thousand. Here we now plainely heare what is the righteousness of
God, euen such as can be satisfied with no workes of men, to whom
when it examineth vs of a thousande offenses, we can not purge our
selues of one. Such a righteousness had that same chosen iustrument
of God Paule conceiued, when he profess'd that he knew himselfe
guilty in nothing, but that he was not thereby iustified.

3 And not only such exāples are in the holy Scriptures, but also
all godly wryters do shewe that they were alway of this minde. So
Augustine sayth. All the godly that grone vnder this burden of cor-
ruptible flesh, and in this weakenesse of life haue this only hope that
we haue one mediator Iesus Christ the righteous, and he is the ap-
peasement for our sinnes. What sayth he? If this be their only hope,

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where is the confidence of workes? For when he calleth it only, he leaueth none other. And Bernard sayth. And in deede where is safe & stedfast rest & assurednes for the weake, but in the woundes of the Sauour? & so much the surer I dwell therein as he is mightier to saue. The world rageth, the body burdeneth, the deuill lieth in waite. I fall not, because I am builded vpon the sure rocke. I haue sinned a grievous sinne, my conscience is troubled, but it shal not be ouertrobled, because I shall remember the woundes of the Lord. And hereupon afterward he concludeth: Therefore my merite is the Lords takinge

In psal. qui habitat ser. 15. of mercy, I am not vtrerly without merite, so long as he is not without mercies. But if the mercies of the Lord be many, then I also haue as many merites. Shal I sing mine owne righteousnesses? Lord I will remēber only thy righteousness. For that is also my righteousness, for he is made vnto me righteousness of God. Againe in an other place.

In cant. ser. 13. This is y whole merite of man, if he put his whole hope in him that saueh whole mā. Likewise where retaining peace to himselfe he leaueth the glory to God. To thee (sayth he) let glory remaine vnminished: it shalbe well with me, if I haue peace. I forswere glory altogether, least if I wrongfully take vpō me that which is not mine owne, I loose also y which is offred me. And more plainly in an other place he sayth: Why should the church be careful of merites, which hath a surer & safer way to glory vpon the purpose of God? So there is no cause why thou shouldest aske, by what merites we hope for good things, specially when thou hearest in the Prophet, I wil do it, not for

Eze. 36. 23. & 32. your sakes, but for mine own sake, sayth the Lord. It sufficeth for merite, to know that merites suffice not. But as it sufficeth for merit not to presume of merites, so to be without merites sufficeth to iudgement. Whereas he freely vseth this word Merites for good workes, we must therein beare with the custome. But in the end his purpose was to make hipocrites afrayd, that wildly range with licentiousnesse of sinning against the grace of God. As afterward he expoundeth himselfe, saying: Happy is the Church that neither wāterh merites without presumption, nor presumption without merites. It hath whereupon to presume, but not merites. It hath merites, but to deserue not to presume. Is not the very nor presuming a deseruing? Therefore it presumeth so much the more boldly, because it presumeth not, hauing large matter to glory vpon, euen the many mercies of the Lord.

4 This is the trueth. The exercised consciences perceiue this to be the onely sanctuary of safety, wherein they may safely rest themselves when they haue to do with the iudgement of God. for if the Starres that seemed most bright in the night season, do loose their brightnes

brightnesse with light of y sunne, what thinke we shall become euen of the rarest innocencie of man, when it shalbe compared with the purenesse of God? For that shalbe a most seuerer examination, that shall pearce into the most hidden thoughtes of the heart, and (as Paule saith) shall reuele the secretes of darknesse, and disclose the hidden thinges of the heart, which shall compell the lurking and vnwilling conscience to vtter all thinges that now are fallen out of remembrance. The Deuell our accuser will presse vs, which is priuie to all the wicked deedes that he hath moued vs to do. There the outward pōmpous shewes of good workes which now onely are esteemed, shall nothing profit vs. Onely the purenesse of will shalbe required. Wherefore the Hypocrisie, not onely whereby euery man knowing himselfe guilty before God desireth to boast himselfe before men, but also wherewith euery man deceiueth himselfe before God (as we be all inclined to stroke and flatter our selues) shall fall downe confounded, howsoeuer it now be proude with more than drunken boldnesse. They that bend not their wit to such a sight, may in deede for a short time sweetely & pleasantly frame a righteousness to themselves, but it is such a righteousness as shalbe by and by shaken away from them at the iudgement of God: like as great riches heaped vp in a dreame do vanish away from men when they awake. But they that shall earnestly as it were in the sight of God, enquire of the true rule of righteousness, shall certainly finde that all the workes of mé, if they be iudged by their owne worthines, are nothing but defilings and filthinesse: that that which among the common people is accounted righteousness, is before God mere wickednesse: that that which is iudged puritie, is vncleannesse: that that which is reckened glorie, is but shame.

§ From this beholding of the perfection of God, let it not greue vs to descend to loke vpon our selues without flatterie or blinde affectiō of loue. For it is no maruell if we be all so blinde in this behalf, for asmuch as none of vs doth beware of the pestilent tendernesse toward himselfe, which (as the Scripture crieth out) naturally sticketh fast in vs all. To euery man (saith Salomon) his owne way is right in his owne eyes. Againe. All the wayes of man seme cleane in his owne eyes. But what? Is he acquitted by this blindnesse? No. But (as he further saith in the same place) the Lord weyeth the heartes, that is to say, while man flattereth himselfe by reason of the outward visor of righteousness that he beareth in resemblance, in the meane time the Lorde with his balance examineth the hidden vncleannes of the heart. Therefore sith we so nothing profit with such flatteries, let vs

1. Cor.
4. 5.

Pro. 21.
2. & 16.
2.

not wilfully mocke our selues to our owne destruction. But that we may trie our selues rightly, we must necessarily call back our conscience to the iudgement seate of God. For we do altogether neede his light to disclose the secret foldings of our peruersnesse, which otherwise lie too depely hidden. For then, and neuer till then, we shall clerely perceiue what is meant hereby: that man being rottenesse and a worme, abhominable and vaine, which drinketh wickednes as water is far from being iustified before God. For who shoulde make that cleane that is conceiued of vncleane seede? not one man. Then shall we also finde that by experience, which Iob said of himselfe: If I will go about to shew my selfe innocent, mine owne mouth shall condemne me: if I will shewe my selfe righteous, it will proue me wicked. For that is not meant of one age onely, but of all ages, which the Prophet in old time complained of Israel, that all went astray like shepe, that euery one turned aside to his owne way. For he there comprehēdeth all them, to whom the grace of redemption should come. And the rigorousnesse of this examination ought to procede so far, till it subdue vs, so that we be fully throwen downe withall, and by that meane prepare vs to receiue the grace of Christ. For he is deceiued that thinketh himselfe able to receiue the enioying of this grace, vntill he haue first throwen downe all hawtines of minde. This is a knowen saying: that God confoundeth the proude, and geueth grace to the humble.

6 But what way is there to humble our selues, but that we being altogether needy and empty, should geue place to the mercy of God? For I do not call it humblenesse, if we thinke that we haue any thing remaining with vs. And hetherto they haue taught a very hurtfull hypocrisie, that haue ioined these two things together, that we must thinke humbly of our selues before God, & that we must make some accompt of our owne righteousness. For if we confesse to God contrarie to our owne thinking, we do wickedly lie vnto him: but we can not thinke as we ought, but that by and by all that seemeth glorious in vs must be troden vnder foote. Therefore when thou hearest in the Prophet, that there is prepared saluation for the humble people, and abacement for the eyes of the wicked: First thinke, that there is no entrie open to saluation, vntill thou haue layed away all pride and taken to thee perfect humblenesse: then, that the same humblenesse is not a certaine modesty whereby thou geuest ouer to the Lord a heare bredth of thine owne right, as they are called humble before men that do neither presumptuously aduaunce themselves, nor reprochfully triumph ouer other, although they stand vpon some estimation

Iob 15.

16.

Iob 14.

4.

Iob 9.

30.

Esa. 53.

6.

1. Pet. 5.

5.

Psa. 18.

28.

mation of their owne excellence: but an vnfaigned submission of a minde throwen downe with feling of his owne miserie and needinesse. For it is so echewhere described in the worde of God. When the Lorde saith thus in Zephania: I will take away out of thee him that Zepha. 3. 11. outragiously reioiseth, and I will leaue in the middes of thee the afflicted man, and the poore man, and they shall trust in the Lorde: doth he not there plainly shewe who be humble? euen they that lie afflicted with knowledge of their owne pouertie. On the other side he calleth the proude, outragious reioisers, because men ioying in prosperitie are wont to reioise without measure. But to the humble whom he purposeth to saue, he leaueth nothing but to trust in the Lorde. And likewise it is said in Esaye: Whom shall I looke vnto, but to the poore and contrite in spirit, and him that feareth my wordes? Eisa. 66. 2. Againe: The hie and excellent, that inhabiteth eternitie, his name is Eisa. 57. 15. holy, that dwelleth on hie, and in the holy place, and with the contrite and humble spirit, to quicken the spirit of the humble and the heart of the contrite. When thou so oft hearest the name of contrition, vnderstand thereby the wound of the heart, that suffreth not a man throwen downe on the ground to rise againe. With such contrition ought thy heart to be wounded, if thou wilt according to the saying of God be aduanced with the humble. If that be not done, thou shalt be brought lowe with the mighty hande of God to thy shame and disgracement.

7 And our best Schoolemaister thinking it not enough to shewe it out in wordes, hath also set out vnto vs in a parable the image of true humilue as in a painted table. For he bringeth forth a Publicane Luc. 18. 13. that standing a far off, not daring to lifte vp his eyes to heauen, with much knocking his brest prayeth in this wise: Lorde be mercifull to me a sinner. Let vs not thinke these to be tokens of fained modestie, that he dare not loke vp to heauen, nor to come nerer, that with knocking his brest he confesseth himselfe a sinner: but let vs know that they bee testimonies of inward affection. On the other side he setteth the Pharisee, which thanketh God that he is not of the common sorte of men, either an oppresser, or an vnrighteous man, or an adulterer, bycause he fasted twise on the Sabbath, and gaue tithes of all that he possessed. He doth with open confession acknowledge that the righteousness which he hath is the gift of God: but bycause he standeth in confidence that he is righteous, he departeth from God vnfaured & in hatred. The Publicane by acknowledging of his own wickednesse is iustified. Hereby we may se, howe great is the estimation of our humbling vs before God: so that the heart can not be

Cap. 12. Of the maner how to receiue

open to receiue his mercie, vnlesse it be first void of all opinion of his owne worthinesse. When this opinion hath possessed the place, it shutteth vp the way for Gods mercie to entre. And that no man should doubt hereof, Christ was sent of his father into the earth with this commission, to bring glad tidings to the poore, to heale the contrite in heart, to preach libertie to the captiue, and deliuerance to them that were shut vp in prison, & to cōfort them that mourne: to geue them glorie for ashes, oyle for mourninge, the robe of praise for the spirit of sorrowe. According to this commission, he calleth none but them that labour and are loden to take part of his liberalitie. And in an other place he saith: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.

8 Therefore if we will geue place to the calling of Christ, let all arrogancy & carelesnesse depart far away from vs. Arrogācy groweth of a foolish persuation of our owne righteousness, when a man thinketh himselfe to haue somewhat, by the deseruing whereof he may be commended before God, carelesnesse may be euen without any persuasio of workes. For many sinners, because being dronke with iwetenesse of vices they thinke not vpon the iudgement of God, lie as it were senselessly amased with a disease of droulinesse, that they aspire not to the mercie offered them. But we must no lesse shake of such dull sluggishnesse, than we must cast away all vaine confidence of our selues, that we may without encombrance hasten to Christ, that we being empty and hungry may be filled with his good things. For we shall neuer sufficiently haue trust in him, vnlesse we vtterly distrust of our selues, we shall neuer sufficiently raise vp our courages in him, vnlesse they be first throwen downe in our selues. We shall neuer sufficiently haue consolation in him, vnlesse we be first desolate in our selues. Therefore we be then mete to take hold of and obtaine the fauour of God, casting away all trust of our selues, but trusting vpon the onely assurednesse of his goodnesse, when (as Augustine saith) forgetting our owne deseruings, we embrace the giftes of Christ. Because if he sought deseruings in vs, we should not come to his giftes. Wherewith Bernard very well accordeth, comparing proude men to vnfaithfull seruantes, that arrogantly claime any thing be it neuer so litle to their owne deseruings: because they do wrongfully keepe to themselues the praise of grace passing by them, as if a wall would say that it bringeth forth the sunbeame which it receiueth through a window. But, not to tary longer herevpon, let vs take a short but a generall and sure rule, that he is prepared to take parte of the frutes of Gods mercie, that hath vtterly emptied himselfe, I will not say of

righteo-

Esā. 61.

1.

Mat. 11.

28.

Mat. 9

13.

Dever-

bis A

postol.

cap. 8

Sermo.

15. in

can.

righteousnesse, which is none at all, but of the vaine and windie image of righteousness. Because euery man so much hindereth his receiuing of the liberalitie of God as he resteth in himselfe.

The xiiij. Chapter.

That there are two things to be marked in free iustification.

ANd here are alway two things to be principally looked vnto: that is to say, that there may remaine to the Lorde his glorie vnminished, and as it were wholly and perfectly maintained, and to our consciences an vntroubled quietnesse and calme tranquillitie before his iudgement. We see how oft and how earnestly the Scripture exhorteth vs, to geue onely to God a confession of praise, when we entreate of righteousness. And the Apostle testifieth, *Rom. 3.* that this was the Lordes principall purpose of geuing vs righteousness in Christ, that he might shewe his owne righteousness. And what a shewing that should be, he declareth immediatly after: that is, if he alone be known to be righteous, and that iustified him that is of the faith of Iesus Christ. Thou seest that the righteousness of God is not sufficiētly set out, vnlesse he alone be accounted righteous, and do communicate the grace of righteousness to them that deserue it not. By this meane he will haue euery mouth to be stopped, and the whole World to be made subiect to him. For while man hath any thing to speake in his owne defence, so long there is somewhat taken away from the glory of God. So in Ezechiel he teacheth *Eze. 36.* howe much we glorifie his name by rekneweledging of our owne wickednesse. You shall remember (sayeth he) the wayes and all the wicked doinges wherewith ye haue bene defiled. And ye shall be displeased with your selues in your owne sight, in all the euels that ye haue committed. And ye shall knowe that I am the Lorde, when I shall do good to you for mine owne names sake, and not according to your most wicked offences. If these thinges be contained in the true knowledge of God, that we being broosed with knowledge of our owne iniquitie, should consider that he doth good to vs where as we be vnworthy therof: why then do we to our great hurt attempt to steale away from the Lorde any parcell be it neuer so small of the praise of his free goodnesse? Like wise Ieremie when he crieth out, *Iere. 9.* Let not the wise man glorie in his wisdom, or the riche man in his riches, or the strong man in his strength, but let him that glorieth, glorie in the Lorde: doth he not there declare that somewhat is diminished from Gods glorie, if man glorie in him selfe? To this pur-

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1. Cor. 1.30. pose truely doth Paule apply those wordes, when he teacheth that all the partes of our saluation are reposed in Christ, that we shoulde not glory but in the Lord. For his meaning is that he riseth vp against God and daikeneth his glorie, whosoever thinketh that he hath any thing be it neuer so litle of his owne.

2 This is the truth, we neuer truely glorie in him, vlesse we be vtterly put from our own glory. On the other side, this is to be holdē for a catholike principle, that all they glorie against God that glorie in them selues, For Paule iudgeth that onely by this meane the world is made subiect to God, when all matter to glorie vpon is vtterly taken from men. Therefore Esaye, when he declareth that Israel shall haue their iustificatiō in God, saith also that they shal there also haue their prayse: as though he should say, that the Lorde to this ende iustificieth the elect that they should glorie in him and in nothing els. But howe we ought to be praised in the Lorde, he had taught in the verse next before: that is, that we should sweare that our righteousnesses and strength are in the Lorde. Not that there is not required a bare confession, but confirmed with an othe, that a man should not thinke that he shall be discharged with I wote not what fained humilitie. And let no man here allege for excuse, that he doth not glorie when without arrogance he reknowledgeth his owne righteousnesses: for there can be no such estimation but it engendreth confidence, nor confidence but it bredeth glorie. Therefore let vs remember that in all the disputation of righteousness we must haue regard to this ende, that the praise thereof remaine with the Lord whole and perfect. For as much as for declaration of his righteousness (as the Apostle testifieth) he hath poured out his grace vpon vs, that he might be iust and iustifying him that is of the faith of Christ. Wherefore in an other place, when he had taught that the Lorde gaue vs saluation, to set out the glorie of his name, afterward as it were repeting the same thing he addeth: ye are saued by grace and by the gift of God, not by workes, that none should glorie. And when Peter telleth that we are called vnto hope of saluation that we shoulde declare the powers of him that hath called vs out of darkenesse into his marvellous light, without doubt his meaning is so to make the onely praises of God to sound in the eares of the faithfull, that they should with depe silence oppresse all arrogancie of the flesh. In a summe, man can not without robbery of God challenge to him selfe any one crum of righteousness: because euen so much is plucked and taken away from the glorie of Gods righteousness.

3 Now if we aske by what meane the conscience may be quited before

before God, we shall finde no other meane but if free tighteousnesse be geuen vs by the gift of God: Let vs alway think vpon this saying of Salomon, Who shall say: I haue cleansed my heart, I am made cleane from my sinne? Truly there is no man that shall not be ouerwhelmed with infinite filthinesse. Therefore let euen the perfectest man descende into his owne conscience, and call his doinges to accompt: what ende shall he haue? Shall he sweetely rest as though all thinges were in good order betwene him and God? and shall he not rather be vexed with terrible torments, when he shall fele matter of damnation abiding in him selfe if he be iudged according to his workes? The conscience, if it loke vpon God, must of necessitie either haue assured peace with his iudgement, or be beseged with the terrours of helle. Therefore we profit nothing in disputing of righteousnesse vnlesse we stablish such a righteousnesse, with the stedfastnesse wherof our soule may be stayed in the iudgement of God. When our soule shall haue whereby it may both without feare appeare before the face of God, and receiue his iudgement, vnshaken, then and not till then let vs knowe that we haue found an vnfained righteousnesse. Therefore not without cause the Apostle standeth so much vpon this point, with whose wordes I had rather expresse it than with mine own. If (saith he) the promise of inheritance be of the law, faith is made voide, the promise is made abolished. He first inferreth that faith is disanulled & made voide if the promise of righteousnesse haue respect to the desertings of our workes, or do hang vpon the keeping of the law, For so could neuer any man assuredly rest in it: because it could neuer come to passe that any man might assuredly determine with him selfe that he had satisfied the law, as in deede neuer any man dorth by workes fully satisfie it. Whereof, that we should not neede to seke far for testimonies to proue it, every man may be a witnesse to him selfe that will with a right eye behold him selfe. And herby appeareth, in how depe and darke corners hypocrisie buried the mindes of men, while they so carelesly beare with themselues, that they stick not to set their own flatteries against the iudgement of God, as though they would binde to a stay of his iudiciall proceeding, but the faithfull that do sincerely examine them selues, are greued and tormented with a far other manner of carefulnesse. Therefore there should so entre into all mindes a doubting, and at length a very despeire where eche man for him selfe should make accompt, with how great a burden of det he is still ouerpressed, and how far he is from the cōdition wherwith he is charged. Loe, how faith is by this meane already expresse'd and extinguished. For to wauer, to varie, to be carried vp and downe, to stick fast in

Pro. 20.

9.

Rom. 4.

14

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doubting, to be holden in suspēce, to stagger, and at length to despire, is not to trust: but to strengthen thy minde with cōstant certaintie and perfect assurednes, & to haue wherevpon to rest and fasten thy foote.

4 He adioineth also an other thing, that is, that the promise shall thereby be made of no effect and void. For if the fulfilling thereof do hang vpon our deseruing, when shall we come thus farre as to deserue the bountifulnes of God? Also this second point hangeth vpon the former: For the promise shall not be fulfilled but to them that beleue it. Therefore if faith be fallen, there shal remaine no force of the promise, Therefore the inheritance is of faith, that it may be according to grace, to stablish the promise. For it is abundantly well stablished when it resteth vpon the onely mercy of God: because his mercy & truth are with a perpetuall knot ioined together, that is to say, whatsoeuer God mercifully promiset, he also faithfully performeth. So Dauid, before that he required saluation by the worde of God, first determineth the cause thereof to be in his mercy. Let thy mercies (saith he) come vnto me, thy saluatiō according to thy word. And rightfully: bycause God is by no other meane perswaded to make the promise, but of his owne mere mercie. Therefore we must herein stay, and deeply fasten all our hope and not to looke to our own works, to seke any helpe of them. And that you should not think that I herein speake any new thing: Augustyne doth also teache that we ought so to do. Christ (saith he) shall reigne for euer in his seruantes, God hath promised it, God hath said it, and if that be not enough, God hath sworne it. Therefore forasmuch as the promise is stablished, not according to our deseruinges, but according to his mercie, no mā ought to speake fearefully of that of which he can not doubt. Bernarde also saith: The disciples of Christ say, Who canne be saued? But he answered: this is impossible with menne, but it is not impossible with God. This is all our confidence, this is our onely comforte, this is the whole grounde of our hope, but being assured of the possibilitie, what say we of his will? Who knoweth whether he be worthy of loue or hatred? Who hath knowen the Lords meaning? Or who hath bene his counsellor? Here now faith must of necessitie helpe vs, here must his truth succour vs, that that which is hidden from vs in the heart of the father, may be reueled by the Spirit, and his Spirit testifying it may perswade our heartes that we are the sonnes of God. And it may perswade vs by calling and iustifying vs freely by faith, in which things there is as it were a certaine meane passage from the eternal predestination to the glorie that is to come. Briefely let vs thus conclude. The Scripture declareth that the

promises

Psal. 119
76.

In Psal.
88. tra
datur
priori.

In de
dicar.
templi
ser. 5.

Eccles.
9. 1.
1. Cor.
2. 16

promises of God are not stablished, vnlesse they be taken hold of with assured affiance of conscience: and wheresoeuer there is any doubting or vncertaintie it pronounceth that they be void. Againe it pronounceth that they do nothing but stagger and wauer if they rest vpon our owne workes. Therefore we must needes either lose righteousnesse, or we must not consider our owne workes, but onely faith must take place, whose nature is this, to lift vp her eares and shut her eyes, that is to say, to be hedelessly bent to the promise only, and to turne away her thought from all mans worthinesse or deseruing. So is that notable prophecie of Zacharie fulfilled, that when the wickednes of the land shalbe done away, a man shall call his friend vnder his vine and vnder his figge tree, where the Prophet declareth that y^e faithfull do no otherwise enioy true peace but after obtaining of the forgeuenesse of sinnes. For this cauelation is to be remembered in the Prophetes, that when they speake of the kingdome of Christ, they set out the outward blessings of God as figures of the spirituall things. Whereupon Christ is called both the king of peace and our peace, because he appeaseth all the troublesom motions of conscience. If we seke by what meane he doth it, we must needes come to the sacrifice by which God is appeased. For he shall neuer cesse to tremble for feare that shall not determine that God is appeated by the onely satisfactorie cleansing wherein Christ hath sustained his wrath. Finally peace is no where els to be sought for but in the terrors of Christ our redeemer.

5 But why do I vse so darke a testimonie? Paule euery where denieth, that there is peace or quiet ioy left to consciences, vnlesse it be determined that we be iustified by faith. And he therewithall declareth whence that assurednes cometh, namely when the loue of God is poured into our heartes by the holy Ghost: as if he had said, that our consciences can not otherwise be quieted, vnlesse we be certainly perswaded that we please God. Whereupon also in an other place he crieth out in the person of all the godly, Who shall seuer vs from the loue of God, which is in Christ? because we shall tremble euen at euery litle breath, till we be arriued into the haue: but we shalbe without care euen in the darkenes of death, so long as the Lord shall shew him selfe a pastor to vs. Therefore whosoever prate that we are iustified by faith, because being regenerate we are iust by liuing spiritually: they neuer tasted the swetenesse of grace, to consider that God wil be merciful vnto them. Whereupon also followeth, that they do no more know the manner of praying rightly, than Turkes and whatsoeuer other profane Nations. For (as Paule witnesseth) it is no

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true faith vnlesse it teache and put vs in minde of that most swete
 name of Father, yea vnlesse it open our mouth freely to crie out Abba
 father. Which in an other place he more plainly expreſſeth, where
 he ſaith that in Chriſt we haue boldneſſe and entrie in confidence
 by the faith of him. Truly this cometh not to paſſe by the gift of re-
 generation: which as it is alway vnperfect in the fleſh, ſo it containeth
 in it ſelf manifold matter of douting. Wherefore we muſt of neceſſity
 come to this remedy, that the faithfull ſhould determine that they
 may by no other right, hope for the inheritaunce of the heavenly
 kingdome, but becauſe being graſſed into the body of Chriſt they
 are freely accompted righteous. For as touching iuſtification, faith is a
 thing merely paſſiue, bringing nothing of our own to the recouering
 of the fauour of God, but receiuing of Chriſt that which we want.

The xiiij. Chapter.

What is the beginning of iuſtification, and the continuall proceedinges thereof.

THAT the matter may be made more plaine, let vs ſearch, what
 may be the rightcouſneſſe of man in the whole courſe of his
 life: and let vs make ſower degrees thereof. For men either
 being endued with no knowledge of God, are drowned in
 idolatrie: or being entred into profeſſion by ſacramentes, denying
 God with vncleanneſſe of life, whom they confeſſe with mouth, they
 are Chriſts no further thā in name or they be hypocrits, which couer
 the wickednes of their harts, with vayne deceitful colors: or being re-
 generate by y^e ſpirit of God, they endeouour themſelues to true holi-
 neſſe. Specially when they are to be iudged by their naturall giſtes,
 from the crowne of their head to the ſole of their foote, there ſhall
 not be found one ſparcle of goodnes, vnles peraduenture we will ac-
 cuſe the ſcripture of falſhed, when it ſetteth out all the ſons of Adam
 with theſe titles, that they be of froward and ſtubborne heart that
 all the imaginatiō of their heart is euill from their infancy, that their
 thoughts be vaine, that they haue nor the feare of God before their
 eyes, that none of them vnderſtandeth or ſeketh God, breſely that
 they be fleſh, by which word are vnderſtanded all thoſe works which
 Paule rehearſeth, fornication, vncleanneſſe, vnchaſtitie, riotouſneſſe,
 worshipping of idoles, witchcraftes, enmities, contentions, emula-
 tions, angers, diſſenſions, ſectes, enuies, manſlaughters, & whatſoeuer
 filthynneſſe and abhominatiō may be deuifed. This forſoth is the
 worthines, with confidence whereof they muſt be proued. But if any
 among then excell with ſuch honeſty of manners as may haue ſome
 ſhewe

Ierc. 17

9.

Gen. 8.

21.

Pſa. 84.

11. and

14 2.

Gen. 6.

3.

Gala. 5.

19.

shewe of holines among men: yet because we know that God regardeth not the outward glistering, we must search the very fountaine of workes if we will haue them to auaille any thing to righteousness. We must (I say) thoroughly loke into them, from what affection of heart these works procede. But although here lieth open a most large felde to discourse in, yet because the matter may be declared in very fewe wordes, I will follow as much as I may a brefenes in teaching.

2 First I deny not that whatsoever excellent gifts appeare in the vnbeleuers, they are the gifts of God. Neither do I so differ from common iudgement, that I would affirme that there is no difference betwene the iustice, temperance and equitie of Titus and Traianus, and the rage, intemperance, and crueltie of Caligula, or Nero, or Domitian: betwene the filthy lustes of Tiberius, and in this behalfe the continence of Vespasian: and (that we may not tarry vpon some speciall vertues or vices) betwene the obseruing and the despising of right and lawes. For there is so great difference of right and wronge, that it appeareth euen in the dead image therof. For what thing shall there remain well ordered in the world, if we cōfound these together? Therefore such a difference betwene honest and dishonest doings, the Lorde hath not onely engrauen in the mindes of all men, but also doth oft confirme it with the dispensation of his providence. For we see how he extendeth many blessings of this present life to them that among men do follow vertue. Not by cause that outward image of vertue deserueth so much as the least benefite of his: but so it pleaseth him to declare by prooffe how much true righteousness pleaseth him, when he suffereth euen outward and fained righteousness not to be without rewarde. Whereupon followeth that which we euen nowe confessed, that these vertues, such as they be, or rather images of vertues, are the giftes of God, forasmuch as there is nothing in any wise praise worthy, which procedeth not from him.

3 But neuertheles it is true which Augustine writeth, that all they that are straungers from the true religiō of the one God, howsoever they be accompted worthy of admiration for opinion of vertue, are not onely worthy of no rewarde, but rather are worthy of punishment; because they do with defiling of their heart, bespot the pure good things of God. For though they be the instruments of God, to preserve y^e felowship of men with iustice, cōtinence, tēperance of minde, valiantnes, and wisdom: yet they do very euilly execute these good workes of God: because they are restrained from euill doing, not by sincere loue of goodnes, but either by onely ambition, or by loue of themselves, or by some other croked affection. Wheras therefore they

Libr. 4.
contra
Iulianū

are corrupt by the very vncleannes of hart as by their beginning, they are no more to be reckened among vertues, than those vices, which are wont to deceiue by reason of nerenes and likenesse of vertue. Finally when we remembre, that the ende of that which is right, euer is that God be serued: whatsoeuer tendeth to any other ende, forthwith worthily loseth the name of right. Bycause therefore they haue not respect to the marke which the wisdom of God appointeth: although y^e thing that they do, seeme good in doing, yet by a wrongful ende it is sin. He cōcludeth therfore that all the Fabricij, Scipioes, and Catoes, in all those excellent actes of theirs: yet sinned in this behalfe, that whereas they lacked the light of faith, they did not apply them to the ende to which they ought to haue applied them: & that for that cause, true righteousness was not in them: forasmuch as duties are not weyed by the doings, but by the endes.

1. Ioh. 5. 4 Moreouer if it be true which Iohn saith, that there is no life
12. without y^e sonne of God: who so haue no part in Christ, what maner of men so euer they be, what soeuer they do or go about, yet they runne forward with their whole course into destruction & the iudgement of eternall death. After this reason, is that said of Augustine. Our religion discerneth the righteous from the vnrighteous, not by lawe of workes: but by the very lawe of faith, without which, those that seeme good workes are turned into sins. Wherefore the same Augustine saith very well in an other place, when he compareth the endeuor of such men to running out of the way. For howe much faster a man runneth out of the way, so much further he is from the marke, and therefore is made so much more miserable. Wherefore he affirmeth that it is better to halt in the way, than to runne out of the way. Finally it is certaine that they are euell trees, forasmuch as without the cōmunicating of Christ there is no sanctification. They may therefore beare faire fruites and beautifull to the eye, yea & sweete in tast, but in no wise good fruites. Hereby we easily perceiue that whatsoeuer man thinketh, purposeth, or doth, before that he be reconciled to God by faith, is accursed, and not onely of no value to righteousness, but of certaine deseruing to damnation. And why dispute we hereof as of a doutfull thing, sith it is already proued by the witnesse of the Apostle, that it is impossible that any man may please God without faith?

5 But there shall yet appeare a plainer profe, if the grace of God be in comparison, directly set against the naturall state of man. For the
Iohn. 5. 25. Scripture crieth out euery where, that God findeth nothing in man whereby he may be prouoked to do good to him, but with his owne free

Libr. ad
Bonifa
in ca. 5.
Pref. in
Psalms.

Heb. 11.
6.

free goodnesse preuenteth him. For what can a deade man do to at-
 reine life? But when he ligheneth vs with the knowledge of himselfe,
 he is said to raise vs from death, and to make vs a newe creature. For
 we see that oftentimes, specially of the Apostle, the goodnes of God Eph. 2.
 is set forth vnto vs by this title, God (saith he) which is rich in mercy, 4
 for the great loue wherewith he loued vs, euen when we were dead
 by sinnes, hath made vs aliue together in Christ &c. In an other
 place, where vnder the figure of Abraham he entreateth of the ge- Iob. 42.
 nerall calling of the faithfull, he saith: it is God that geueth life to the
 dead, and calleth those things that are not, as though they were. If
 we be nothing, what (I beseech you) can we do? Wherefore y^e Lorde
 strongly beateth downe this arrogancy, in the history of Iob, in these Rom. 11
 wordes: who preuenteth me, and I shall rendre it him? for all things 35
 are mine. Which sentence Paule expounding applieth it to this, that Iob. 41.
 we should not thinke that we bring any thing to the Lorde but mere
 shame of needines and emptines. Wherefore in y^e place aboue cited, Rom. 10
 to proue that we are come into the hope of saluation by his grace 35.
 alone, not by works, he allegeth that we are his creatures because we
 are new begotten in Christ Iesus, to the good workes which he hath Ephe. 2.
 prepared that we should walke in the: As if he had said: which of vs 10.
 may boaste that he hath with his righteousnesse prouoked God, sith
 our first power to do good procedeth out of regeneration? For as we
 are made by nature, oyle shall soner be wronge out of a stone, than a
 good worke out of vs. Truly it is wonderfull if man being cōdemned
 of so great a shame, dare yet say that there remaineth any thing with
 him. Therefore let vs confesse with this noble instrument of God, 1. Tim. 2
 that we are called of God with a holy calling, not according to our 9.
 workes, but according to his purpose and grace: and that the kindnes
 & loue of God our sauour toward vs hath appeared, because he hath Tit. 3. 4
 saued vs, not by the works of righteousnesse which we haue don, but
 according to his owne mercy: y^e being iustified by his grace, we might
 be made the heires of eternall life. By this cōfession we dispoill man
 of all righteousnesse euen to the least litle peece thereof, till he be by
 only mercy regenerate into hope of eternall life: forasmuch as if the
 righteousnesse of workes do bring any thing toward the iustifying of
 vs, it is falsly said that we are iustified by grace. Truly the Apostle had
 not forgotten himselfe, when he affirmed iustificatiō to be of free gift,
 which in an other place resoneth y^e grace is nowe not grace, if works Rom. 11
 do any thing auail. And what other thing doth the Lord mean, whē 6.
 he saith that he came not to call righteous men but sinners? If onely
 sinners are receiued, why seeke we an entry by fained righteousness? 13.
 Mart. 9.

Cap. 14. Of the maner how to receiue

6 Still this same thought hath now, & then recourse to my minde, that it is perill least I should do wrong to the mercies of God, which do so carefully trauaill in prouinge of this thing as though it were doutfull or darke. But bycause our enuiousnes is such, as vnlesse it be most straightly thrust out of place, it neuer yeldeth to God y^e which is his, I am cōpelled to tary somwhat the longer vpon it. Yet forasmuch as the scripture is clere enough in this matter, I wil in fighting rather vse y^e wordes thereof then mine owne. Esaye, when he hath described the vniuersall destruction of mākind, doth immediatly after very fitly adioin the ordre of restoring. The Lorde hath seen, and it semed euell in his eyes. And he sawe, that there is no man: and he maruailed that there is none that offereth himselfe: and he hath set saluation in his owne arme, & hath strengthened himselfe with his owne righteousness. Where are our righteousnesses if it be true which the Prophet saith: that there is no man that helpeth the Lorde in recouering his saluation? So an other prophet, where he bringeth in the Lorde, discoursing of the reconciling of sinners to himselfe, saith: I will espouse thee to me for euer, in righteousness, iudgement, grace and mercie. I wil say to her y^e hath not obtained mercy, thou hast obtained mercy. If such conuenant, which it is certaine to be the first conioining that we haue with God, standeth vpon the mercie of God, there is left no foundation of our owne righteousness. And I would fain learne of those men which faine y^e man meteth God with some righteousness of works, whether they thinke that there is any righteousness at all, but that which is acceptable to God, If it be madnes to thinke so, what acceptable thing to God can procede from his enemies, whom he wholly abhorreth with all their doings? That all we, I say, are the dedly and professed enemies of our God, the truth it selfe testifieth, till being iustified, we are receiued into frendship. If iustification be the beginning of loue, what righteousness of workes shall go before it? So Iohn, to turne away that pestilent arrogance, doth diligently put vs in minde how we did not first loue him. And the selfe same thing the Lorde had long before taught by his Prophet: I will loue the, saith he, with a free loue, because mine anger is turned. Certainly his loue is not prouoked by workes if it hath of his owne accorde inclined it selfe vnto vs. But the rude common sorte of men thinke it to be nothing els, but that no man hath deserued that Christ should performe our redēption: yet that to the entring into the possession of redemption, we be holpen by our owne workes. Yea but howsoeuer we be red med of Christ, yet till we be by the calling of the Father grassed into the communiō of him, we are both heires of

darke-

darkenesse and death, and the enemies of God. For Paule teacheth ^{1. Cor.} that we are not cleansed and washed from our vncleanneses by the ^{6. 11.} blood of Christ, vntill the holy Ghost worketh that cleansing in vs. Which same thing Peter minding to teach, declareth that the sanc- ^{1. Pet. 1.} tifying of the Spirit auaieth vnto obedience & the sprinkling of the ^{2.} bloode of Christ. If we be by the Spirit sprinkled with the bloode of Christ vnto cleansing, let vs not thinke that before such watering we be any other than a sinner is without Christ. Let this therefore remaine certaine, y^e the beginning of our saluatiō is as it were a certaine resurrection frō death to life: because when for Christs sake it is geuen to vs to beleue in him, thē we first begin to passe from death into life.

7 Vnder this sort are comprehended they which haue in the diuision aboue set bene noted for the second and third sort of men. For the vncleannesse of conscience proueth that both of them are not yet regenerate by the Spirit of God. And againe, whereas there is no regeneration in them, this proueth the want of faith. Whereby appeareth that they are not yet reconciled to God, nor yet iustified in his sight: forasmuch as these good things are not attained to, but by faith. What can sinners being estrāged from God bring forth, but that which is accursed in his iudgement? With this foolish boldnes in deede, both all wicked men are puffed vp, & specially hypocrites, because howsoever they knowe that their whole heart swarmeth full of filthinesse, yet if they do any works y^e haue a shew of goodnes, they thinke them worthy that God should not despise thē. Herof groweth that pernicious error, y^e being proued guilty of a wicked and mischeuous minde, yet they can not be driuen to cōfesse themselues void of righteousness: but euen when they acknowledge thēselues vnrighteous, because they can not deny it, yet they arrogantly claime some righteousness vnto thē. This vanitie the Lord excellently well confuteth by the prophet: Aske (saith he) the priests, saying: if a man carrie sanctified flesh in the hemme of his garmēt, & putteth to it bread or other meate, shall it be sanctified? The priests aunswered: No. And Haggee said. If a defiled man in soule touch any of such these things, shall it be defiled? The priests answered: it shalbe defiled. Haggee said. So is this people before my face, saith the Lord: & so all the works of their hands, & all things y^e they offer to me shalbe defiled. I wold to god that this saying might either get full credit with vs, or well be settled in our remēbrāce. For there is no man, though he be otherwise in his whole life neuer so hainous a wicked doer, y^e can abide to be perswaded, that which y^e Lord here plainly pronouceth. The naughtiest man, so sone as he hath performed one or two doubtfull deedes of y^e law, doubteth

not that it shalbe accōpted to him for righteousnes. But y^e Lord crieth to the contrarie, that there is no sanctification gotten thereby, vnlesse the heart be first well cleansed. And not contented therewith, he affirmeth that all the workes whatsoever they be that procede from sinners, are defiled with vncleannes of the heart. Therefore let the name of righteousness depart from these workes which are by the Lordes owne mouth condemned of filthines. And with howe fit a similitude doth he shew the same? For it might haue bene obiected, that whatsoever the Lorde had commaunded, was inuiolably holy. But he on the cōtrarie side setteth against them, that it is no maruell, if those things that are hallowed by the lawe of the Lorde, are defiled with the filthinesse of naughty men: whereas an vncleane hand prophaneth a holy thing with touching it.

Isa. 1.
13.

8 The same matter he excellently well handleth in Esaye, Offer not (saith he) sacrifice in vaine: incense is abomination to me: my soule hateth your Calendes & solemnities. They are become tedious to me, & I haue bene werie with bearing them: when you shall hold vp your handes I will tourne away mine eyes from you: when you shall multiply prayer I will not heare: for your hādes are full of blood. Be washed, be cleane, take away y^e euell of your thoughts. What meaneth this that the Lord so lotheth the obeyinge of his owne lawe? Yea but he here refuseth nothing that is of the naturall obseruing of the lawe, y^e beginning whereof he euery where teacheth to be the vnfained feare of his name. When that is taken away, what so euer things are offered him are not onely trifles, but stinking and abominable filthinesse. Nowe let the hypocrites go, & keping peruersnes wrapped vp in their heart, endeuour to deserue the fauour of God with workes.

Psalm. 5.
8.

But by this meane, they shall more & more prouoke hī to wrath. For to him the sacrifices of wicked are abominable, and the only prayer of vpright men pleaseth him. Therefore we hold y^e out of dout, which ought to be most cōmonly knowen to him, that is euen but meanely exercised in the Scriptures, that euen those workes that glister most gloriously in men not yet truly sanctified, are so farre from righteousness in the sight of the Lord, that they be iudged sins. And therefore they haue said most truely that haue taught that fauour with God is not procured to any person by workes: but contrarywise that workes do then please, & neuer till then, when y^e person hath first found grace in the sight of God. And this ordre is religiously to be kept, to which the scripture leadeth vs by y^e hand. Moses wryteth that the Lord had respect to Abell & to his workes. See you not how he declareth that God is fauorable to the menne, before that he hath respect to their

workes?

August.
libr. de
pæn. &
Grego.

Gene. 4.
4.

workes? Wherefore the cleansing of the heart must go before, that the workes which come from vs, may be louingly receiued of God: because this saying of Ieremy is alway in force, that the workes of God haue respect vnto trueth. And that it is only faith by which the hearts of men are clenfed, the holy Ghost hath affirmed by the mouth of Peter: whereby it is certaine, that the first fundation is in true and liuely faith. A& 19.
6.
1er. 5. 3

9 Now let vs looke what righteousness they haue, whom we haue set in the fourth degree. We graunt that when God by the meane of the righteousness of Christ, reconcileth vs to himselfe, & giuing vs free forgiveness of sinnes accompteth vs for righteous, with such mercy is also conioyned this his beneficial doinge, that by his holy spirit he dwelleth in vs, by the power whereof the lustes of our flesh are daily more & more mortified, but we are sanctified: that is to say, hallowed to the Lord vnto true purenes of life, when our heartes are framed to the obedience of the law: that this may be our chiefe wil, to serue his will, and by all meanes to aduaunce only his glory. But euen while by the guidinge of the holy Ghost we walke in the wayes of the Lord, least yet we forgettinge our selues should waxe proude, there are left certaine remnants of imperfection, which may minister vs matter of humility. There is none righteous, (saith the Scripture) that doth good and sinneth not. What maner of righteousness therefore will they yet get by their workes? First I say, that the best worke that can be brought forth of them, is yet alway sprinkled and corrupted with some vncleannesse of the flesh, and hath as it were some dregges mingled with it. I say, let a holy seruant of God choose out of all his life the most excellēt thing that he shall thinke that he hath done in the whole course thereof, & let him wel consider all the partes of it, without dout he shall finde somewhere somewhat fauoringe of the rottenesse of the flesh, forasmuch as to doing well our cherefull quickenesse is neuer such as it ought to be, but in slackening our course our weakenesse is much. Although we see that there are euident foule blots wherewith the workes of the holy are bespred, yet graunt that they be nothing but most litle spottes: shall they nothing offend the eies of God, before whom euen the starres are not cleane? Thus haue we shewed that there commeth not so much as one good worke out of holy men, which if it be iudged in it selfe, deserueth not iust reward of shame. 1 Reg.
8. 6.

10 Secondly I say, that if it were possible that we should haue somethroughly pure and perfect workes, yet one sinne is enough to blotte out and quench all the remembrance of the former righteousness,

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Eze. 18. as the Prophet sayth. With whom also Iames agreeth: He that offendeth (saith he) in one, is made guilty of all. Nowe sith this mortall life is neuer pure or void from sinne, whatsoeuer righteousness we should purchase, being from time to time with sinnes following corrupted, oppressed and lost, it shoulde not come into the sight of God, nor be accompted to vs for righteousness. Finally when the righteousness of workes is entreated of, we must not haue respect to the worke of the lawe, but to the commaundement. Therefore if we seeke righteousness by the law, we shall in vaine bring forth one or two workes: but a perpetuall obediēce of γ law is there necessary. Wherefore the lord doth not but once (as many foolishly thinke) impute to vs righteousness that same forgiveness of sinnes wherof we haue spoken, that hauinge once obtained pardon of our life past, we should afterward seeke righteousness in the law: because he should so do nothing else but bring vs into a false hope, and mocke and laugh vs to scorne. For sith no perfection coulde come to vs so long as we are clothed with this flesh, & sith the law threatneth death & iudgemēt to all thē γ performe not ful righteousness in worke: it shal alway haue wherof it may accuse and condemne vs, vnlesse the mercy of God on the other side did withstand it, to acquite vs from time to time with continuall forgiveness of sinnes. Wherefore this standeth alway certaine which we sayd at the beginninge, that if we be weied by our owne worthinesse, whatsoeuer we purpose or go about, yet we with all our trauailes and endeouours are worthy of death and destruction.

11 Vpon these two pointes we must strongly stand fast: that there was neuer any worke of a godly mā, which if it were examined by the seuerer iudgement of God, was not damnable. Againe, if there be any such shewed, (which is not possible for man) yet being corrupted and defiled with the sinnes, wherewith it is certaine that the doer of it is laden, it looseth the grace. And this is the chiefe point of our disputation. For about the beginninge of iustification there is no strife betwene vs and the sounder sorte of Scholemen, but that a sinner being freely deliuered from damnation obtaineth righteousness, and that by the forgiveness of sinnes: sauing that they vnder the word of Iustification comprehend the renewing wherewith we are newly formed by the Spirit of God vnto the obedience of the law & they thus describe the righteousness of a man regenerate, that man being once reconciled to God by the faith of Christ, is by good workes iudged righteous before God, and by their deseruinge is accepted. But the

Rom. 4. Lorde contrariwise pronounceth that he imputed to Abraham faith
13. for righteousness, not at the time when he yet serued Idols, but when

when he had already many yeares excelled in holinesse of life. Therefore Abraham had long worshipped God from a pure heart, and had performed the obedience of the lawe which may be performed of a mortall man, yet he hath righteousnesse reposed in fayth. Whereupon we gather, according to the argument of Paule, that it was not of workes. Likewise when it is sayd in the Prophet. The righteous man shall liue by faith, it is not spoken of wicked & prophane men, whom the Lord iustifieth by conuerting them to the faith, but the speech is directed to the faithfull, and to them is promised life by faith. Paule also taketh away all dout, when for confirming of that sentence, he taketh this verse of Dauid. Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven. But it is cerraine, that Dauid speaketh not of the wicked, but of the faithfull, such as him selfe was: because he spake out of the feeling of his owne conscience. Therefore this blessednesse we must not haue once in our life, but hold it throughtout all our life. Last of all he testifieth that the embassage concerning the free reconciliation with God is not published for one or two dayes, but is perpetuall in the church. Therefore the faithfull haue euen to the end of their life no other righteousnesse than that which is there set forth. For Christ euerlastingly remaineth the Mediator to reconcile the father to vs, & the effectualnesse of his death is euerlasting: namely washing, satisfaction, expiation, finally perfect obedience, wherewith all our iniquities are couered. Neither doth Paul to the Ephesians say, that we haue the beginning of saluation out of grace, but that we are saued by grace, not of workes, that no man should glory.

12 The startinge holes which the Scholemen do here seeke to escape by, do not deliuer them. They say that good workes are not by inward worthines in themselues of so great value, that they be sufficient to purchase righteousnes: but this, that they be of so great value, is of grace accepting them. Then, because they be driuen to confesse that the righteousnesse of workes is in this life alway vnperfect, they graunt that we, so long as we liue, do neede forgiveness of sinnes, whereby the want of workes may be supplied: but, that the defaultes which are committed, are recompenced with workes of supererogation. For I answer, that the accepting grace as they call it, is none other than his free goodnesse wherewith the father embraceth vs in Christ, when he clotheth vs with the innocency of Christ, & accompteth the same ours, that by the beneficial meane thereof he may take vs for holy, pure, and innocent. For, the righteousnes of Christ (which as it only is perfect, so only can abide the sight of God) must be set in our steade, and be presented at the barre as a surety. Herewith we be-

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ing furnished, do obtaine continuall forgiuenesse of sinnes in faith. With the purenesse hereof our filthinesse and vncleannesse of imperfections being couered are not imputed: but are hidden, as if they were buried, y they may not come into the iudgement of God, vntil the houre come, when the old mā being slaine & vtterly destroyed in vs, the goodnesse of God shall receiue vs into blessed peace with the new Adā, where let vs looke for the day of the Lord, in which in receiuing vncorrupt bodies, we shall be remoued into the glory of the heauenly kingdom.

13 If these things be true, verily no workes of ours can of themselves make vs acceptable & pleasing to God: neither can the workes themselves please, but in respect that man being couered with the righteousness of Christ, pleaseth God, & obtaineth forgiuenesse of his sinnes. For God hath not promised the reward of eternall life to some certaine workes, but onely pronounceth that he which doth these things, shal liue: settinge the notable curse against all them that continue not in all thinges. Whereby the deuise of righteousness in parte is largely confuted, sith no other righteousness is admitted into heauē, but a whole obseruing of the law. And no whit sounder is that which they are wont to babble of supplying of recompence by workes of Supererogation. For why? Do they not still returne to the same place from whence they are already shut out: that he which keperth the law in parte, is by workes so farre righteous? That which no man of sound iudgemēt will graunt them, they do too shamelessly take for cōfessed. So oft the Lord testifieth that he acknowledgeth no righteousness of workes, but in the perfect obseruing of his law. What obstinacy is it, that we when we are destitute of that obseruing, least we shoulde seeme spoiled of all glory, that is, to haue altogether giuen place to God, do boast our selues of I wot not what small peeces of a few workes, and go about by satisfactions to redeme that which wanteth. Satisfactions haue already before bin sufficiently ouerthrowen, that we ought not now so much as to dreame of thē. Only this I say, that they which so play the fooles, do not wey how detestable a thing sinne is before God: for truely they should vnderstand that the whole righteousness of men beinge layd vpon a heape, is not sufficient to make recompence for one sinne. For we see that man was by one offence so cast away and abandoned of God, that he therewithall lost all meane to recouer saluation. Therefore the power of Satisfaction is taken away, wherewith they flatter themselves, but surely shall neuer satisfie God, to whom nothing is pleasant or acceptable that proceedeth frō his enemies. And his enemies are all they to whom he purposeth

Leu. 18.
5.

Gen. 3.
17.

poseth to impute sinnes. Therefore our sinnes must be couered and forgiven, before that the Lorde haue respect to any worke of ours. Whereupon followeth that the forgiveness of sinnes is of free grace Phil. 3. 13. which they do wickedly blaspheme that trust in any satisfactions. Let vs therefore, after the example of the Apostle, forgetting those things that are behinde vs, and hastning forward to those things that are before vs, runne in our race, endeavouring to the price of the hie callinge.

14 But how doth the boasting of the workes of supererogation agree with that rule which is taught vs, that when we haue done all thinges that are commaunded vs, we should say that we are vnprofitable seruantes, and that we haue done no more than we ought? To say Luk. 17. 10. before God, is not to faine or to lie, but to determine with thy selfe, that which thou art assured of. The Lord therefore commaundeth vs vnfaignedly to thinke and consider with our selues, that we do not any free beneficial doings to him, but to render due seruice. And worthily. For we are seruantes endetted in so many seruices, as we are not able to discharge, although all our thoughts & all our members, were turned into dutefull deedes of the law. And therefore that which he sayth. When ye haue done all thinges that are commaunded you, &c. is asmuch in effect, as if the righteousness of one man were more than all the righteousness of men. How therefore may we (of whom there is none that is not most farre distant from this marke) be so bolde as to boast that we haue added a heape to the full measure? Neither is there any cause why any man may take exceptiō and say, that nothing withstandeth but that his endeavour may proceede beyonde necessary duties, which in some behalfe ceaseth those that be from necessary. For this we must altogether holde, that we can imagine nothinge that auaieth either to the worship or the loue of God, which is not cōprehended vnder the law of God. If it be a part of the law, let vs not boast of voluntary liberality, where we are bound to necessity.

15 And for this purpose that glorying of Paule is out of season alleaged. That amōg the Corinthians he did of his owne wil yeld of his 1. Cor. 6. 1. right, which otherwise he might haue vsed if he had would, and that he hath employed vpon them not onely so much as he ought of duty, but also hath giuen them his free trauaill beyonde the boundes of duties. But they should haue marked the reason there expressed, that he did this least he should be an offense to the weake. For false and deceitful workemen did boast themselves with this alluring shew of liberality, wherby they might both procure fauour to their poisonous doctrines, and raise vp hatred to the Gospell, so that Paule was driuen

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of necessity either to bring the doctrine of Christ into danger, or to meete with such craftes. Go to if it be to a christian man an indifferent thinge, to runne into offense, when he may refraine it, then I graunt that the Apostle did somthing of Supererogatiō for the lord. But if this were by right required of a wise distributor of the Gospel, then I say y he did that which was his duety to do. Finally although there appeare no such cause, yet this saying of Chrysostome is alway true, that all our thinges are in the same case wherein are the proper possessions of bondmen, which it is certaine by the law to be due to their Lord. And Christ hath vttered the same in the parable. For he asked what thanke we will giue to a bonde seruant when hauing bin all the day trauailed with sundry labours he returneth home to vs in the euening. But it is possible, that he hath labored with greater diligence than we durst haue required. Be it so; yet he hath done no thing but that which by his estate of bondage he ought, for he with his whole ability is ours. I speake not of what sort their Supererogatiōs are which these men wil boast of to God: for they be trifles, such as he neither hath at any time commaunded, nor doth approue them, nor will allow them whē accompt shalbe to be made before him. In this signification onely we will graunt that they are workes of Supererogation, namely of which it is spoken in the Prophet: who hath required these things at your hands? But let them remember what is in another place also spoken of these things: Wherefore do ye weye your siluer & not in bread? Ye spend in labour & not in being satisfied. It is in deede not very hard for these idle Rabbines to dispute vnder the shadow in a soft chaire: but when the soueraigne iudge shall sit in his iudgement seate, such windy decrees shall of necessity vanishe away. This, this was to be sought what affiance of defense we may bring to his iudgemēt seate, not what we may talke of in schooles & corners.

16 In this behalfe there are chiefly two pestilences to be driuen out of our mindes: that we put no affiance in the righteousness of workes. And that we ascribe no part of glory to them. The Scriptures do euery where thrust vs from all maner of affiance, whē they teach that our righteousnesses do stinke in the sight of God, vnlesse they receiue a good sauer from the innocence of Christ, & that they can do nothing but prouoke the vengeance of God, vnlesse they be sustained by the tendernes of his mercy. Moreouer they so leaue nothing to vs, but that we shoulde craue y mercy of our iudge with that confession of Dauid, that none shal be iustified before him, if he require accompt of his seruantes. But where Job sayth: If I haue done wickedly, wo to me: but if I do righteously, yet I wil not so lift vp my head:

Luk. 17
7.

Psal. 1.
12.

Psal. 55.
3.

Psa. 143
2.
Iob. 10.
15.

head: though he meane of that most hie righteousness of God, wher-
vnto the very Angels answered not: yet he therewithall sheweth that
when they come to the iudgement of God, there remaineth nothing
for all mortal men, but to hold their peace as dumme. For it tendeth
not only to this purpose that he had rather willingly yeelde than da-
ngerously strue with the rigorousnes of God: but he meaneth that he
felt no other righteousness in himselfe, than such as at y first moment
should fall before the sight of God. When affiance is driuen away, al
glorying must also necessarily depart. For who can giue the praise of
righteousnes to these workes, the affiance whereof trembleth before
the sight of God? We must therefore come whether Esay calleth vs, *Esa. 46.*
that all the seede of Israell may be praised & glory in God: because it *20.*
is most true which he saith in an other place, that we are the plan- *Esa. 61.*
ting of the glory of God. Our minde therefore shall then be rightly *3.*
purged, when it shal neither in any behalfe rest vpon the confidence
of workes, nor reioyse in the glory of them. But this error encoura-
ged foolish men to the puffinge vp of this false & lying affiance, that
they alway set the cause of their saluation in workes.

17 But if we looke to the foure kindes of causes, which the Phi-
losophers teach vs to consider in the effect of things, we shall finde
that none of them doth accord with workes in the stablishing of our
saluation. For the Scripture doth euery where reporte that the cause
of procuringe the eternall life to vs, is the mercy of the heauenly fa-
ther and his free loue towards vs: that the Materiall cause is Christ
with his obedience, by which he purchaced righteousness for vs.
What also shall we say to be the formall or instrumentall cause but
faith? And these three causes Iohn comprehendeth together in one *Ioh. 3.*
sentence, when he saith, God so loued y world, that he gaue his only *16.*
begotten sonne, that euery one which beleueth in him may not pe-
rishe, but may haue euerlasting life. Now the finall cause the Apo-
stle testifieth to be both the shewing of the righteousness of God
and the praise of his goodnesse: where he rehearseth also the other
three in expresse wordes. For he saith thus to the Romaines: all haue *Rom. 3.*
sinned and do neede the glory of God: but they are iustified fre- *23.*
ly by his grace. Here thou hast the head & first fountain, namely that
God embraced vs with his free mercy. Then followeth: By the re-
demption which is in Christ Iesu. Here thou hast as it were the matter
whereof righteousness is made for vs through fayth in his bloude.
Here is shewed the instrumentall cause, whereby the righteousness
of Christ is applied to vs. Last of all he ioyneth the ende, when he
sayth, vnto the shewing of his righteousness that he may be righteous

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& the righteousmaker of him that is of the faith of Christ. And (to touch by the way that this righteousness standeth of reconciliation) he setteth expressly by name, that Christ was giuen to vs for reconciliation. So in the first chap. also to the Ephesians he teacheth that we are receiued of God into fauour by mere mercy : that the same is wrought, by the intercession of Christ : receiued, by fayth : all to this ende, that the glory of the goodnesse of God may fully shine. When we see y all the partes of our saluation are so without vs, what cause is there y we should now either haue affiance or glory in works? Neither can euen the most sworne enemies of the grace of God moue any controuersie with vs about the efficient or finall cause, vnlesse they will deny the whole Scripture. In the Materiall & Formall cause they cast a false colour, as though our workes haue a halfe place with faith and the righteousness of Christ. But this also they teache, the Scripture crying out against them, which simply affirmeth both that Christ is to vs for righteousness and life, & that this benefit of righteousness is possessed by only faith.

18 But whereas the holy men do oftentimes strengthen & comfort themselves with remembrance of their owne innocency and vprightnes, & sometime also forbear not to report of it with praise, that is done two waies: either that in cōparing their good cause with the euill cause of the wicked, they conceiue thereby assured trust of victory, not so much for commending of their owne righteousness, as for the iust & deserued condemning of their aduersaries: or that euen without comparison of other, while they recorde themselves before God, the purenes of their owne conscience bringeth to the both some comfort & affiance. Of the first of these two wayes, we shal see hereafter : nowe let vs briefly declare of the latter, howe it agreeth with that which we haue aboue sayd, that in the iudgement of God we must rest vpon no affiance of workes, and glory vpon no opinion of them. This is the agreement that the holy ones, when it concerneth the founding and stablishing of their saluation, do without respect of workes bend their eies to the only goodnesse of God. And they do not only bend themselves to it afore all things as to the beginning of blessednesse, but do rest therein as in the fulfilling of it. A conscience so founded, raised and stablished, is also stablished with consideration of workes: namely so farre as they are the witnessings of God dwelling and reigning in vs. Sith therefore this affiance of workes hath no place, vnlesse thou haue first cast the whole affiance of thy minde vpon the mercy of God: it ought not to seeme contrary to that whereupon it hangeth. Wherefore when we exclude the affiance of workes,

we meane onely this that a Christian minde may not bowe to the merit of workes as to the succour of saluation, but shoulde thoroughly rest in the free promise of righteousnesse. But we forbid it not to vnderprop and strengthen this faith with the signes of the good will of God toward it selfe. For if at the good giftes which God hath bestowed vpon vs, when they be recorded in remembrance, are to vs after a certaine maner as it were beames of the face of God, by which we are enlightened to beholde that soueraigne light of goodnesse: much more is the grace of good workes, which sheweth that the Spirit of adoption is giuen vs.

19 When therefore the holy ones do by innocency of conscience confirme their faith, & gather matter of reioysing, they do not hunge but eate to minde by the frutes of their calling, that they are adopted of the Lord into the place of children. This therefore that is taught by Salomon, that in the feare of the Lord is stedfast assurednes: and this that sometime the holy ones vs this protestation, to the entent that they may be heard of the lord, that they haue walked before his face in vprightnes & simplicity: haue no place in laying the fundatiō of stablishing of cōscience: but are the only of value, if they be taken of the ensuing effect: because both that feare is no where which may stablish a full assurednes, & y^e holy ones are priue in their cōscience of such an vprightnes, wherwith are yet mingled many remnantes of the flesh. But forasmuch as of the frutes of regeneration they gather an argument of the holy Ghost dwelling in them, they do there by not scenderly strengthen themselves to looke for y^e help of God in all their necessities, when they by experiece finde him their father in so great a matter. And even this also they can not do, vnlesse they haue first conceiued the goodnes of God, sealed with no other assurednesse, than of the promise. For if they beginne to weie it by good workes, nothing shalbe more vncertaine nor more weake: forasmuch as if workes be considered by themselves, they shall no lesse by their imperfection shew proofe of the wrath of God, thā they do with howsoever vnperfect purenesse testify his good will. Finally they do so set out the benefites of God, that yet they turne not away from the free fauour of God, in which Paul testifieth that there is y^e length, breadth, depth & heighth of them: as if he should say, Whethersoever the senses of the godly do turne themselves, how hie soeuer they clime, how farre & wide soeuer they extende them, yet they ought not to go out of the loue of Christ, but holde themselves wholly in the meditation thereof, because it comprehendeth all kindes of measures in it. And therefore he sayth that it excelleth & surmounteth above all know-

Pro. 14. 26.

Gen. 24. 40.
2. Kings 20. 3.

Eph. 3. 18.

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Rom. 8. 37. ledge: and that when we acknowledge how much Christ hath loued vs, we are fulfilled into all the fulnesse of God. As in an other place, when he glorieth that all the Godly are vanquishers in batteli, he by andby addeth a reason, because of him that loued vs.

20 We see now that there is not in the holy ones that affiance, of works, which either giueth any thing to the merite of them (forasmuch as they regard the none otherwise than as the gifts of God, whereby they reknowlege his goodnes none otherwise thā as signes of their callinge, whereby may thinke vpon their election) or which withdraweth not any thinge from the free righteousnesse which we obtaine in Christ; forasmuch as it hangeth vpon it, and standeth not without it. The same thinge doth Augustine in few wordes, but very wel set out where he writeth. I do not say to the Lord, despise not the workes of my handes, or I haue sought the Lord with my handes & haue not bin deceiued. But, I do not comend the workes of my handes: for I feare, least when thou hast looked vpon them, thou shalt finde moe sinnes than merites. Only this I say, this I aske, this I desire, despise not the workes of thy hands, behold in me thy worke, not mine. For if thou beholdest mine, thou damnest me if thou beholdest thine, thou crownest me. For also whatsoeuer good workes I haue, they are of thee. He setteth two causes, why he dare not boast of his workes to God, because if he haue any good workes, he seeth therein nothing his owne: secondly, because the same is also ouerwhelmed with multitude of sinnes. Whereupon commeth to passe that the conscience feeleth thereby more feare & dismayng than assurednes. Therefore he would haue God no otherwise to looke on his well doings, than that reknowledging in them the grace of his calling, he may make an end of the worke which he hath begonne.

21 But furthermore wheras the Scripture sheweth that the good workes of the faithful, are causes why the Lord doth good to them, that is so to be vnderstanded, that that which we haue before set may stand vnshaken, that the Effect of our saluation consisteth in the loue of God the Father: the Matter, in the obediēce of the Sonne: the Instrument, in the enlightning of the holy Ghost, that is to say, in faith: that the ende is the glory of the so great kindenesse of God. These things withstand not, but that the Lord may embrace workes as inferior causes. But whence commeth that? Namely whome the Lorde of his mercy hath appointed to the inheritance of eternall life, them with his ordinary dispensation he doth by good workes bringe into the possession thereof. That which goeth before in order of dispensation, he calleth the cause of that which followeth. After this man-

ner he sometime deriueth eternal life from workes: not for that is to be ascribed to them: but because whom he hath chosen, the he doth iustifie, that he may at length glorifie them, he maketh the grace that goeth before which is a step toward that which foloweth, after a certaine maner the cause of it. But so oft as he hath occasiō to assigne the true cause, he biddeth vs not to flee to workes, but holdeth vs in the onely thinkinge vpon the mercy of God. For what manner of thinge is this which he reacheth by the Apostle, The rewarde of sinne is death: the grace of the Lorde, is life euerlastinge? Why doth he not set righteousness in comparison against sinne, as he setteth life against death? Why doth he not make righteousness the cause of life, as he maketh sinne the cause of death? For so should the cōpari- son of contraries haue stande well together, which is much broken by this turninge. But the Apostle meant by this comparison to expresse that which was trueth, that death is due to the deseruinges of men: that life is reposed in the onely mercy of God. Finally in these manners of speaking is rather expressed the order than the cause: because God in heapinge graces vpon graces, taketh cause of the first to adde the seconde, that he may leaue nothinge vndone to the enriching of his seruantes: and he so cōtinually extendeth his liberality, that yet he would haue vs alway to looke vnto the free electiō which is fountaine and beginninge of it. For although he loueth the giftes which he daily giueth, inso much as they spring out of that fountaine: yet it is our part to holde fast that free acceptation, which alone is able to vpholde our soules: as for such giftes of his Spirit as he afterward giueth vs, so to adioyne them to the first cause, that they minish nothing of it.

The xv. Chapter.

That those things that are commonly boasted concerning the merites of workes, do ouerthrow as well the praise of God in giuing of righteousness, as also the assurednesse of saluation.

NOW we haue declared that which is the chiefe point in this matter: that because if righteousness be vpholdē with works, it must needs by and by fall downe before the sight of God, it is contained in the onely mercy of God, the onely communicating of Christ, and therefore in only faith. But, let vs diligently marke that this is the chiefe stay of the matter, least we be entangled with that generall error, not only of the common people, but also of learned men. For so soone as question is moued of the iustification of faith & works, they flee to those places which seeme to giue to works

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some merit in the sight of God: as though the iustification of workes were fully wonne, if it be once proued that they be of any value with God. But we haue aboue plainly shewed that the righteousnesse of workes consisteth only in the perfect & full keping of the law. Whereupon foloweth that no man is iustified by workes but he that hauing climbed vp to y^e hiest top of perfection can not be proued guilty of any offense be it neuer so litle. Therefore it is an other & a seuerall questiō: Howsoever workes suffice not to iustifie a man, whether yet do they not deserue fauour with God?

2 First of the name of merite I must needes say this afore hande, that whosoever first applied it to workes of men cōpared to the iudgement of God, he did very ill prouide for the purenesse of faith. Truly I do by my good wil abstaine frō strīues about wordes, but I would wish that this sobriety had alway bin vsed among Christian wryters, that they would not haue founde in their heartes to vse wordes strange from the Scriptures, which engendred much offense and no frute. For whereto, I besech you, was it needefull to haue the name of Merite brought in, when the price of good workes might be fitly expressed by an other name without offense? But howe much offense that worde containeth in it, is euident with the great hurt of the worlde. Surely as it is most proude it can do nothinge but darken the grace of God, and fill men with froward pride. The olde wryters of the Church, I graunt, haue commonly vsed it, and I would to God they had not with the abusinge of one litle word giuen to posteritie matter of errour. Howbeit they themselues also do in many places testifie, howe in no case they meant to giue any preiudice agaynst the trueth. For thus sayeth Augustine in one place, Let Merites of men here holde their peace, which haue perished by Adam: and lette the grace of God reigne, by Iesus Christ. Againe, The saintes giue nothing to their owne Merites: they will giue all to none but to thy mercy, O God. In an other place, When man seeth that whatsoever good he hath, he hath it not from himselfe, but from his God, he seeth that all that which is praised in him, is not of his owne Merites, but of the mercy of God. You see howe takinge from men the power of doinge well, he also throweth downe the dignity of Merite. And Chrysostome sayth, Our workes, if there be any, which folow the free calling of God, are repayment and det: but the giftes of God are grace and bountifullnesse and the greatnesse of liberall giuinge. But, leauinge the name, let vs rather looke vpon the thinge. I haue verily before alleaged a sentence out of Bernarde, As it sufficeth to Merite, not to presume of Merites: so to want Merites, sufficeth

De pre-
dest.
Sanct.
In psal.
139.
In ps. 88

Homil.
33. in
Gen.

sufficeth to iudgement. But by addinge forth with an exposition, he sufficiently mitigateth the hardnesse of the worde, where he saith: Therefore care thou to haue Merites: when thou hast them, knowe that they are giuen: hope for frute, the mercy of God: and so thou hast escaped all danger, of pouerty, vnthankfulnesse, and presumption. Happy is the church which neither wanteth Merites without presumption, nor presumption without Merites. And a litle before he hadde largely shewed, howe Godly a meaninge he vsed. For of Merites (sayth he) why shoulde the Church be carefull, which hath a stedfaster and surer cause to glorie of the purpose of God? God can not deny himselfe, he wil do that which he hath promised. If there be no cause why thou shouldest aske, by what merites may we hope for good thinges? specially sith thou hearest it sayd, Not Eze. 36. for your sakes, but for my sake: it sufficeth to Merit, to know that Merites suffice not. 22.

3 What all our workes deserue, the Scripture sheweth when it sayth that they can not abide the sight of God, because they are ful of vncleannesse: then, what the perfect obseruing of the law (if any such could be found) shal deserue, when it teacheth that we should thinke our selues vnprofitable seruantes when we haue done all things that are commaunded vs: because we shal haue giue nothing freely to the Lord, but only haue performed our due seruices, to which there is no thanke to be giuen. But those good workes which he himselfe hath giuen vs, the Lord both calleth ours and testifieth that they are not onely acceptable to him, but also that they shal haue reward. It is our duety againe for our parte, to be encouraged with so great a promise, and to gather vp our heartes, that we be not wearied with well doinge, and to yeelde true thankfulnesse to so great bountifulnesse of God. It is vndouted y it is the grace of God whatsoeuer there is in workes that deserueth praise: that there is not one droppe, which we ought properly to ascribe to our selues. This if we do truely and earnestly acknowledge, there vanisheth away not onely all affiance but also opinion of Merite. We (I say) do not parte the praise of good workes (as the Sophisters do) betwene God and man: but we reserue it whole, perfect, and vnminished to the Lorde. Onely this we assigne to man, that euen the selfe same workes that were good he by his vncleannesse corrupteth and defileth. For nothinge commeth out of man, howe perfect soeuer he be, that is not defiled with some spot. Therefore let the Lord call into iudgement euen these thinges that are best in the workes of menne: he shall verily espie in them his owne righteousness, but mans dishonesty and shame. Good workes

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therefore do please God & are not vnprofitable to the doers of them, but rather they receiue for rewarde the most large benefites of God: not because they so deserue, but because the goodnesse of God hath of it selfe appointed this price vnto them. But what spitefulnesse is this, that men not cōtented with that liberality of God, which giueth vndue rewardes to workes that deserue no such thing, do with ambition ful of sacrilege endeouour further, that that which is wholly of the liberality of God, may seeme to be rendered to the merites of men. Here I appelle to the common iudgement of euery man. If any man that hath a taking of profit in a peece of ground by an others más liberall graunt, do also claime to himselfe the title of propriety: doth he not by such vnthankfulness deserue to loose the very selfe possession which he had? Likewise if a bondeslaue beinge made free of his Lord, do hide the basenes of the estate of a Libertine, & boast himself to be a freeman borne: is he not worthy to be brought backe into his former bondage? For this is the right vse of enioying a benefite, if we neither claime to our selues more than is giuen, nor do defraude the author of the benefite of his praise: but rather do so behaue our selues, that that which he hath giuen from himselfe to vs, may seeme after a certaine maner to remaine with him. If this moderation be to be kept toward men, let all men looke & consider what maner of moderation is due to God.

4 I knowe that the Sophisters do abuse certaine places, to proue therby that the name of Merit toward God is found in the Scriptures. They alleage a sentence out of Ecclesiasticus, Mercy shall make place to euery man, according to the Merit of his workes. And out of the Epistle to the Hebrues, Forget not doing good and communicating, for with such sacrifices men merite of God. As for my right in resisting the authority of Ecclesiasticus, I do now release it. Yet I deny that they faithfully alleage that which Ecclesiasticus, whatsoeuer writer he were, hath wrytten. For the Greeke copie is thus: *πάση ἐλεημοσύνην ποιῆται τοπον, ἕκαστος γὰρ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εὐρίσκει*. He shal make place to euery mercy, & euery man shal finde according to his works. And that this is y true text, which is corrupted in the Latine translation, appeareth both by the framing of these words, & by a lōger ioyning together of the sentence going before. In the Epistle to the Hebrues, there is no cause why they should snare vs in one litle worde, when in the Greeke wordes of the Apostle is nothing else but that such sacrifices do please and are acceptable to God. This alone ought largely to suffice to subdue & beate downe the outragiousnes of our pride, that we faine not any worthinesse to workes beyonde the rule

of

Libertine, is he that is free by manumission, not by birth

Ecclesi. 16
14
Heb. 13
16.

of Scripture. Now the doctrine of the Scripture is, that all our good workes are continually besprinkled with many filthy spottes; wherewith God may be worthily offended and be angry with vs: so far is it of, that they be able to winne him to vs, or to prouoke his liberality toward vs: Yet because he of his tender kindenesse doth not examine them by extremity of law, he taketh thē as if they were most pure, & therefore though without merit, he rewardeth them with infinite benefites both of this present life and of the life to come. For I do not allowe the distinction set by men otherwise learned and godly: that good workes deserue the graces that are giuen vs in this life, and that eternall life is the reward of faith alone. For the Lord doth commonly alway set in heauen the reward of labors and the crowne of battel. Againe to giue it so to the merit of workes, that it be taken away frō grace, that the Lord heapeth vs with graces vpon graces, is against the doctrine of the Scripture. For though Christ sayth that to him that hath, shalbe giuen, and that the faithfull and good seruant which hath shewed himselfe faithfull in fewe thinges, shalbe set ouer many: yet he also sheweth in an other place, that the encrease of the faithfull are the giftes of his free goodnesse. All ye that thirst (sayth he) come to the waters: and ye that haue not money, come and bye milke and honie without money and without any exchange. Whatsoeuer therefore is nowe giuen to the faithfull for help of saluation, yea and blessednesse it selfe, is the meere liberality of God: yet both in this and in those he testifieth that he hath consideration of workes: because, to testifie the greatnesse of his loue toward vs, he vouchsaueth to graunt such honor not only to vs, but also to the giftes which he hath giuen vs.

Mat. 25

21. & 29

Esa. 55.

1.

5 If these thinges had in the ages past bin handeled & disposed in such order as they ought to haue bin, there had neuer arisen so many troubles and dissensions. Paul sayth that in the buildinge of Christian doctrine, we must kepe still that foundation which he had layed among the Corinthians, beside which no other can be layed: and that the same foundation is Iesus Christ. What maner of foundation haue we in Christ? is it, that he was to vs the beginninge of saluation: that the fulfilling thereof should follow of our selues? and hath he but only opened the way, by which we should go forward of our owne strength? Not so: but, as he sayd a litle before, when we acknowledge him, he is giuen to vs for righteousness. No manne therefore is well founded in Christ, but he that hath full righteousness in him: forasmuch as the Apostle sayeth not that he was sent to helpe vs to obtaine righteousness, but that he himselfe might be our righteousness.

1. Cor.

3. 11.

1. Cor. 1

30.

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Eph. 1. Namely, that we are chosen in him from eternitie before the making
4. of the world, by no deseruing of oures, but according to the purpose
Colo. 1. of the good pleasure of God: that by his death we are redemed from
14. & the damnation of death, and deliuered from destruction: that in him
20. we are adopted of the heauenly father into children and heires: that
Ioh. 10. by his blood we are recóiled to the Father: that being geuen to him
28. to be kept we are deliuered from perill of perishing and of being
lost: that being so engrafted in him, we are already after a certaine
manner partakers of eternall life, being entred into the kingdome
of God by hope: and yet more: that hauinge obtained such parta-
king of him, howe so euer we be yet fooles in our selues, he is wisdom
for vs before God: howsoeuer we be sinners, he is righteousnesse
for vs: howsoeuer we be vncleane, he is cleannesse for vs: howsoeuer
we be weake, howsoeuer vnarmed and lieng open in danger of Sa-
tan, yet oures is the power which is geuen him in heauen and earth,
Mat. 28 whereby he may treade downe Satan for vs, and breake the gates of
18. helles: howsoeuer we still cary about with vs the body of death, yet
he is life for vs: bresely that all his things are oures, and we in him
haue all things, in our selues nothing: vpon this foundation. I say, it
behoueth that we be builded, if we will encrease into a holy temple
to the Lorde.

6 But the world hath a longe time bene otherwise taught. For
there haue bene found out I wote not what morall good workes, by
which men may be made acceptable to God before that they be
grafted in Christ. As though the Scripture lieth, when it saith, that
1. Ioh. 5 they are all in death which haue not possessed the Sonne. If they be
12. in death, howe should they bring forth matter of life? As though it
Rom. 14 were of no more force, y whatsoeuer is done without faith, is sinne:
23. as though there may be good frutes of an euell tree. But what haue
these most pestilent Sophisters left to Christ wherin he may shewe
forth his power? They say that he hath deserued for vs the first grace,
namely the occasion of deseruing: that it is nowe our part not to
faile the occasion offred. O desperate shamelesnesse of vngodlinesse.
Who would haue thought that men professing the name of Christ,
durst so strippe him naked of his power, and in a manner treade him
vnder foote? This testimonie is eche where spoken of him, that all
they are iustified that beleue in him: these fellowes teach, that there
commeth from him no other benefit, but this, that the way is opened
to euery man to iustifie himselfe. But I would to God they tasted
1. Ioh. 5. what these sayings meane: that all they haue life that haue the Sonne
12. of God: that whosoever beleueth, is already passed from death in-
Iohn. 5.
24.

to life : that we are iustified by his grace, that we might be made Rom. 3.
heires of eternall life : that the faithfull haue Christ abidinge in 24.
them, by whome they cleaue fast to God : that they which are par- 1. ioh. 3.
takers of his life, do sit with him in heauenly places : that they are 23.
transplanted into the kingdome of God, and haue obtained saluatiō. Eph. 2.
and innumerable other such. For they do not declare, that there cō- 6.
meth by the faith of Christ nothing but y power to obtaine righte- Colo. 1.
outnesse or saluation, but that they are both geuen to vs. Therefore 13.
so sone as thou art by faith engrafted into Christ, thou art already
made the sonne of God, the heire of heauen, partaker of righteous-
nesse, possessor of life, and (that their lies may be better confuted)
thou hast not obtained the fit abilitie to deserue, but euen all the de-
seruings of Christ : for they are communicated to thee.

7 So the Sorbonical scholes, the mothers of all errours, haue ta-
ken from vs the iustificatiō of faith which is the summe of all godli-
nesse. They graunt verily in worde, that man is iustified by formed
faith : but this they afterward expound, because good workes haue
of faith this that they auaille to righteousness : that they seme in a
manner to name faith in mockage, sith without great enuiousnesse it
could not be passed ouer in silence, seing it is so oft repeted of the
Scripture. And not yet cōtented, they do in the praise of good works
priuilege steale from God somewhat to geue away to man. Because they
see that good workes little auaille to aduaunce man, and that they can
not be properly called Merites, if they be accompted the frutes of the
grace of God : they picke them out of the strength of free will, oyle
forsooth out of a stone. And they denie not in deede that the prin-
cipall cause of them is in grace : but they affirme that thereby is not
excluded free will, by which is all merit. And this not onely the latter
Sopisters do teach, but also their Pythagoras, Lombard : whome if Lib. 2.
you compare with these men, you may say to be sound witted and dist. 28.
sobre. It was truely a point of maruelous blindenesse, that when they
had Augustine so oft in their mouth, they sawe not with howe great
carefulnesse that man prouided that no peece of the glorie of good
workes were it neuer so litle, should be conueyed to men. Here before
where we entreated of free wil, we recited certain testimonies of his
to this purpose, of which sort there are oftentimes found many like in
his wrytinges : as when he forbiddeth vs that we should no where
boast of our merites, because euen they also are the giftes of God :
And when he writeth, that all our merite is onely of grace, that it is In Psal.
not gotten by our sufficiency, but is all made by grace, &c. It is no 144.
maruell that Lombard was blinde at the light of the Scripture, in Epist.
105.

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Eph. 2.
10. whiche it appereth that he was not so well practised. Yer nothing could be desired more plaine against him and his disciples, than this word of the Apostle. For when he forbiddeh Christiās all glorieng, he adioineth a reason why it is not lawefull to glorie: because we are that handiworke of God, created to all good workes, that we should walke in them. Sith therefore there cometh out of vs no good thing, but in so much as we be regenerate: and our regeneration is whole of God without exception: there is no right why we should claime to our selues one ounce in good workes. Finally whereas they cōtinually call vpon good workes, in the meane time they so instruct consciences, that they neuer dare haue affiance, that they haue God wel pleased and fauorable to their workes. But contrariwise we, without making any mention of Merite, do yet by our doctrine raise vp the courages of the faithfull with singular comfort, when we teach them that in their workes they please God, and are vndoubtedly accepted vnto him. Yea and also here we require that no man attempt or go about any worke without faith, that is to say, vnlesse he do first with assured confidence of minde determine that he shall please God.

1. Ioh. 3.
8.
1. Pet. 4.
3.
2. Tim.
2. 20.
Luc. 9.
23.
8 Wherefore let vs not suffer our selues to be led so much as one heare bredth away from this onely foundation: which being layed, wise builders do afterward well & orderly builde vpon it. For if there be neede of doctrine and exhortation, they put men in minde, that the Sonne of God hath appered to this ende, that he may destroy the workes of the deuell: that they should not sinne which are of God, that the time past is enough for the fulfilling of the desires of the Gētiles: that the elect of God are vessels of mercie chosen out vnto honour, which ought to be made cleane from all filthinesse. But all is spoken at ones, when it is shewed that Christ wil haue such disciples, which forsaking, themselues, and taking vp their crosse, do followe him. He that hath forsaken himselfe, hath cut of the roote of all euels, that he may no more seke those thinges that are his owne. He that hath taken vp his crosse, hath framed himselfe to all patience and mildenesse. But the example of Christ containeth both these and all other duties of godlinesse & holinesse. He shewed himselfe obedient to his father, euen to the death: he was wholly occupied in doing the workes of God: he with his whole heart breathed out the glorie of his father: he gaue his soule for his brethren: he both did good and wished good to his enemies. If there be neede of comfort, these will bring maruelous comfort, that we be in affliction, but we are not made carefull: that we labour, but we are not forsaken: we are brought lowe, but we are not confounded: ws are throwen downe, but we do
not

2 Cor.
4. 8.

not perish : alway bearing about with vs in our body the mortifying of Iesus Christ, that the life of Iesus may be manifestly shewed in vs, ^{1. Tim.} that if we be dead with him, we shall also liue together with him : if ^{2. Phil. 3.} we suffer with him, we shall also reigne together with him : that we ^{10.} be so fashioned like to his sufferings, till we atteine to the likenesse of his resurrection : For asmuch as the Father hath predestinate these to ^{Rom. 8.} be fashioned like the image of his sonne, whome, in him he hath ^{29.} chosen, that he may be the first begotten among all his brethren: and therefore that neither death, nor present things, nor things to come, shall seuer vs from the loue of God which is in Christ: but rather all things shall turne to vs to good and to saluation. Loe, we do not iustifie a man by workes before God: but we say that all they that are of God, are regenerate and made a newe creature, that they may ^{2. Pet. 1.} passe out of the kingdome of sinne into the kingdome of righteousness, ^{10.} and that by this testimonie they make their calling certaine, and are iudged as trees by the frutes.

The xvj. Chapter.

A confutation of the sclauanders, vvhetherby the Papistes go about to bring this doctrine in hatred.

WITH this one word may the shamelesnesse of certaine vngodly mē be contuted which sclaunder vs with saying that we destroy good workes, and do drawe men away from the following of them, when we say that they are not iustified by workes, nor do deserue saluation: and againe, that we make to easy a way to righteousness, when we teach that it lieth in the free forgeuenesse of sinnes, and that we do by this enticement allure men to sinne, which are of their owne will too much enclined therto already. These sclauanders (I say) are with that one word sufficiently confuted: yet I will briefly answer to them both. They allege that by the iustification of faith, good workes are destroyed. I leaue vnspoken, what māner of men be these zelous louers of good workes which do so backbite vs. Let them haue licence as freely to rayle as they do licentiously infect the whole world with the filthinesse of their life. They saine that they be greued, that when faith is so gloriously aduanced, workes are driuen downe out of their place. What if they be more raised vp, and stablished? For neither do we dreame of a faith voide of good workes, nor a iustification that is without them. This onely is the difference, that when we confesse that faith and good workes do necessarily hang together, yet we set iustification in faith, not in works. For what reason we do so, we haue in redi-

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nesse easily to declare, if we do but turne to Christ vnto whome our faith is directed, and from whome it receiueth her whole strength. Why therefore are we iustified by faith? bycause by faith we take holde of the righteousnesse of Christ, by which alone we are reconciled to God. But this thou canst not take holde of, but that thou must also therewithall take hold of sanctification. For he was geuen to vs, **1. Cor.** for righteousness, wisdom, sanctification, and redemption. **1. 30.** Therefore Christ iustificieth none whom he doth not also sanctifie. For these benefites are coupled together with a perpetuall and vnseparable knot, that whome he enlighteneth with his wisdom, them he redemeth: whome he redemeth, he iustificieth: whome he iustificieth, he sanctifieth. But for asmuch as our question is onely of righteousness and sanctifying, let vs stay vpon these. We may put difference betwene them, yet Christ conteineth them both vnseparably in himselfe. Wilt thou therefore obtaine righteousness in Christ? Thou must first possesse Christ: and thou canst not possesse him, but that thou must be made partaker of his sanctification: because he can not be torne in peeces. Sith therefore the Lorde doth graunt vs these benefites to be enioyed none otherwise than in geuing himselfe, he geueth them both together, the one neuer without the other. So appereth how true it is, that we are iustified not without workes, and yet not by works: because in the partaking of Christ, wherby we are iustified, is no lesse contained sanctification than righteousness.

2 That also is most false, that the mindes of men are withdrawn from the affection of welldoing, when we take from them the opinion of meriting. Here by the way the readers must be warned, that they foolishly reason from reward to merit, as I shall afterward more plainly declare: namely because they know not this principle, that God is no lesse liberall when he assigneth reward to workes, than when he geueth power to do well. But this I had rather differre to the place fit for it. Now it shalbe enough to touch howe weake their obiection is: which shalbe done two wayes. For first whereas they say that there shalbe no care of well framing of life, but when hope of reward is set before them: they erre quite from the truth. For if this onely be entended when men serue God, that they loke to reward, or let out to hire or sell their labors to him, they litle preuayle: for God will be freely worshipped, freely loued: he (I say) alloweth that worshipper, which when all hope of receiuing reward is cut of, yet cesseth not to worshippe him. Moroeuer if men be to be pricked forward, no man can put sharper spurres vnto them, than those that are taken of the end of our redemption and calling: such as the

word

word of God spurreth men withall, when it teacheth, that it is to wicked vnthankfulnessse, not mutually to loue him againe which first loued vs: that by the blood of Christ our cōsciences are cleansed from dead workes, to serue the liuing God: that it is a hainous sacrifice, if being ones cleansed, we defile our selues with newe filthinesse, and prophane that holy blood: that we are deliuered from the handes of our enemies, that we may without feare serue him in holinesse and righteousness before him all the dayes of our life: that we are made free from sinne, that we may with a free Spirit followe righteousness: that our olde man is crucified, that we may rise againe into newnesse of life: againe that if we be dead with Christ (as becommeth his members) we must seeke those things that are aboue, and must in the world be waifaring men from home, that we may long toward heauen where is our treasure: that the grace of God hath appered to this ende, that forsaking all vngodlinesse and worldly desires, we may liue soberly, holily, and godlily in this world, looking for the blessed hope and the appering of the glorie of the great God and sauiour: therefore that we are not apointed that we should stirre vp wrath to our selues, but that we may obteine saluation by Christ: that we are the temples of the Holy Ghost, which it is not lawfull to be defiled: that we are not darkenesse, but light in the Lord, which must walke as children of light: that we are not called to vncleannesse, but to holinesse: because this is the will of God, our sanctification, that we abstaine from vnlawfull desires: that our calling is holy, that the same is not fulfilled but with purenesse of life: that we are for this purpose deliuered from sinne, that we should obey to righteousness. Can we be pricked forward to charitie with any more liuely argument than that of Iohn, that we should mutually loue one another as God hath loued vs? that herein his children do differ from the children of the Deuell, the children of light from the children of darkenesse, bycause they abide in loue? Againe with that argument of Paule, that we if we cleaue to Christ, are the members of one body, which it is mete to be holpen one of another with mutuall duties? Can we be more strongly prouoked to holinesse, than when we heare againe of Iohn, that all they that haue this hope, do sanctifie themselves, bycause their God is holy? Againe of y^e mouth of Paule: that hauing the promise of adoption, we should cleanse our selues from all the defiling of the flesh and spirite? than when we heare Christ setting forth himselfe for an example vnto vs that we should follow his steppes?

3 And these fewe things I haue set forth for a tast. For if I should

Heb. 9.

14.

Luc. 1.

74.

Rom. 6.

18.

Colo. 3.

1.

Tit. 2.

11.

1. Thes.

5. 9.

1. Cor. 3

16.

Eph. 1.

21. and

5. 8.

2. Cor. 6

1. Thes.

4. 7.

2. Tim.

1. 9.

Rom. 6.

18.

Ioh. 13.

10.

1. Ioh. 2.

11.

1. Cor.

6. 17. &

12. 1. 2.

1. Ioh. 3.

3.

2. Cor.

7. 1.

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entende to go through all, I shoulde be driuen to make a longe volume. The Apostles are all full of encouragements, exhortations & rebukings, wherby they may instruct the man of God to euery good worke, and that without any mention of merite. But rather they fetch their chiefe exhortations from this that our saluation standeth vpon the onely mercie of God and vpon no merite of ours. As Paule, after that he hath in a whole Epistle discoursed that there is

Ro. 12. no hope of life for vs but in the righteousness of Christ, when he
1. commeth downe to moral exhortations, he beseecheth them by that mercy of God which he hath vouchsafed to extend to vs. And truly this one cause ought to haue bin sufficient, that God may be glorified in vs. But if any be not so vehemently moued with the glory of

Matt. 5. God, yet the remembrance of his benefites ought to haue bin, most
16. sufficient, to stirre vp such men to do well. But these men, which do

paradventure with thrusting in of merites beate out some seruile & constrained obediences of the law, do fallly say that we haue nothing whereby we may exhorde menne to good workes, because we go not

Chry- the same way to worke. As though God were much delited with
soft ho such obediences, which protesteth that he loueth a cherefull giuer,
mil. in & forbiddeth any thing to be giuen as it were of heauines or of ne-
Gen. cessity. Neither do I speake this for that I do either refuse or despise
2. Cor. 9 that kinde of exhortation, which the Scripture oftentimes vseth;
7. that it may leaue no meane vnattempted euery way to stirre vp our

mindes. For it rehearseth the reward which God will render to euery man accordinge to his workes. But I deny that that is the only thing, yea or the chiefe among many. And then I graunt not that we ought to take beginninge thereat. Moreouer I affirme that it maketh nothinge to the settinge vp of such merites as these men boast of, as we shall hereafter see. Last of all I say that is to no profitable vse, vnlesse this doctrine haue first taken place, that we are iustified by the onely merite of Christ, which is conceiued by faith but by no merites of our workes, because none can be fitte to the endeouour of holinesse, vnlesse they haue first digested this doctrine. Which thinge also the

Psa. 130 Prophet very well signifieth, when he thus speaketh to God: With thee is mercy, that thou mayst be feared. For he sheweth that there is no worshippinge of God, but when his mercy is acknowledged, vpon which alone it is both founded and stablished. Which is very worthy to be noted, that we may knowe not onely that the beginninge of worshippinge God aright is the affiance of his mercy, but also that the feare of God (which the Papistes will haue to be meritorious) can not haue the name of merite, because it is grounded vpon the
pardon

pardon and forgeueneſſe of ſinnes.

4 But it is a moſt vayne ſclaunder, that men are allured to ſinne, when we affirme the free forgeueneſſe of ſinnes, in which we ſay that righteouſneſſe conſiſteth. For, we ſay that it is of ſo great value, that it can with no good of oures be recompenced, and that therefore it ſhould neuer be obtained, vnleſſe it were freely geuē. Moreouer that it is to vs in deepe freely geuen, but not ſo to Chriſt which bought it ſo derely, namely with his owne moſt holy blood, biſide which there was no price of value enough that might be paid to the iudgement of God. When menne are taught theſe things, they are put in minde that it is no thanke to them that the ſame moſt holy blood is not ſhed ſo oft as they ſinne. Furthermore we learne, that our filthineſſe is ſuch, as is neuer waſhed away but with the fountaine of this moſt pure blood, Ought not they that heare theſe things, to conceiue a greater horroure of ſinne, than if it were ſaid that it is wiped away with the ſprinkling of good workes? And if they haue any thing of God, howe can they but dred being ones cleaſed, to wallowe themſelues againe in the mire, as much as in them lieth to trouble & infect the pureneſſe of this fountaine? I haue waſhed my feete (ſaith the faithfull ſoule in Salomon) how ſhall I againe deſile them? Now it is Cant. 5. euident, whether ſort do both more abace the forgeueneſſe of ſinnes, 3. and do more make vile the dignitie of righteouſneſſe. They babble that God is appeaſed with their owne trifling ſatisfaſtiōs, that is, their donge: We affirme that the giltyneſſe of ſinne is more greuouſ than can be purged with ſo light triſtes: that the diſpleaſure of God is more heauie than can be releaſed with theſe ſatisfaſtiōs of no value, and that therefore this is the prerogatiue of the onely bloude of Chriſt. They ſay that righteouſnes (if it faile at any time) is reſtored and repaired by ſatisfaſtorie workes: we thinke it more precious than that it can be matched with any recompence of workes, and that therefore for the reſtoring thereof we muſt flee to the onely mercie of God. As for the reſt of thoſe thinges that pertaine to the forgeueneſſe of ſinnes, let them be ſought out of the next chapter.

The xvij. Chapter.

The agreement of the promiſes of the lawe and the Goſpell.

NOW let vs alſo go through the other arguments wherewith Satan by the ſoldiars of his garde, goeth about either to ouerthrowe or batter the iuſtification of faith. This I thinke we haue already wrong from the ſclaunders, that they can

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no more charge vs as enemies of good workes. For, iustification is taken away from good workes, not that no good workes should be done, or that those which be done should be denied to be good, but that we should not put affiance in them, not glorie in them, not ascribe saluation to them. For this is our affiance, this is our glorie, and the onely authour of our saluation, that Christ the sonne of God is ours, and we likewise are in him y^e sonnes of God, and heyers of the heauēly kingdome, being called by the goodnesse of God, not by our owne worthinesse, into the hope of eternall blessednesse. But bycause they do bifeide these assaile vs, as we haue said, with other engines, go to, let vs go forward in beating away these also. First they come backe to the promises of the lawe, which the Lorde did set forth to the keepers of his lawe: and they aske whether we will haue them to be vitlely voide or effectuell. Bycause it were an absurditie and to be scorned to say that they are voide, they take it for cōfessed that they are of some effectualnesse. Hereupon they reason that we are not iustified by only

Deut. 7. 12. faith. For thus saith the Lorde: And it shalbe, if thou shalt heare these commaundementes and iudgements, and shall kepe them and do them, the Lorde also shall kepe with thee his couenant and mercie which he hath sworne to thy fathers, he shal loue thee and multiplie thee, and blesse thee, &c. Againe, If ye shall well direct your wayes

Iere. 7. 3. & 23. and your endeouors, if ye walke not after strange Gods, if ye do iudgement between man and man, and go not backe into malice, I will walke in the middest of you. I will not recite a thousand peces of the same sorte, which sith they nothing differ in sense, shalbe declared by the solution of these. In a summe, Moses testifieth that in the lawe is set forth blessing and curse, death & life. Thus therfore they reason, that either this blessing is made idle and frutelesse, or that iustificatiō is not of faith alone. We haue already before shewed, howe if we sticke fast in the lawe, ouer vs being destitute of all blessing, hangeth onely curse which is threatned to all transgressors. For the Lord promiset nothing but to the perfect keepers of his lawe, such as there is none found. This therfore remaineth, that all mankind is by the law accused, and subiect to curse and the wrath of God: from which that they may be loosed, they must needes go out of the power of the law, & be as it were brought into libertie from the bondage thereof: not that carnall libertie which should withdrawe vs from the keeping of the lawe, should allure vs to thinke all things lawfull and to suffer our lust, as it were the staves being broken & with loose reines to run at riot: but the spirituall libertie, which may comfort and raise vp a dismayed and ouerthrowen conscience, shewing it to be free from the

the curse and damnation wherewith the lawe helde it downe bond and fast tied. This deliuerance from the subiection of the lawe, and Manumission (as I may call it) we obtaine when by faith we take holde of the mercie of God in Christ, whereby we are certified and assured of the forgeuenesse of sinnes, with the feling whereof the lawe did pricke and bite vs.

2 By this reason euen the promises that were offred vs in the lawe, should be all vneffectuall and voide, vnlesse the goodnesse of God by the Gospell did helpe. For, this condition that we kepe the whole lawe, vpon which the promises hang, and whereby alone they are to be performed, shall neuer be fulfilled. And y^e Lorde so helpeth, not by leauing part of righteousness in our workes, and supplying parte by his mercifull bearing with vs, but when he setteth onely Christ for the fulfilling of righteousness. For the Apostle, when he had before said that he and other Iewes beleued in Iesus Christ, Gala. 2. knowing that man is not iustified by the workes of the lawe, addeth 16. a reason: not that they should be holpen to fulnesse of righteousness by the faith of Christ, but by it should be iustified, not by the workes of the lawe. If the faithfull remoue from the lawe into faith, that they may in faith finde righteousness which they see to be absent from the lawe: truly they forsake the righteousness of the lawe. Therefore now let him that list, amplifie the rewardinges which are said to be prepared for the keeper of the lawe, so that he therewithall consider that it commeth to passe by our peruersnesse, that we fele no frute thereof till we haue obtained an other righteousness of faith. So Dauid, when he made mention of the rewarding which the Lord hath prepared for his seruantes, by and by descendeth to the reknowledging of sinnes, whereby that same rewarding is made voide. Also in the xix. Psalme, he gloriously setteth forth the benefites of Psa. 19. the lawe, but he by and by crieth out: Whoe shall vnderstand his 12. fautes? Lord cleanse me from my secret fautes. This place altogether agreeth with the place before, where when he had said that all the wayes of the Lorde are goodnesse and truth to them that feare him, Psa. 25. he addeth: For thy names sake Lorde, thou shalt be mercifull to my 10. peruersnesse, for it is much. So ought we also to reknowledge, that there is in deede the good will of God set forth vnto vs in the lawe, if we might deserue it by workes, but that the same neuer commeth to vs by the deseruing of workes.

3 How then? Are they geuen that they should vanish away without frute? I haue euen now already protested that the same is not my meaning. I say verily that they vtter not their effectualnesse toward

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vs, so long as they haue respect to the merit of works, and that therefore if they be considered in themselves, they be after a certaine manner abolished. If the Apostle teacheth that this noble promise: I. eu 18. I haue geuen you commaundements, which who so shall do shal liue Eze. 20. in the, is of no value if we stand still in it, and shall neuer a whit more profit than if it had not bene geuen at all: because it belongeth not Rom. 10. euen to the most holy seruantes of God, which are all far from the fulfilling of the lawe, but are compassed about with many transgressions. But when the promises of the Gospel are put in place of them, which do offer free forgeuenes of sinnes, they bring to passe that not onely we our selues be acceptable to God, but that our workes also haue their thanke: & not this onely that the Lorde accepteth them, but also extendeth to them the blessings which were by couenât due to the keeping of the lawe. I graunt therefore, that those things which the Lorde hath promised in his lawe to the followers of righteoussesse and holinessse, are rendred to the workes of the faithfull: but in this rendring, the cause is alway to be considered that powreth grace to workes. Now causes we see that there be three. The first is, that God turning away his sight from the workes of his seruantes, which alway deserue rather reproche than praise, embraceth them in Christ, and by the onely meane of faith reconcileth them to himselfe without the meane of workes. The second, that of his fatherly kindnesse and tender mercifulesse, he listeth vp workes to so great honour, not weyeng the worthinesse of them, that he accompteth them of some value. The third, that he receiueth the very same workes with pardon, not imputing the imperfection, wherewith they all being defiled, should otherwise be rather reckened among sinnes than vertues. And hereby appereth how much the Sophisters haue bene deceiued, which thought that they had gaily escaped all absurdities when they said that workes do not of their owne inwarde goodnesse auaille to deserue saluation, but by the forme of the couenant, because the Lorde hath of his liberality so much esteemed them. But in the meane time they considered not, howe far those workes which they would haue to be meritorious, were from the condition of the promises, vnlesse there went before both iustification grounded vpon onely faith, and the forgeueneesse of sinnes, by which euen the good workes themselves haue neede to be wiped from spottes. Therefore of three causes of Gods liberality, by which it is brought to passe that the workes of the faithfull are acceptable, they noted but one, and suppressed two, yea and those the principall.

4 They allege the saying of Peter, which Luke rehearseth in the Actes:

After: I finde in truth that God is not an acceptor of persones: but A& 10. 34.
in euery nation he that doth righteousnesse is acceptable to him. And
hereupon they gather that which seemeth to be vndouted, that if man
doth by right endeuors get himselfe the fauour of God, it is not the
beneficiall gift of God alone that he obtaineth saluation: yea that
God doth so of his mercy helpe a sinner, that he is by workes bowed
to mercy. But you can in no wise make the Scriptures agree together,
vnlesse you note a double accepting of man with God. For, such as
man is by nature, God findeth nothing in him whereby he may be
enclined to mercie, but onely miserie. If therefore it be certaine
that man is naked and needy of all goodnesse, and on the other side
full stuffed and loden with all kindes of euels, when God first re-
ceiueth them: for what qualitie, I pray you, shall we say that he is
worthy of the heauenly calling? Away therefore with the vaine ima-
gining of merites, where God so euidently setteth out his free mer-
cifulnesse. For, that which in the same place is said by the voice of
the Angell to Cornelius, that his prayers and almes had ascended
into the sight of God, is by these men most lewdly wrested, that man
by endeuor of good workes is prepared to receiue the grace of God.
For it must needes be that Cornelius was already enlightened with
the Spirit of wisdome, sith he was endued with true wisdome, name-
ly with the feare of God: that he was ianctified with the same Spirit,
sith he was a follower of righteousness, which the Apostle teacheth Gal. 5. 5
to be a most certaine frute thereof. All those things therfore which
are said to haue pleased God in him, he had of his grace, so far is it
of that he did by his owne endeuor prepare himselfe to receiue it.
Truely there cannot one sillable of the Scripture be brought forth,
that agreeth not with this doctrine, that there is none other cause for
God to accept man vnto him, but because he seeth that man should
be euery way lost, if he be left to himselfe: but because he will not
haue him lost, he vseth his owne mercie in deliuering him. Now we
see how this accepting hath not regard to the righteousness of man,
but is a mere token of the goodnesse of God toward men being mi-
serable and most vnworthy of so great a benefit.

§ But after that the Lorde hath brought man out of the bottom-
lesse depth of destruction, and severed him to himselfe by grace, of
adoption: because he hath newe begotten him & newly formed him
into a newe life, he nowe embraceth him, as a newe creature with
the giftes of his Spirit. This is that accepting whereof Peter maketh
mention, by which the faithfull are after their vocation allured of
God euen in respecte also of workes: for the Lorde can not but loue

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and kisse those good things which he worketh in them by his Spirit. But this is alway to be remembred, that they are none otherwise acceptable to God in respect of workes, but in as much as for their cause and for their sakes, whatsoeuer good workes he hath geuen them in encreasing of his liberalitie, he also vouchesaue to accept. For whense haue they good workes, but because the Lorde, as he hath thosen them for vessels vnto honor, so will garnish them with true godlineffe? Whereby also are they accompted good, as though there were nothing wanting in them, but because the kinde Father tenderly graunteth pardon to those deformities & spottes that cleaue to them? Summarily, he signifieth nothing els in this place, but that to God his children are acceptable and louely in whom he seeth the markes and features of his owne face. For we haue in an other place taught that regeneration is a repairinge of the image of God in vs. For asmuch as therfore wheresoeuer the Lorde beholdeth his owne face, he both worthily loueth it and hath it in honor: it is not without cause said, that the life of the faithfull being framed to holinesse and righteousnesse pleaseth him, but bycause the godly being clothed with mortall flesh, are yet sinners, and their good workes are but begonne and fauoring of the faultinesse of the flesh: he can not be fauorable neither to those nor to these, vnlesse he more embrace them in Christ than in themselues. After this manner are those places to be taken, which testifie that God is kinde and mercifull to the followers of righteousnesse, Moses said to the Israelites. The Lorde thy God kepeth couenant, to a thousand generations: which sentence was afterward vsed of the people for a common manner of speech. So Salomon in his solemne prayer, saith, Lord God of Israell, which kepest couenant and mercie to thy seruantes which walke before thee in their whole heart. The same wordes are also repeted of Nehemias. For, as in all the couenantes of his mercie, the Lorde likewise on their behalues requireth of his seruantes vprightnesse & holinesse of life, that his goodnesse should not be made a mockerie, and that no man swelling with vaine reioising by reason thereof should blesse his owne soule, walking in the meane time in the peruersnesse of his owne heart: so his will is by this way to kepe in their dutie them that are admitted into the communion of the couenant: yet neuerthelesse the couenant it selfe is both made at the beginning free, and perpetually remaineth such. After this maner Dauid when he glorieth that there was rendred to him reward of the cleannesse of his handes, yet omitteth not that fountaine which I haue spoken of, that he was drawn out of the wombe, because God loued him: where

Deu. 7.

9.

1. King.

8. 23.

Neh. 1.

5.

Deu. 29

18.

2. Sam.

22. 1.

where he so setteth out the goodnesse of his cause, that he abateth nothing from the free mercie which goeth before all giftes, whereof it is the beginning.

6 And here by the way it shalbe profitable to touch what these formes of speaking do differ from the promises of the lawe. I call promises of the lawe, not those which are eche where commonly written in y^e bookes of Moses: (for as much as in them also are found many promises of the Gospell) but those which properly belong to the ministerie of the lawe. Such promises, by what name so euer you list to call them, do declare that there is reward redy vpon condition, if thou do that which is commaunded thee. But when it is said, that the Lorde kepeth the couenant of mercie to them which loue him, therein is rather shewed what manner of men be his seruantes which haue faithfully receiued his couenant, than the cause is expressed why the Lorde should do good to them. Nowe this is the manner of shewing it. As the Lord vouchsaueth to graunt vs y^e grace of eternall life, to this ende that he should be loued, feared, and honored of vs: so whatsoeuer promises there are of his mercy in the Scriptures, they are rightfully directed to this, and that we shoulde reuerence and worship the author of the benefites. So ofte therefore as we heare that he doth good to them that kepe his lawe, let vs remember that the children of God are there signified by the dutie which ought to be continuall in them: that we are for this cause adopted, that we should honor him for our Father. Therefore lest we should disherite our selues from the right of adoption, we must alway endeuer to this wherunto our calling tendeth. But let vs againe kepe this in minde, that the accomplishmēt of the mercie of God hangeth not vpon the workes of the faithfull: but that he therefore fulfilleth the promise of saluation to them which aunswer to their calling in vprightnesse of life, because in them he acknowledgeth the naturall tokens of his children which are ruled with his Spirit vnto good. Hereunto let that be referred which is in the xv. Psalme spoken of the Citizens of the Church, Lorde whoe shall dwell in thy tabernacle, and whoe shall rest in thy holy hill? The innocēt in handes and of a cleane heart, &c. Again in Esaye, Who shall dwell with deuouring fire? He that doth Esa. 33. righteousnesse, he that speaketh right things, &c. For there is not 14 described the stay whereupon the faithfull may stand before the Lorde, but the manner wherewith the most mercifull father bringeth them into his fellowship, and therein defendeth and strengtheneth them. For, because he abhorreth sinne, he loueth righteousnes; whom he ioineth to himselfe, them he cleanseth with his spirit, that he may

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make them of like fashion to himselfe and his kingdome. Therefore if the question be of the first cause whereby the entrie is made open to the holy ones into the kingdome of God, from whence they haue that they may stand fast and abide in it, we haue this aunswer ready, because the Lorde by his mercie both hath ones adopted them, and perpetually defendeth them. But if the question be of the manner, then we must come downe to regeneration and the frutes thereof, which are rehearsed in that Psalm.

7 But there seemeth to be much more hardnesse in these places, which do both garnish good workes with the title of righteousness, and affirme that man is iustified by them. Of the first sort there be very many places, where the obseruings of the commaundements are called iustifications or righteousnesses. Of the other sort, that is
Dent. 6. an example which is in Moyses, This shalbe our righteousness, if we
25. kepe all these commaundementes. And if thou take exception and say that this is a promise of the lawe, which being knit to a condition
Deu 24 impossible, prooueth nothing. There be other of which you can not
13 make the same answer, as this, And that shalbe to thee for righteousness
Pla. 106 before the Lord, to redeliuer to the poore man his pledge; &c.
30. Again, that which the Prophet saith, that the zeale in reuenging the shame of Israell, was imputed to Phinees for righteousness. Therefore the Pharisees of our time thinke that here they haue a large matter to triumph vpon. For when we say, that when the righteousness of faith is set vp, the iustification of workes geueth place, by the same right they make this argument, If righteousness be of workes, then it is false that we are iustified by faith onely. Though I graunt that the commaundementes of the lawe are called righteousnesses: it is no maruell: for they are so in deede. Howebeit we must warne the readers that the Grecians haue not fittly translated the Hebrue word *Hucmi*, *Dikaismata*, righteousnesses for commaundementes. But for the word, I willingly release my quarell. For neither do we denie this to the lawe of God, that it contemeth perfect righteousness. For although, bycause we are detters of all the things that it commaundeth, therefore euen when we haue performed full obedience therof, we are vnprofitable seruantes: yet because the Lorde hath vouchsafed to graunt it the honor of righteousness, we take not away that which he hath geuen. Therefore we willingly confesse that the full obedience of the lawe is righteousness that the keeping of euery commaundement, is a part of righteousness, if so be that the whole summe of righteousness were had in the other partes also. But we denie that there is any where any such forme of righteousness And
there-

therefore we take away the righteousness of the lawe, not for that it is maimed and vnperfect of it selfe, but for that by reason of the weakenesse of our flesh it is no where seene. But the Scripture not onely calleth simply the commaundements of the Lorde, righteousnesses: but it also geueth this name to the workes of the holy ones. As when it reporteth that Zacharie & his wife walked in the righteousnesses of the Lorde: truely when it so speaketh, it weyeth workes rather by the nature of the lawe, than by their owne propre estate. Howbeit here againe is that to be noted, which I euen now said, that of the negligence of the Greke translator is not a lawe to be made. But for asmuch as Luke would alter nothing in the receiued translation, I will also not strue about it, For God hath commaunded these things that are in the lawe to men for righteousness: but this righteousness we performe not but in keping the whole lawe: for by euery transgression it is broken. Wheras therefore the lawe doth nothing but prescribe righteousness: if we haue respecte to it, all the seuerall commaundementes thereof are righteousness: if we haue respect to men of whom they are done, they do not obtaine the praise of righteousness by one worke, being trespassers in many, and by that same worke which is euer partly faulty by reason of imperfection.

8 But nowe I come to the second kinde, in which is the chiefe hardnes. Paule hath nothing more strong to proue the righteousness of faith, than that which is written of Abraham, that his faith was imputed to him for righteousness. Sith therefore it is said that the acte done by Phinees was imputed to him for righteousness: what Paul affirmeth of faith, the same may we also conclude of works. Whereupon our aduersaries, as though they had wonne the victorie, determine that we are in deede not iustified without faith, but that we are also not iustified by it alone, and that workes accomplish our righteousness. Therefore here I beseech the godly, that if they knowe that the true rule of righteousness is to be taken out of the Scripture only, they will religiously and earnestly wey with me, howe the Scripture may without cauellations be rightly made to agree with it selfe. For asmuch as Paule knewe that the iustification of faith is the refuge for them that are destitute of their owne righteousness, he doth boldly conclude that all they that are iustified by faith, are excluded from the righteousness of workes. But sith it is certaine that the iustification of faith is common to all the faithfull, he doth therof with like boldenesse conclude y no man is iustified by workes, but rather contrariwise that men are iustified without any helpe of workes. But it is one thing to dispute of what value workes are by

Luc. 7. 5

Gen. 4.
A.
Psa. 106
31.

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themselues, and an other thing what accompt is to be made of them after the stablishing of the righteousnesse of faith. If we shall set a price vpon workes according to their worthinesse, we say that they are vnworthy to come into the sight of God: and therefore that man hath no workes whereof he may glorie before God: then, that being spoiled of all helpe of workes he is iustified by onely faith. Nowe we define righteousnesse thus, that a sinner being receiued into the communion of Christ, is by his grace reconciled to God, when being cleansed with his bloode he obtaineth forgeuenesse of sinnes, and being clothed with his righteousnesse as with his owne, he standeth assured before the heauenly iudgement seate. When the forgeuenesse of sinnes is set before, the good workes which followe haue nowe an other valuation than after their owne deseruing: bycause whatsoever is in them vnperfect, is couered with the perfection of Christ: whatsoever sportes or filthinesse there is, it is wiped away with his cleannesse, that it may not come into the examination of the iudgement of God. Therefore when the giltnes of all trespasses is blotted out, whereby men are hindred that they can bring forth nothing acceptable to God, and when the faulte of imperfection is buried, which is wonte also to defile good workes: the good workes which the faithfull do, are compted righteous, or (which is all one) are imputed for righteousnesse.

9 Now if any man obiekt this against me to assaile the righteousnesse of faith, first I will aske whether a man be compted righteous for one or two holy workes, being in the rest of the workes, of his life a trespasser of the lawe. This is more than an absurditie. Then I will aske if he be compted righteous for many good workes, if he be in any parte founde guilty. This also he shall not be so bolde to affirme, when the penall ordinance of the lawe crieth out against it, and pro-
Deu. 27 clameth all them atcurst which haue not fulfilled all the commaundements of the lawe to the vtermost. Moreouer I will go further and aske, whether there be any worke that deserueth to be accused of no vncleannesse or imperfection. And howe could there be any such before those eyes, to whom euen y very starres are not cleane enough, nor the Angels righteous enough? So shall he be compelled to graunt that there is no good worke which is not so defiled with transgressions adioined with it, and with the corruptnesse of it selfe, that it can not haue the honour of righteousnesse. Nowe if it be certaine that it proceedeth from the righteousnesse of faith that workes which are otherwise vpure, vncleane, and but halfe workes, not worthy of the sight of God, much lesse of his loue, are imputed to righteousnesse,
why

Deu. 27

Iob. 4.
18.

why do they with boasting of the righteousness of workes destroy the iustification of faith, whereas if this iustification were not, they should in vaine boast of that righteousness? Will they make a vipers birth? For therto tende the sayings of the vngodly men. They can not deny that the iustification of faith is the beginning, foundation, cause, matter, and substance of the righteousness of workes: yet they conclude that man is not iustified by faith, because good workes also are accompted for righteousness. Therefore let vs let passe these follies & confesse as the trueth is, that if the righteousness of workes of what sorte soeuer it be accompted, hangeth vpon the iustification of faith, it is by this not onely nothinge minished but also confirmed, namely whereby the strength thereof appeareth more mighty. Neither yet let vs thinke that workes are so commended after free iustification, that they also afterward come into the place of iustifyinge a man, or do parte the office betwene them and faith. For vnlesse the iustification remaine alway whole, the vncleannes of workes shalbe vncouered. And it is no absurdity, that a man is so iustified by faith that not only he himselfe is righteous, but also his workes are esteemed righteous aboute their worthines.

10 After this maner we will graunt in workes not onely a righteousness in partes (as our aduersaries themselues would haue) but also that it is allowed of God as if it were a perfect & full righteousness. But if we remember vpon what foundation it is vpholden, all the difficulty shalbe dissolued. For then & not till then it beginneth to be an acceptable worke, when it is receiued with pardon. Now whense cometh pardon, but because God beholdeth both vs and all our things in Christ? Therefore as we, when we are grafted into Christ, do therefore appeare righteous before God, because our wickednesses are couered with his innocence, so our workes are & be taken for righteous, because whatsoeuer faultinesse is otherwise in them, beinge buried in the cleanness of Christ, it is not imputed. So we may rightfully say, that by only faith not only we but also our workes are iustified. Now if this righteousness of workes of what sort soeuer it be, hangeth vpon faith and free iustification, and is made of it, it ought to be included vnder it, and to be sette vnder it as the effect vnder the cause thereof, as I may so call it: so farre is it of that it ought to be raised vp either to destroy or darken it. So Paule to driue men to confesse that our blessednesse consisteth of the mercy of God, not of workes, chiefly enforceth that saying of Dauid, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sinnes are couered. Blessed is he to whom the Lorde hath not imputed sinne. If any man do thrust in to

Ro. 4.7.

Psa. 32.

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the contrary innumerable sayings wherein blessednesse seemeth to be giuen to workes: as are these: Blessed is the man which feareth the Lorde, which hath pitie on the poore, which hath not walked in the counsell of the wicked, which beareth temptation: Blessed are they which keepe iudgement, the vndefiled, the poore in Spirit, the meke, the mercifull, &c. they shall not make but that it shall be true which Paul saith, For because those things that are there commended are neuer so in manne, that he is therefore allowed of God, it followeth that man is alway miserable, vnlesse he be deliuered from misery by forgiuenes of sinnes. Forasmuch as therefore all the kinds of blessednesse which are extolled in the Scriptures, do fall downe void, so that man receiue th frute of none of them, til he haue obtained blessednesse by forgiuenesse of sinnes, which may afterward make place for them: it followeth that this is not only the hiest & the chiefe but also the only blessednesse: vnlesse peraduenture you will haue that it be weakened of those which consist in it alone. Nowe there is much lesse reason why y calling of men righteous should trouble vs, which is comonly giuen to the faithfull. I graunt verily that they are called righteous of y holines of life: but forasmuch as they rather endeuour to the following of righteousness, than do fulfill righteousness it selfe, it is meete that this righteousness such as it is, giue place to the iustification of faith, from whence it hath that which it is.

11 But they say y we haue yet more busines with Iames, namely which with open voice fighte. h against vs. For he teacheth both that Abraham was iustified by workes, and also that all we are iustified by workes, not by faith onely. What then? will they draw Paule to fight with Iames? If they holde Iames for a minister of Christ, his saying must be so taken that it disagre not fro Christ speaking by the mouth of Paule, The holy Ghost affirmeth by the mouth of Paule, that Abraham obtained righteousness by fayth, not by workes: and we also do teache that all are iustified by faith without the workes of the lawe. The same holy Ghost teacheth by Iames that both Abrahams righteousness & ours consisteth of workes, not of only faith. It is certaine y the holy Ghost fighteth not with himselfe. What agreement shall there be therfore of these two? It is enough for the aduersaries, if they plucke the righteousness of faith which we woulde haue to be fastened with most deepe rootes: but to render to consciences their quietenesse, they haue no great care. Whereby verily you may see that they gnawe the iustification of faith, but in the meane time do appoint no marke of righteousness where consciences may stay. Therefore let them triumphe as they list, so that they may boast

of no other victory than that they haue taken away all certainty of righteousness. And this wretched victory they shal obtaine, where the light of trueth being quenched, the Lord shall suffer them to ouerspred the darkenesse of lies. But wheresoeuer the trueth of God shall stand, they shall nothing preuaile. I deny therefore that the saying of Iames which they still continually hold vp against vs as it were the shielde of Achilles doth any thinge at all make for them. That this may be made plaine, first we must looke at the marke that the Apostle shootheth at: and then we must note where they be deceiued. Because there were then many (which mischiefe is wont to be continually in the Church) which openly bewraied their infidelity, in neglecting and omitting all the proper workes of the faithfull, and yet ceased not to boast of the false name of faith: Iames doth here mock the foolish boldnesse of such men. Therefore it is not his purpose in any point to diminish the force of true faith, but to shew how fondly those trifles did challenge so much the vaine image of it, that beinge contented herewith they carelesly ranne dissolutely abroade into all licentiousnesse of vices. This ground beinge conceiued, it shalbe easie to perceiue where our aduersaries do misse. For they fall into two deceites in the word, y one in the name of faith, the other in the word of iustifying. Whereas the Apostle nameth faith a vaine opinion farre distant from the trueth of faith, it is spoken by way of grauntinge, which is no derogation to the matter: which he sheweth at the beginninge in these wordes. What profiteth it, my brethren, If any man say that he hath faith, and hath no workes? He doth not say, if any haue faith without workes, but, If any man boast. More plainly also he speaketh a litle after, where he in mockery maketh it worse than the deuills knowledge: last of all, when he calleth it dead. But by the definition you may sufficiently perceiue what he meaneth. Thou beleeuest (sayth he) that there is a God. Truly if nothinge be contained in this faith but to beleue that there is a God, it is now no maruell if it do not iustifie. And when this is taken frō it, let vs not thinke that any thinge is abated from the Christian faith, the nature whereof is farre otherwise. For after what maner doth true faith iustifie vs, but when it conioyneth vs with Christ, that beinge made one with him we may enioy the partakinge of his righteousness. It doth not therefore iustifie vs by this that it concieueth a knowledge of the being of God, but by this that it resteth vpon the assurednes of the mercy of God.

12 We haue not yet the worke, vnlesse we examine also the other deceite in the word, forasmuch as Iames setteth part of iustificatiō in

workes. If you will make Iames agreeing both with the rest of the Scriptures, & with himselfe, you must of necessity take y^e word of Iustifying in an other significatiō than it is taken in Paul. For Paul sayth that we are iustified, when the remembrance of our vnrighteousnesse beinge blotted out, we are accompted righteous. If Iames had ment of that taking, he had wrongfully alleaged that out of Moses, Abraham beleued God, &c. For he thus frameth it together: Abraham by workes obtained righteousness, because he sticke not at the commandement of God, to offer vp his sonne. And so the Scripture was fulfilled which saith, that he beleued God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness. If it be an absurdity, that the effect is before his cause, either Moses doth in that place falsely testifie, that faith was imputed to Abraham for righteousness: or he deserued not righteousness by that obedience which he shewed in offering vp of Isaac. Abraham was iustified by his faith, when Ismaell was not yet conceived, which was now growen past childehoode before that Isaac was borne. How therefore shall we say, that he got to himselfe righteousness by obedience which followed long afterward? Wherfore either Iames did wrongfully misturne the order (which it is a wickednes to thinke) or he meant not to say that he was iustified, as though he deserued to be accompted righteous. Howe then? Truely it appeareth that he speaketh of the declaration of righteousness and not the imputation: as if he had said. Who so are righteous by true faith, they do proue their righteousness with obedience & good workes, not with a bare and imagelike visor of faith. In a summe, he disputeth not by what meane we are iustified, but he requireth of the faithfull a working righteousness. And as Paule affirmeth that men be iustified without the help of workes: so Iames doth here suffer them to be accompted righteous which want good workes. The consideringe of this ende, shall deliuer vs out of all dout. For our aduersaries are hereby chiefly deceiued, that they think that Iames defineth the maner of iustifying, wheras he trauaileth about nothing else but to ouerthrow their peruerse carelesnes, which did vainly pretend faith to excuse their despisinge of good workes. Therefore into how many waies soeuer they wrest the wordes of Iames, they shal wring out nothing but two sentences: that a vaine bodilesse shew of faith doth not iustifie, and that a faithfull man not contented with such an imaginatiue shew, doth declare his righteousness by good workes.

13 As for that which they alleage out of Paule the same meaning, that the doers of the lawe, not the hearers, are iustified, it nothinge helpeth them. I will not escape away with the solouion of Ambrose,
 Rom. 2.
 13. that

that that is therefore spoken because y^e fulfilling of the law is faith in Christ. For I see that it is but a meere starting hole, which nothinge needeth where there is a broad way open. There the Apostle throweth downe the Iewes from foolish confidence, which boasted the selues of the onely knowledge of the lawe, when in the meane time they were the greatest despisers of it. Therefore that they should not stand so much in their owne conceite for the bare knowledge of the law he warneth them, that if righteousnesse be sought out of the law, not y^e knowledge but the obseruing of it is required. We verily make no dout of this that the righteousnesse of the law standeth in works: nor yet of this also, that the righteousnesse consisteth in the worthinesse and merites of workes. But it is not yet proued, that we are iustified by workes, vnlesse they bring forth some man that hath fulfilled the law. And that Paule meant none otherwise, the hanging together of the text shalbe a sufficient testimony. After that he had generally condemned the Gentiles and the Iewes of vnrighteousnesse, then he descendeth to the particular shewing of it, and saith that they which sinned without the Law, do perish without the law: which is spoken of the Gentiles: but they which haue sinned in the law, are iudged by the law: which pertaineth to the Iewes. Nowe because they winkinge at their owne trespassinges proudly gloried of the only law: he adioyneth that which most fitly agreed, that the law was not therefore made, that men should be made righteous by only hearing of the voice thereof: but then and not til then when they obeyed. as if he should say: Seekest thou righteousnes in the law? alleage not y^e hearing of it, which of it selfe is of small importance, but bring workes, by which thou maist declare that the law was not set for thee in vaine. Of these workes because they were all destitute, it followed that they were spoiled of gloryinge of the law. Therefore we must of the meaning of Paule rather frame a contrary argument. The righteousnes of the law consisteth in the perfection of workes. No man can boast that he hath by workes satisfied the law. Therefore there is no righteousnes by the law.

14 Now they alleage also these places, wherein the faithfull do boldly offer their righteousnes to the iudgement of God to be examined, and require that sentence be giuen of them according to it. Of which sorte are these: Iudge me O Lord according to my righteousnesse, & according to my innocēce, which are in me. Againe, Heare my righteousnesse, O God. Thou hast proued my heart, and hast visited it in the night, & there was no wickednesse found in me. Againe, The Lord shall render to me accordinge to my righteousnes, and he shall

Ps. 7. 1.
Ps. 17.
i.

Ps. 18.
11.

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recompence me according to the cleannesse of my handes: Because I haue kept the wayes of the Lord, and haue not wickedly departed fro my God. And I shalbe vnspotted and shal kepe me from my iniquity.

- Ps. 16.** Againe, Iudge me, Lord, because I haue walked in mine innocencie. I haue not sit with lying men, I will not entre in with the that do wicked things. Destroy not my soule with the vngodly, my life with me of bloode: in whose handes are iniquities: whose right hande is filled with giftes. But I haue walked innocently. I haue aboue spoken of the affiance which the holy ones do seeme simply to take to theselues of workes. As for these testimonies y we haue here alleaged, they shal not much accombre vs if they be vnderstanded accordinge to their compasse, or (as they comonly call it) their circumstance. Now y same is double. For neither would they haue them to be wholly examined that they shoulde be either condemned or acquitted according to the continuall course of their whole life: but they bring into iudgement a speciall cause to be debated. Neither do they claime to themselves righteousness in respect of the perfection of God, but by comparison of naughty & wicked men. First when the iustifying of man is entreated of, it is not only required that he haue a good cause in some particular matter, but a certaine perpetuall agreement of righteousness in his whole life. But the holy ones, when they call vpon the iudgement of God to approue their innocency, do not offer themselves free from all guiltinesse & in euery behalfe faultlesse: but verily when they haue fastned their affiance of saluation in his goodnes only, yet trusting that he is the reuenger of the poore afflicted against right and equity, they commend to him the cause wherein the innocent are oppressed. But when they sette their aduersaries with them before the iudgement seat of God, they boast not of such an innocence as shall answere to y purenes of God if it be seuerely searched, but because in comparison of the malice, obstinacy, subtlety and wickednesse of their aduersaries they know that their plainnesse, righteousness, simplicity, and cleannesse is knowen and pleasing to God: they feare not to call vpon him to be iudge betwene themselves & them. So when
- 1. Sa. 26** Dauid said to Saul: The Lord rendre to euery man accordinge to his righteousness & trueth: he meant not that the Lord should examine by himselfe and reward euery man according to his deseruings, but he tooke the Lord to witnesse, how great his innocency was in comparison of the wickednes of Saul. And Paul himselfe, when he boasteth with this gloryinge that he hath a good witnes of conscience, that he hath trauailed with simplicity & vprightnes in the Church of God, meaneth not that he standeth vpon such gloryinge before God, but
being

being compelled with the sleaunders of the wicked, he defendeth his faithful & honest dealing, which he knew to be pleasing to the merciful kindnes of God, against all euill speaking of mé whatsoeuer it be. For we see what he sayth in an other place, that he knoweth no euill by himselfe, but y he is not thereby iustified: namely because he knew that the iudgement of God far surmounteth the blearied sight of mé, Howsoeuer therfore the godly do defend their innocence against the hypocrisie of the vngodly, by the witnessing & iudgemēt of God: yet when they haue to do with God alone, they all crie out w̄ one mouth: If thou marke iniquity, Lord, Lord who shall abide it: Entre not into iudgement with thy seruantes: because euery one that liueth shal not be iustified in thy sight: and distrusting their owne workes, they gladly sing, Thy goodnesse is better than life.

1. Cor.
4. 4.

Psa. 130

3. & 140

2.

Psa. 36.

4.

15 There are also other places not vnlike to these before, in w̄ a man may yet tary. Salōmon saith, that he which walketh in his vp-rightnes, is righteous. Againe, That in the path of righteousness is life, and that in the same is not death. After which manner Ezechiel reporteth that he shal liue life that doth iudgement and righteousness. None of these do we either deny or darken. But let there come forth one of the sonnes of Adam with such an vprightnes. If there be none, either they must perish at the sight of God, or flee to the sanctuary of mercy. Nither do we in the meane time deny but that to the faithfull their vprightnes, though it be but halfe & vnperfect, is a step toward immortality. But whence commeth that but because whom the Lord hath taken into the couenant of grace, he searcheth not their works according to their deseruings, but kisseth thē with fatherly kindnes? Wherby we do not only vnderstād y which the scholemē do teach, y works haue their value of y accepting grace. For they meane, y works which are otherwise insufficiēt to purchase righteousness by y couenant of y law, are by y accepting of God auauced to y value of equality. But I say y they being defiled both with other trespassings & with their owne spottes, are of no other value at all, than insomuch as the lord tenderly graunteth pardō to both: y is to say, giueth free righteousness to mā Neither are here those prayers of the Apostle seasonably thrust in place, where he wisheth so great perfectiō to the faithful, y they may be faultles & vnblamable in the day of y lord. These words in dede y Celestines did in old time turmoile, to affirme a perfectiō of righteousness in this life. But, which we thinke to be sufficient, we answer briefly after Augustin, that all the godly ought in dede to endeavour toward this marke, y they may one day appeare spotles & faultlesse before y face of God: but because y best & most excellēt maner of

Pro. 20.

7. & 12

15.

Eze. 18.

9. & 33.

15.

Eph. 1. 4

1. Thec

3. 13.

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this life is nothing but a going forward, we shall then and not til then attaine to this marke, when beinge vncllothed of this fleshe of sinne we shall fully cleaue to the Lord. Yet wil I not stiffely striue with him which will giue the title of perfection to the holy ones, so that he also limit the same with the words of Augustine himselfe. When (sayth he) we will call the vertue of the holy ones, perfect: to the same perfection also belongeth the acknowledging of imperfectiō both in trueth and in humility.

The xviij. Chapter,

*That of the rewarde, the righteousnesse of workes
is ill gathered.*

NOwe lette vs passe ouer to those sayinges which affirme, that God will render to euery man accordinge to his workes: of which sort are these. Euery man shall beare away that which he hath done in the body, either good or euill. Glory and honor to him that worketh good: trouble & distresse vpon euery soule of him that worketh euill. And they which haue done good thinges, shall go into the resurrection of life: they which haue done euill, into the resurrection of iudgement. Come ye blessed of my fater: I haue hungred, and ye gaue me meate: I haue thirsted, & ye gaue me drink, &c. And with them let vs also ioyne these sayinges, which call eternall life the reward of workes. Of which sort are these. The rending of the handes of a man shalbe restored to him. He that feareth the commaundement, shalbe rewarded. Be glad and reioyse, behold, your reward is plentiful in heauen. Every mā shal receiue reward according to his labor. Where it is sayd that God shall render to euery man accordinge to his workes, the same is easily assoiled. For, that maner of speakinge doth rather shewe the order of followinge, than the cause. But it is out of dout, that the Lord doth accomplish our saluation by these degrees of his mercy, when those whom he hath chosen he calleth to him: those whom he hath called, he iustificieth: those whom he hath iustified, he glorifieth. Although therefore he do by his only mercy receiue thē that be his into life, yet because he bringeth them into the possession thereof by the race of good workes, that he may fulfill his worke in them by such order as he hath appointed: it is no maruell if it be said that they be crowned according to their workes, by which without dout they are prepared to receiue the crowne of immortality. Yea and after this maner it is fitly sayd that they worke their owne saluation, when in applying themselves to good workes, they practise themselves toward eternall life: namely as in an other place

place they are commaunded to worke the meate which perissheth not, Iohn. 6.
 when by beleuing in Christ they gette to themselves life: and yet it is 27.
 by and by afterward added: Which the sonne of man shall giue you.
 Wherby appeareth y^e the word of Working is not set as contrary to
 grace, but is referred to endeouour: & therefore it foloweth not, y^e either
 the faithfull are themselves authors of their owne saluation, or that the
 same procedeth from their workes. How then? So soone as they are
 taken into the fellowship of Christ, by the knowledge of the Gospel,
 & the enlightning of the holy Ghost, eternall life is begonne in the.
 Nowe the same good worke which God hath begonne in the, must Phil. 1.
 also be made perfect vntil the day of the lord Iesu. And it is made per- 6.
 fect, when resembling the heavenly father in righteousness & holines,
 they proue themselves to be his children not swarued out of kinde.

2 There is no cause why we should of the name of rewarde gather
 an argument that our workes are the cause of saluation. First let this
 be determined in our heartes, that the kingdom of heauē is not a re-
 ward of seruants, but an inheritance of children, which they only shal
 enioy, that are adopted of the lord to be his children: & for no other Eph. 1.
 cause, but for this adoption. For, the sonne of the bond woman shall 18.
 not be heir, but the sonne of the free womā. And in the very same pla- Gala. 4.
 ces, in which the holy Ghost promisseth to workes eternall glory for 30.
 reward, in expressing the inheritance by name, he sheweth that it cō-
 meth frō else where. So Christ rehearseth workes, which he recōpen- Mat. 25.
 seth with the rewarding of heauen, when he calleth the elect to the 34.
 poss. ssiō therof: but he therewithal adioineth that it must be possessed
 by right of inheritance. So Paule biddeth seruantes, which do their Colo. 3.
 duety faithfully, to hope for reward of the lord: but he addeth, of in- 24.
 heritance. We see how they do as it were by expresse wordes provide
 that we impute not eternal blessednes to workes, but to the adoption
 of God. Why therefore do they therewithall together make mention
 of workes? This question shalbe made plaine with one example of
 Scripture. Before the birth of Isaac, there was promised to Abraham a Gen. 15.
 feede in which all the nations of the earth should be blessed: & a mul- 5 & 17.
 tiplying of his sede, which should match the starres of the skie, & the 1.
 sandes of the sea, & other like. In many yeares afterward, Abraham,
 as he was commaunded by the oracle, prepared himselfe to offer vp
 his sonne in sacrifice. When he had performed this obedience, he
 receiued a promise. I haue sworne by my self (saith the Lord) because Gen. 22
 thou hast done this thing, & hast not spared thine owne only begot- 3 & 17.
 ten sonne, I wil blesse thee & multiply thy seede as the starres of the
 skie, & the sandes of the sea: thy seede shal possesse the gates of their

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enemies, and all the nations of the earth shalbe blessed in thy seed, because thou hast obeyed my voice. What heare we? Hath Abraham by his obedience deserued the blessinge, the promise whereof he had receiued before that the commaundement was giuen? Here verily we haue it without circumstances shewed, y^e the lord rewardeth the works of the faithfull with those benefites which he had already giuen them before that the workes were thought of, hauing, yet no cause why he should do good to them but his owne mercy.

3 Yet doth the Lord not deceiue nor mocke vs when he saith that he rendreth for reward to workes the same thing which he had before workes freely giuen. For, because he wil haue vs to be exercised with good workes, to thinke vpon the deliuey or enioyinge (as I may so call it) of these things which he hath promised, and to runne through them to the blessed hope set before vs in heauen, the frute of the promises is also rightly assigned to them, to the ripenesse wherof they do not bring vs. The Apostle very fitly expressed both these pointes, whē he sayd that the Colossians apply themselues to the duties of charity, for the hope which is laied vp for them in heauen, of which they had before heard by the word of the true speaking Gospel. For when Colo. 1. 4 he sayth that they knewe by the Gospell, that there was hope layd vp for them in heauen, he declareth that the same is by Christ only, not vnderpropped with any workes. Wherwith accordeth that saying of 1. Pe. 1. 5 Peter, that the godly are kept by the power of God, through faith, vnto the saluation which is ready to be manifestly shewed at the time appointed for it. Whē he sayth that they labor for it, he signifieth that the faithfull must runne all the time of their life, that they may attaine to it. But least we shoulde thinke that the reward which the Lord promifeth vs, is not reduced to the measure of merite, he did put foorth a Mat. 12. 1. parable, in which he made himself a householder, which sent all them that he met, to the trimming of his vineyard, some at the first houre of the day, some at y^e second, some at y^e third, yea & some also at the 11. At eueninge he payed to euery one egall wages. The exposition of which parable, that same old wryter whate euer he was, whose booke is caried abroad vnder the name of Ambrose of the callinge of the Gentiles, hath briefely and truely set out. I will vse rather his wordes than mine owne. The Lorde (sayth he) by the rule of this comparison Li. 1. ca 3. hath stablished the diuersity of manifolde callinge, belonginge to one grace: where without dout they which being let into the vineyard at the 11. houre, are made egall with them that had wrought the whole day, do represent the estate of them, whom for the aduancing of the excellency of grace, the tender kindenes of the lord hath rewarded

at the waning of the day, and at the endinge of their life: not payinge wages for their labour, but peuring out the richesse of his goodnesse vpon them whom he hath chosen without workes, that euen they also which haue swet in great labour, and haue receiued no more than the last, may vnderstand that they haue receiued a gift of grace, not a reward of workes. Last of all, this also is worthy to be noted in these places, where eternall life is called the reward of workes, that it is not simply taken for the communicating which we haue with God to blessed immortality, when he embraceth vs with fatherly good will in Christ: but for the possessing or enioying (as they call it) of blessednes, as also the very words of Christ do sound, In time to come life euerlasting. And in an other place, Come & possesse the kingdom, &c. After this maner Paul calleth adoptiō, the reuealing of the adoption which shalbe made in the resurrection: and afterward expoundeth it the redemption of our body. Otherwise as estranginge from God is eternall death, so when man is receiued of God into fauour, that he may enioy the communicatinge of him & be made one with him, he is receiued from death to life: which is done by the beneficial meane of adoptiō only. And if, as they are wont, they stiffely enforce the reward of works, we may turne against them that sayinge of Peter, that eternall life is the reward of faith.

Mat. 10.

30.

Mat. 25

14.

Rom. 8.

18.

1. Pe. 1.

9.

4 Therefore let vs not thinke, that the holy Ghost doth with such promise set forth the worthinesse of our workes, as if they deserved such reward, For y Scripture leaueth nothing to vs, whereof we may be aduanced in the sight of God. But rather it wholly endeuoreth to beate downe our arrogance, to humble vs, to throw vs downe, and altogether to breake vs in peeces. But our weakenes is so succoured, which otherwise would by and by slip & fall downe, vnlesse it did sustaine it selfe with this expectation, and mitigate her tedious grieues with comfort. First how hard it is for a mā to forsake & deny not only all his thinges, but also himselfe, let euery man consider for himselfe. And yet with this introductiō Christ traineth his schollers, that is, all the godly. Then throughout all their life he so instructeth thē vnder the discipline of the crosse, that they may not set their heart either to the desire or cōfidence of present good things. Briefly he so handleth them for the most part, that which way soeuer they turne their eies throughout the whole widenesse of the worlde, they haue on euery side nothing but desperation present before them: so that Paule sayth, that we are more miserable then all men if our hope be onely in this world. That they shoulde not faint in these so great distresses, the lord is present with them, which putterh them in mind to lift vp

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1. Cor. 15 19 their heade hier, to cast their eies further, y they finde with him the blessednes which they see not in y world. This blessednes he calleth, reward, wages, recompense, not weying the merit of workes, but signifying that it is a recōpensing to their troubles, sufferinges, slaunders, &c. Wherefore nothing withstandeth, but y we may after the example of the Scripture, call eternall life a rewarding, because in it the Lord receiueth his from labors into rest, frō afflictio into prosperous & happy state, from sorrow into gladnes, from pouerry into flowing wealth, frō shame into glory, & changeth al the euils which they haue suffered for greater good things. So it shal also be no inconuenience, if we thinke holines of life to be a way, not which openeth an entry into the glory of the heavenly kingdom, but whereby the elect are led of their God into y disclosing of it: forasmuch as this is his good will, to glorifie them whom he hath sanctified. Only let vs not imagine a correllatio of merit & reward, wherein the Sophisters do fondly stick fast, because they consider not this end which we set forth. But how vnorderly is it, whē the lord calleth vs to one end, for vs to loke to another? Nothing is more euident, than that rewarde is promised to good workes, to relieue the weakenesse of our flesh with some conforte, not to pusse vp our mindes with glory. Whosoeuer therefore doth therby gather the merit of workes, or doth in one balance weye worke with reward, he erreth farre from the right marke of God.

2. Tim. 4 8.

Aug. ad Valent. de gra. & lib. arbit.

5 Wherefore when the Scripture saith that God the iust iudge wil one day render to his a crowne of righteousness, I do not only take exception with Augustine, and say: To whom should he being a iust iudge, render a crowne, if he had not beinge a mercifull father giuen grace? and how should there be righteousness, vnlesse grace went before which iustificeth the vnrighteous? How should these due thinges be rendered, vnlesse these vndue thinges were first giuen? But also I adde an other thinge. Howe should he impute righteousness to our workes, vnlesse his tender mercifulnesse did hide the vnrighteousnes that is in them? How should he iudge them worthy of reward, vnlesse he did by immeasurable bountifullnesse take away that which is worthy of punishment? For he is wont to call eternall life, grace: because it is redred to the free gifts of God when it is repaid to workes. But the Scripture doth further humble vs, and therewithall raise vs vp. For beside this that it forbiddeth vs to glory in workes, because they are the free gifts of God, it therewithall teacheth that they are alway defiled with some dregges, that they can not satisfie God, if they be examined by the rule of his iudgement: but least our courage should faint, it teacheth y they please by only pardō. But although Augustine speaketh

speakeſh ſomwhat otherwiſe than we do: yet that he doth not ſo diſagree in the matter, ſhall appeare by his words in his third booke to Boniface. Where when he had cōpared two men together, the one of a life euen miraculoſly holy & perfect, the other honeſt in dede & of vncorrupt maners, but not ſo perfect but that much wanteth in him: at ſ̄ laſt he concludeth thus. Euen this man which in maners ſeemeth much inferiour, by reaſon of the true faith in God whereof he liueth and according to which he accuſeth himſelfe in all his offences, in all his good workes praiſeth God, giuinge to himſelfe the ſhame, & to him the glory, & taking from himſelfe both the pardon of ſinnes, & the loue of weldoinges, when he is to be deliuered out of this life, he paſſeth into the fellowſhip of Chriſt. Wherefore, but becauſe of faith? Which although it ſaue no man without workes (for it is it, which worketh by loue, not a reprobate faith) yet by it alſo ſinnes are releaſed, becauſe the righteous man liueth of faith: but without it euen the ſame which ſeeme good workes are turned into ſinnes. Here verily he doth plainly confeſſe ſ̄ which we ſo much trauaile to proue, that the righteouſnes of good workes hangeth her vpon, that they are by pardon allowed of God. Cap 5.

6 A very neare ſenſe to the places aboue recited, haue theſe: Make to your ſelues friends of the Mammon of wickednes, that when you ſhal faile, they may receiue you into euerlaſtinge tabernacles. Commande the rich men of this world not to be proudly minded, nor to truſt in vncertaine richeſſe but in the liuinge God, to do well, to become riche in good workes, to lay vp in ſtore for themſelues a good foundation againſt the time to come, that they may obtaine eternall life. For good workes are compared to the richeſſe, which we may enioy in the bleſſedneſſe of eternall life. I anſwere, that we ſhall neuer come to the true vnderſtāding of them, vnleſſe we turne our eies to the marke wherunto the holy Ghoſt directeth his words. If it be true which Chriſt ſaith, that our minde abideth there where our treaſure is, as the childrē of ſ̄ world are wont to be earneſtly bent to the getting of thoſe things which ſerue for the delites of this preſent life: ſo the faithfull muſt looke, ſith they haue learned that this life ſhal by and by vaniſh away like a dreame, that they ſend thoſe thinges which they would enioy, thither where they ſhal haue perfect life. We muſt therefore do as they do which purpoſe to remoue into any place, wher they haue choſen to reſt their whole life. They ſende their goods before, & do not miſcōtentedly want thē for a time: becauſe they think themſelues ſo much more happy, how much more goods they haue where they ſhal tary long. If we beleue that heauen is our countrey, it Hab. 2.
4.
Luk. 16.
9.
1. Tim. 6
17.

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behoueth vs rather to sende away our richesse thither than to keepe the here where we must loose them with sudden remouing. But how shal we send them thither? If we cōmunicate to the necessities of the poore: to whom whatsoeuer is giuen, the lord accompteth it giuen to himselfe. Whereupon cōmeth that notable promise. He that giueth to the poore, lendeth for gaine to the Lorde. Againe he that liberally soweth, shall liberally reape. For those things are deliuered into the hand of the lord to keepe, which are bestowed vpon our brethre by the duety of charity. He, as he is a faithful keper of y^e which is deliuered to him, wil one day restore it with plentiful gaine. Are the our ductifull doings of so great value with God, that they be as richesse laid vp in store for vs in his hand? Who shal feare so to say, when the Scripture doth so oft & plainly witnesse it? But if any man will leape from the mere goodnes of God to the worthines of works, he shalbe nothing holpen by these testimonies to the stablishing of his error. For you can gather nothing rightly therof but the mere inclination of Gods tendernes toward vs: forasmuch as to encourage vs to well doing although the seruices which we do to him are not worthy of so much as his only looking vpon the, yet he suffreth none of them to be lost.

7 But they more enforce the words of the Apostle, which when he comforteth the Thessalonians in troubles, teacheth that the same are sent to them, y^e they may be accōpted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which they suffer. For (saith he) it is righteous with God, to render trouble to the y^e trouble you: but to you, rest with vs when the lord Iesus shalbe shewed from heauen. But the author of the epistle to the Hebrues saith, God is not vnrighteous, y^e he should forget your worke, & y^e loue which you haue shewed in his name for y^e you haue ministred to the saintes. To the first place I answere, that there is no worthines of merit spoken of: but because God y^e father willeth that we whom he hath chosen to be his children, should be made like to Christ his first begottē sonne: as it behoued that he should first suffer, & the entre into the glory appointed for him: so must we also by many tribulations entre into the kingdome of heauen. Therefore when we suffer tribulatiōs for the name of Christ, there are as it were certaine marks printed vpon vs, wherwith God vseth to marke the shepe of his flocke. After this maner therefore we are accompted worthy of the kingdom of God, because we beare in our body y^e markes of our lord & maister which are the signes of the children of God. To this purpose make these sayinges. That we beare about in our body the mortification of Iesus Christ y^e his life may be shewed in vs. That we be fashioned like to his sufferings, that we may come to the likenes of his

Mat. 25.
40.
Pro. 19.
17.
2. Cor. 9
6.

2. The 1
3.

Hebr. 6.
10.

Rom. 8.
29.

Luk. 24
26.
A& 4.
22.

Gala. 6.
17.

1. Cor. 4
10.

his resurrectiō from the dead. The reason which is adioyned serueth not to proue any worthines, but to confirme y^e hope of the kingdome of God: as if he had said, As it agreeth with the iust iudgemēt of God, to take vengeance of your enemies for the vexations that they haue done to you: so agreeth it also to giue to you release & rest from vexations. The other place, which teacheth that it so becommeth the righteousness of God not to forget the obediences of them that be his, that it declareth it to be in a maner vnrighteous if he should forget thē, hath this meaning: God to quicken our slouthfulnes, hath giuen vs assurance that the labor shall not be vaine which we shal take for his glory. Let vs alway remēber y^e this promise, as all other should bring vs no profit, vnlesse the free couenaunt of mercy went before, wherupon the whole assurednes of our saluation should rest. But standing vpon that couenant, we ought assuredly to trust, there shall also not want reward of the liberality of God to our workes howsoever they be vnworthy. The Apostle to confirme vs in that expectation, affirmeth y^e God is not vnrighteous, but will stande to his promise ones made. Therefore this righteousness is rather referred to the truth of Gods promise, thā to his iustice of rendring due. According to which meaning there is a notable saying of Augustin, which as the holy mā sticketh not to rehearse oftē as notable, so I thinke it not vnworthy, that we should continually remēber it. The lord (saith he) is faithfull, which hath made himselfe detter to vs, not by receiuing any thing of vs, but by promising all things to vs.

In psal.
32. and
109.

8 There are also alleaged these sayings of Paul. If I haue all faith, so that I remoue mountaines out of their place, but haue not charity, I am nothing. Againe, Now there remaine hope, faith & charity, but the greatest among these is charity. Againe, Aboue all thinges haue charity, which is the bonde of perfection. By the first two places our Pharises affirme that we are rather iustified by charity than by faith, namely by the chiefer vertue as they say. But this sonde argument is easily wiped away. For we haue in an other place already declared, that those things which are spokē in the first place pertaine nothing to true faith. The other place we also expounde of true faith, than which he sayth that Charity is greater: not that it is more meritorius, but because it is more frutefull, because it extendeth further, because it serueth mo, because it remaineth alway in force, whereas the vse of faith cōtinueth but for a time. If we haue regard to excellēce, the loue of God should worthily haue y^e chiefe place, of which Paule here speaketh not. For he enforceth this thing only, y^e we should with mutuall charity edifie one an other in y^e Lord, but let vs imagine that

1. Cor.
13.
Colo. 3.
14.

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charity doth euery way excell faith: yet what man of sounde iudgement, yea or of sounde braine, will gather thereof that it doth more iustifie? The power of iustifying which faith hath, consisteth not in the worthinesse of the worke. Our iustification standeth vpon the onely mercy of God & the deseruing of Christ, which iustificatiō whē faith taketh holde of, it is said to iustifie. Now if you aske our aduersaries in what sense they assigne iustification to charity, they wil answere that because it is a duetifull doing acceptable to God, therefore by the deseruing thereof righteousness is imputed to vs by the acceptation of the goodnes of God. Here you see how wel the argument procedeth. We say that faith iustificieth, not because by the worthines of it selfe it deserueth righteousness to vs, but because it is an instrument by which we freely obtaine righteousness of Christ. These mē, omitting y^e mercy of God, and passing ouer Christ, (where the summe of righteousness standeth) do affirme that we are iustified by the benefit of charity because it excelleth aboue faith: euen as if a man woulde reason that a king is fitter to make a shooe thā is a shooemaker, because he is an infinite way more excellent. This onely argument is a plaine example that all the Sobornicall schooles do not so much as tast with the vtermost part of their lippes what the iustification of faith is. But if any wrangler do yet carpe and aske, why in so small distance of place we take the name of faith in Paule so diuersly: I haue a weighty cause of this exposition. For sith those gifts which Paule rehearseth are after a certaine maner vnder faith & hope, because they pertaine to y^e knowledge of God, he cōtemneth thē all by way of recapitulatiō vnder the name of faith & hope: as if he should say bothe prophecy, & tōgues, & the grace and knowledge of interpretation tende to this marke to lead vs to the knowledge of God, And we know God in this life none otherwise but by hope & faith. Therefore when I name faith & hope, I comprehend all these things together. And so there remaine these three, Hope, Faith, Charity: that is to say, how great diuersity of gifts soeuer there be, they are all referred to these. Among these the chief is charity, &c. Out of the thirde place they gather, If Charity be the bonde of perfection, then it is also the bonde of righteousness which is nothinge else but perfection. First, to speake nothinge howe Paule there calieth perfection, when the members of the Church well set in order do cleaue together, & to graunt that we are by charity made perfect before God: yet what newe thinge bringe they foorth? For I will alway on the contrary side take exception and say that we neuer come to this perfection vnlesse we fulfil all the partes of charity, and thereupon I wil gather, that sith all men are most far frō the fulfilling

of charitie, therefore all hope of perfection is cutt off from them.

9 I will not go through all the testimonies which at this day the foolish Sorbonistes rashly snatch out of the scriptures, as they first come to hande, and do throwe them against vs. For, some of them are so worthy to be laughed at, that I my selfe also can not rehearse them, vnlesse I would worthily be counted fond. Therefore I will make an ende, when I shal haue declared the saying of Christ, where-with they maruelously please themselues. For, to the lawyer which asked him what was necessarie to saluation, he answered: if thou wilt entre into life, kepe the commaundementes. What wold we more Mat 19. (say they) when we are commaunded by the author of grace him- 17. selfe to get the kingdom of God by the keeping of his commaundementes? As though forsooth it were not certaine, that Christ tépered his aunsweres to them with whom he saw that he had to do. Here a doctor of the lawe asketh of the meane to obtaine blessednes, and not that onely, but with doing of what thing men may attein vnto it. Both the person of him that spake and the question it selfe led the Lord so to answer. The lawyer being filled with the persuation of the righteousness of the lawe, was blinde in cōfidence of workes. Againe, he sought nothing els but what were the workes of righteousness, by which saluation is gotten. Therefore he is worthily sent to the lawe, in which there is a perfect mirror of righteousness. We also do with a loude voice pronounce that the commaundementes must be kept, if life be sought in workes. And this doctrine is necessary to be known of Christians. For how should they flee to Christ if they did not acknowledge that they are fallen from the way of life into the hedlonge downefall of death? But how should they vnderstand how far they haue strayed from the way of life, vnlesse they first vnderstande what is that way of life? For then they are taught that the sanctuarie to recouer saluation, is in Christ, when they see howe great difference there is betwene their life and the righteousness of God which is contained in the keeping of the law. The summe is this, that if saluation be sought in workes, we must kepe the commaundementes by which we are instructed to perfect righteousness. But we must not sticke fast here, vnlesse we will faint in our midde course: for none of vs is able to kepe the commaundements. Sith therefore we are excluded from the righteousness of the lawe, we must of necessity resort to an other helpe, namely to the faith of Christ. Wherefore as here the Lorde calleth backe the doctor of the lawe whom he knew to swell with vaine confidence of workes, to the lawe, whereby he may learne that he is a sinner subiect to the dreadfull iudgement of

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eternall death: so in other places, without making mention of the law, he comforteth other that are already humbled with such knowledge, with promise of grace, as, Come to mee all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you, and ye shall finde rest for your soules.

Mat. 11.
39.

10 At the last when they are weary with wresting the Scripture, they fall to subtleties and sophisticall argumentes. They cauill vpon this that faith is in some places called a worke, and thereupon they gather that we do wrōgfully set faith as cōtrary to workes. As though forsooth faith in that it is an obeying of the will of God, doth with her owne deseruinge procure vnto vs righteousness, and not rather bycause by embracing the mercie of God, it sealeth in our heartes the righteousness of Christ offred to vs of it in the preaching of the Gospell. The readers shall pardon me if I do not tarry vpon confuting of such follies, for they themselues without any assault of other, are sufficiently ouerthrowen with their owne feeblenesse. But I will by the way cōfute one obiection which seemeth to haue some shew of reason, least it should trouble some that are not so well practised.

Iohn. 6.
29.

Sith common reason teacheth that of contraries is all one rule, and all particular sinnes are imputed to vs for vnrighteousnesse, they say it is meete that to all particular good workes be geuen the praise of righteousness. They do not satisfie me which answer, that the damnation of men properly proceedeth from only vnbelefe, not from particular sinnes. I do in deede agree to them, that vnbelefe is the fountaine and roote of all euels. For it is the first departinge from God, after which do followe the particular trespassinges against the lawe. But wheras they seeme to set one selfe same reason of good and euell workes in weying of righteousness or vnrighteousnesse, therein I am compelled to disagree from them. For the righteousness of workes is the perfecte obedience of the lawe. Therefore thou canst not be righteous by workes, vnlesse thou do followe it as a streight line in the whole continuall course of thy life. From it so sone as thou hast swarued, thou arte fallen into vnrighteousnesse. Hereby appeareth that righteousness commeth not of one or a fewe workes, but of an vnswaruing and vnueried obseruing of the will of God. But the rule of iudging vnrighteousnesse is most contrary. For he that hath committed fornication, or hath stolen, is by one offence guilty of death, because he hath offended against the maiestie of God. Therefore these our suttle arguers do stumble, for that they marke not this saying of Iames, that he which sinneth in one, is made guilty of all, because he that hath forbidden to kill, hath also forbidden to steale, &c. Therefore it ought to seeme no absurditie when we say that death is the iuste

Iam. 2.
10.

iuste reward of euery sinne, because they are euery one worthy of the iuste displeasure and vengeance of God. But thou shalt reason foolishly, if on the contrarie side thou gather that by one good worke man may be reconciled to God, which with many sinnes deserueth his wrathe.

The xix. Chapter.

Of Christian libertie.

NOwe we must entreate of Christian libertie: the declaration whereof he must not omit whose purpose is to comprehend in an abridgmēt the summe of the doctrine of the Gospell. For it is a thing principally necessarie, and without the knowledge whereof conscience dare in a manner enterprise nothing without doubting, they stumble and start backe in many things, they alway stagger & tremble: but specially it is an appendant of iustification, and auailerh not a little to the vnderstanding of the strength thereof. Yea they that earnestly feare God, shall hereby receiue an incomparable frute of that doctrine which the wicked & Lucianicall men do pleasantly taunt with their scoffes, because in the spirituall daikeness wherewith they be taken, euery wanton railing is lawefull for them. Wherefore it shall now come forth in fit season: and it was profitable to differre to this place the plainer discorsing of it, (for we haue already in diuers places lightly touched it) because so sone as any mention is brought in of Christian libertie, then either filthy lustes do boile, or mad motions do arise, vnlesse these wanton wittes be timely met withall, which do otherwise most naughtily corrupte the best things. For, some men by pretense of this libertie, shake of all obedience of God, and breake forth into an vnbridled licentiousnesse: and some men disdain it, thinking that by it all moderation, ordre and choise of things is taken away. What should we here do, being compassed in such narrowe streightes? Shall we bidde Christian libertie farewell, and so cutt of all fitt occasion for such periles? But, as we haue said, vnlesse that be fast holden, neither Christ, nor the truth of the Gospell, nor the inward peace of the soule is rightly knowen. Rather we must endeouour that so necessarie a part of doctrine be not suppressed, and yet that in the meane time those fonde obiections may be mette withall which are wont to rise thereupon.

Luciā, a
godles
man.

2 Christian libertie (as I thinke) consisteth in three partes. The first, that the consciences of the faithfull, when the affiance of their iustification before God is to be sought, may raise & aduance themselves about the lawe, and forget the whole righteousnesse of the

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lawe. For sith the lawe (as we haue already in an other place declared) leaueth no man righteous: either we are excluded from all hope of iustification, or we must be loosed from the lawe, and so that there be no regarde at all hadde of workes. For whoso thinketh that he must bring somewhat be it neuer so little of good workes to obtaine righteousness, he can not apointe any ende or measure of them, but maketh him selfe detter to the whole lawe. Therefore taking away all mention of the lawe, and laying aside all thinking vpon workes, we must embrace the onely mercie of God, when we entreate of iustification: & turning away our sight from our selues, we must behold Christ alone. For there the question is not howe we be righteous: but howe although we be vnrighteous and vnworthy, we be taken for worthy. Of which thing if consciences will attaine any certainty, they must geue no place to the lawe. Neither can any man hereby gather that the lawe is superfluous to the faithfull, whom it doth not therefore cease to teach, and exhort, and pricke forward to goodness, although before the iudgement seate of God it hath no place in their consciences. For these two things, as they are most diuerse, so must be well and diligently distinguished of vs. The whole life of

Ephes. 1. Christians ought to be a certaine meditation of godlinesse, bycause
4 they are called into sanctification. Herein standeth the office of the
1. Thes. lawe, that by putting them in minde of their duerie, it should stir
4-5. them vp to the endeuer of holinesse and innocencie. But when consciences are carefull howe they may haue God mercifull, what they shall answer, and vpon what affiance they shall stand if they be called to his iudgement, there is not to be reckened what the lawe requireth, but onely Christ must be set forth for righteousness, which passeth all perfection of the lawe.

3 Vpon this point hangeth almost all the argumēt of the Epistle to the Galathians. For, that they be fonde expositers which teach that Paule there contendeth onely for the libertie of ceremonies, may be proued by the places of the arguments. Of which sort are these. That Christ was made a curse for vs, that he might redeme vs from the curse of the lawe. Againe, Stand fast in the libertie wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not againe entangled with the yoke of bondage. Beholde, I Paule say, if ye be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profit you. And he which is circumcised is dettor of the whole lawe. Christ is made idle to you whosoever ye be that are iustified by the lawe: ye are fallen away from grace. Wherin truely is cōteined some hier thing than the libertie of ceremonies. I graunt in deede that Paule there entreateth of ceremonies, because he contendeth

Gala. 3.

13. and

5.1.

standeth with y^e fallie Apostles, which went about to bring againe into the Christian Church the old shadowes of law which were abolished by the coming of Christ. But for the discussing of this question, there were hier places to be disputed, in which the whole controuersie stooode. First because by those Iewish shadowes the brightnesse of the Gospell was darkened, he sheweth that we haue in Christ a full geuing in deede of all those things which were shadowed by the ceremonies of Moses. Secondly, because those deceiuers filled the people with a most noughty opinion, namely that this obedience auailed to deserue the fauor of God: Here he standeth much vpon this point, that the faithfull should not thinke that they can by any works of the law, much lesse by those litle principles, obteine righteousness before God. And therewithall he teacheth, that they are by the crosse of Christ free from the damnation of the lawe, which otherwise hangeth ouer all men, that they should with full assurednesse rest in Christ alone. Which place properly pertaineth to this purpose. Last of all he mainteineth to the cōsciences of the faithfull their libertie, that they shoulde not be bound with any religion in things not necessarie. Gala. 4. 30.

4 The second part, which hangeth vpon that former part, is that consciences obey the lawe, not as compelled by the necessitie of the lawe: but being free from the yoke of the lawe it selfe, of their owne accord they obey the will of God. For, because they abide in perpetuall terrors, so long as they be vnder the dominion of the lawe, they shall neuer be with cherefull redinesse framed to the obedience of God, vnlesse they first haue this libertie geuen them. By an example we shall both more briefly, and more plainly perceiue what these things meane. The commaundement of the lawe is, that we loue our God with all our heart, with all our soule, with all our strengths. That this may be done, our soule must firste be made voide of all other sense and thought, our heart must be cleansed of all desires, all our strengths must be gathered vp and drawen together to this onely purpose. They which haue gone most far before other in the way of the Lord, are yet very far from this marke. For though they loue God with their minde, and with sincere affection of heart, yet they haue still a great part of their heart and soule possessed with the desires of the fleshe, by which they are drawen backe and stayed from going forward with hasty course to God. They do in deede trauaile forward with great endeour: but the flesh partly febleth their strengths, and partly draweth them to it selfe. What shall they here do, when they fele that they do nothing lesse than performe the lawe? They will, Deu. 6. 5.

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they couer, they endeuor, but nothing with such perfection as ought to be. If they loke vpon the lawe, they see that whatsoeuer worke they attempt or purpose, is accursed. Neither is there any cause why any man should deceiue himself with gathering that the worke is therefore not altogether euell, bycause it is vnperfect: and therefore that God doth neuertheless accept that good which is in it. For, the lawe requiring perfect loue, cōdemneth all imperfection, vnlesse the rigor of it be mitigated. Therefore his workes should fall to nought which he would haue to seme partly good: and he shall finde that it is a transgression of the lawe, euen in this because it is vnperfect.

5 Loe, howe all our workes are subiect to the curse of the lawe, if they be measured by the rule of the lawe. But howe should then vnhappy soules cherefully applie themselves to worke, for which they might not trust that they could get any thinge but curse? On the other side, if being deliuered from this seuerer exacting of the lawe, or rather from the whole rigor of the lawe, they heare that they be called of God with fatherly gentleness: they will merily and with great cherefulness answer his calling and followe his guiding. In a summe, they which are bound to the yoke of the lawe, are like to bondseruants, to whom are appointed by their Lordes certain taskes of worke for euery day. These seruants thinke that they haue done nothing, nor dare come into the sight of their Lordes, vnlesse they haue performed that full taske of their workes. But children, which are more liberally and more freemanlike handled of their fathers, sticke not to present to them their begonne & half vnperfect workes, yea and those hauing some fault, trusting that they will accept their obedience and willingness of minde, although they haue not exactly done so much as their good will was to do. So must we be as may haue sure affiance, that our obediences shalbe allowed of our most kinde father, howe litle soeuer, and howe rude and vnperfect soeuer they be. As also he assureth to vs by the prophet: I will spare them (saith he) as the father is wont to spare his sonne that serueth him.

Mal. 3. 17. Where this word Spare, is set for to beare withall, or gently to winke at faultes, forasmuch as he also maketh mention of seruice. And this affiance is not a litle necessarie for vs, without which we shal go about all things in vaine. For God accompteth himselfe to be worshipped with no worke of ours but w^h is truly done of vs for the worshipping of him. But howe can that be done among these terrors, where it is doubted whether God be offended or worshipped with our worke?

6 And that is the cause why the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues, referreth all the good workes that are red of in the holy fathers,

fathers, to faith, & weyerh them onely by faith. Touching this liberty there is a place in the Epistle to the Romaines, where Paule resoneth that some ought not to haue dominion ouer vs, because we are not vnder $\bar{y}$ law, but vnder grace. For when he had exhorted the faithfull that sinne should not reigne in their mortall bodie, and that they should not geue their mébers to be weapons of wickednesse to sinne, but should dedicate themselues to God, as they that are alieue from the deade, and their members, weapons of righteousness to God: and whereas they might on the other side object that they do yet carry with them the flesh full of lustes, and that sinne dwelleth in them, he adioyneth that comfort by the libertie of the lawe, as if he should say. Though they do not yet thoroughly fele sinne destroyed and that righteousness yet liueth not in them, yet there is no cause why they should feare and be discouraged as though they had bene alway displeased with thē for the remnáts of sinne, forasmuch as they are by grace made free from the law, that their workes should not be examined by the rule of the law. As for thē that gather that we may sinne because we are not vnder the law, let thē know that this liberty, pertaineth nothing to them, the ende wherof is to encourage to God.

6 The third part is, that we be bound with no conscience before God of outward things which are by them selues indifferent, but that we may indifferently sometime vse them, and sometime leaue them vnused. And the knowledge of this libertie also is very necessary for vs, for if it shalbe absent, there shalbe no quiet to our cōsciences, no ende of superstitions. Many at this day do thinke vs sonde to moue disputation about the free eating of flesh, about the free vse of dayes, and garmentes and such other smale trifles as they in deede thinke them: but there is more weight in them than is commonly thought. For when consciences haue ones cast themselues into the snare, they entre into a long and combersome way, from whence they can afterward finde no easy way to get out. If a man beginne to doubt whether he may occupy linnen in shetes, shertes, hankercheifes, and napkines, neither will he be out of doubt whether he may vse hēpe, and at the last he wil also fall in doubt of mattes, for he will way with himself whether he can not suppe without napkins, whether he may not be without handkercheifes. If any man thinke deiniy meate to be vnlawefull, at length he shall not with quietnesse before the Lorde eate either brounebreade or common meates, when he remembreth that he may yet susteine his body with bacer foode. If he doubte of pleasaunte wine, afterwarde he will not drinke deade wine with good peace of conscience, last of all he will not be so bold to touch sweter

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and cleanner water than other. Finally at the length he will come to this point, to thinke it vnlawefull (as the common saying is) to treade vppon a strawe lying a crosse. For here is begonne no lighte strife, but this is in question, whether God will haue vs to vse these or those things, whose will ought to guide all our counsells and doings. Hereby some must needes be carried with desperation into a confuse deuouring pit: some must, despising God, and casting away his feare, make themselues away through destructiō when they haue no redy way. For whosoeuer are entangled with such doubting, whch way soeuer they turne themselues, they see euery where present offense of conscience.

Ro. 14.
14.

8 I knowe (saith Paule) that nothing is common (meaning by common, vnholly) but who so thinketh any thing common, to him it is common. In which wordes he maketh all outward things subiect to our libertie, prouided alway that our mindes haue the assurance of the libertie before God. But if any superstitious opinion cast into vs any dout, those things which of their owne nature were cleane, are defiled to vs. Wherefore he addeth: Blessed is he that iudgeth not himselfe in that which he alloweth. But he that iudgeth, if he eate, is condemned, because he eaterh not of faith. And that which is not of faith, is sinne. Among such narrowe streightes, who so neuerthelesse with carelesly venturing on all things shewe themselues boulder, do they not asmuch turne themselues away from God? But they which are throughly pearced with some feare of God, when they themselues also are compelled to do many things against their conscience, are discouraged & do fall downe with feare. All that are such, do receiue none of the giftes of God with thankesgeuing, by which alone yet Paul testifieth that they all are sanctified to our vse. I meane the thankesgeuing that procedeth from a heart that acknowledgeth the liberalitie & goodnesse of God in his giftes. For, many of them in deede do vnderstande that those are the benefites of God which they vse, and they praise God in his workes: but sith they are not perswaded that they are geuen to themselues, howe should they thanke God as the geuer of them? Thus in a summe we see, whereto this libertie tendeth, namely that we should vse the gifts of God to such vse as he hath geuen them vnto vs, without any scruple of conscience, without any trouble of minde: by which confidence our soules may both haue peace with him and acknowledge his liberalitie toward vs. For here are comprehended all ceremonies that are at liberty to be obserued, that our consciences should not be bound with any necessitie to keepe them, but should remember that the vse of them is by Gods benefite
subiect

subiect to themselves vnto edification.

9 But it is diligently to be noted, that Christian libertie is in all the partes of it a spirituall thing, the whole strength whereof consisteth in appeasing fearfull consciences before God, if either they be vnquieted or carefull for the forgeuennesse of sinnes, or if they be pensive whether our imperfect workes and defiled with the faultes of our flesh do please God, or if they be troubled about the vse of indifferent things. Wherefore they do wrongfully expound it, which either do make it a cloke for their owne desires, that they may abuse the giftes of God to their owne lust, or which do thinke that there is no libertie but that which is vsed before men, and therefore in vsing it haue no regard of the weake brethren. In the first kinde, men do at this day much offend. There is almost no man which may by his abilitie of wealth be sumptuous, which deliteth not in excessive gorgiousnesse, in furniture of bankets, in apparell of body, in building of houses, which hath not a will to excell other in all kinde of statelinessse: which doth not maruellously flatter himself in his finenesse. And all these things are defended vnder the pretēse of Christian libertie. They say that they are things indifferent: I graunt, so that a man indifferently vse them. But when they are to greedily coueted, when they are proudly boasted, when they are wastefully spent, it is certaine that those things which otherwise were of themselves lawfull, are by these faultes defiled. This saying of Paule doth very well put difference betwene things indifferēt: All things are cleane to the cleane: but to the defiled and vnbeleuing, nothing is cleane, because their minde and conscience is defiled. For why are accursed the rich men, they which haue their comfort, which are satisfied with meate, which do nowe laugh, which slepe in beds of iuory, which ioyned land to land, whose banketes haue lute, harp, taber and wine? Verily both iuory, and golde, and riches, are the good creatures of God, permitted yea & apointed by the providence of God for men to vse. Neither is it any where forbidden either to laugh, or to be satisfied with meate, or to ioyned new possiōns to their owne olde possiōns or of their auncesters, or to be delited with muscāll melodie, or to drink wine. This is true in deede. But whē they haue plenty of things, to wallowe in delites, to glut themselves, to make their wit and minde dronke with present pleasures & alway to gape for newe, these doings are most farre from the lawfull vse of the giftes of God. Therefore let them take away immeasurable desire, let them take away immeasurable wasting, let them take away vanitie and arrogance, that they may with a pure conscience purely vse the giftes of God. When the

Tir. 1.

25.

Luke. 6.

24.

Amos 6.

Esa 5.8.

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minde shalbe framed to this sobrietie, they shall haue a rule of the lawfull vse. On the other side let this moderation be wanting, euen base and common delicates are to much. For this is truly said, that oftentimes in frise and course cloth dwelleth a purple hearte, and Phil. 4. sometime vnder silke and purple, lieth simple humilitie: Let euery man in his degree so liue either poorely, or meanelly, or plentifully, that they all remember that they are fed of God to liue, not to be riotous: and let them thinke, that this is the lawe of Christian liberty, if they haue learned with Paule to be contented with those things which they presently haue: if they can skill both to be humble and to excell: if they be taught in all places and in all things to be both full and hungry, to haue plentie and to suffre want.

10 Herein also many men do erre, bycause as though their libertie should not be sounde and safe vnlesse it had men witnesses of it, they do vndiscretly and vnwisely vse it. By which vnseasonable vsing they many times offend the weake brethren. You may see at this day some, which thinke that their libertie can not stande, vnlesse they take possession of it by eating of flesh on friday. I blame not that they eate: but this false opinion must be driuen out of their mindes. For they ought to thinke that by their libertie they obtaine no newe thing in the sight of menne but before God, and that it standeth as well in absteyning as in vsing. If they vnderstande that it maketh no matter before God, whether they eate flesh or egges, whether they weare redde or blacke garments, that is enough. The conscience is now free, to which the benefite of such libertie was due. Therefore although they do afterward absteyne all their life long from flesh, and weare alway but one colour, yet they are no lesse free. Yea therefore because they are free, they do with a free conscience absteyne. But they do most hurtfully offend bycause they nothing regard the weakenesse of their brethren, which we ought so to beare with, that we rashly commit nothing with offense of them. But sometime also it behoueth that our libertie be set forth before men. And this I graunt. But there is a measure most heedfully to be kept, that we cast not away the care of the weake of whome the Lorde hath so earnestly geuen vs charge.

11 I will in this place therefore speake somewhat of offenses, in what differēce they are to be taken, which are to be auoided, & which to be neglected: whereupō we may afterward determine what place there is for our libertie among men. I like well that cōmon diuision, which teacheth that there is of offenses one sort geuen, an other taken: for asmuch as it both hath a plaine testimonie of the Scripture, and

and doth not vntruly expresse that which it meaneth. If thou do any thing by vnseasonable lightnesse, or wantonnesse, or rashnesse, not in order, nor in fit place, whereby the ignorant and weake are offended, that same may be called an offense geue by thee: because it came to passe by thy fault that such offense was stirred vp. And it is alway called an offense geuen in any thing, the fault whereof came from the doer of the thing it selfe. It is called an offense taken, when a thing which is otherwise not euell done nor out of time is by euell will or by some wrongfull maliciouſnesse of minde drawen to occasiō of offense. For in this case was not offense geuen, but these wrongfull construers do without cause take one. With that first kinde of offense none are offended but the weake: but with this. ij. kinde sowe natures & Pharisaicall scornfull heads are offended. Wherefore we shall call the one, the offense of the weake: the other of the Pharisees: and we shall so temper the vse of our libertie, that it ought to geue place to the ignorance of the weake brethren, but in no wise to the rigorousnesse of the Pharisees. For, what is to be yelded to weaknesse, Paule sheweth in very many places. Beare (saith he) the weake in faith. Again, Let vs not hereafter iudge one an other: but this rather, let there not be layed before our brother any offense or occasion of falling: and many other sayings to the same entent, which are more fit to be red in the place it selfe, than to be here rehearsed. The summe is, that we which are strong should beare with the weakenesse of our brethren, and not please our selues, but euery one of vs please his neighbor vnto good for edifying. In an other place, But see that your libertie be not in any wise an offense to them that are weake. Again, Eate ye al things that are sold in the shambles, asking no question for conscience: of your conscience (I say) not an other mans. Finally be ye such, that ye geue no offense, neither to the Iewes, nor to the Grekes, nor to the Church of God. Also in an other place, Ye are called, brethren, into libertie: onely geue not your libertie to be an occasion to the flesh, but by charitie serue ye one an other. Thus it is. Our libertie is not geuen toward our weake neighbours, whose seruantes charitie maketh vs in all things: but rather, that hauing peace with God in our mindes, we may also liue peaceably among men. As for the offense of the Pharisees, howe much it is to be regarded, we learne by the wordes of the Lorde, whereby he biddeth them to be let alone, because they are blinde, and guides of the blinde. The disciples had warned him, that the Pharisees were offended with his sayings: he aunswered that they were to be neglected, and the offending of them not to be cared for.

Rom. 14
1. & 13.

1. Cor. 8
9.
1 Cor.
10. 25.

Gala. 5.
13.

Mat. 15.
14.

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12 But yet still the matter hangeth doutfull, vnles we knowe who are to be taken for weake, and who for Pharisees: which difference beinge taken away, I see not amonge offences what vse at all of liberty remaineth, which might neuer be vsed without great daunger. But it seemeth to me that Paul hath most plainly declared both by doctrine and by examples, howe far our liberty is either to be tempered or to be defended though with offences. When he toke Timothee into his company, he circumcised him: but he could not be brought to circumcise Titus. Here were diuerse doings, & no chaunge of purpose or of minde: namely in circumcising Timothee, when he was free from all men, he made himselfe a seruauant to all men: and he was made to the Iewes, as a Iewe, that he might win the Iewes: to them that were vnder the lawe, as if he himself were vnder the lawe, that he might winne them which were vnder the lawe: all things to all men, that he might saue many, as he writeth in an other place. Thus we haue a right moderation of libertie, if it may be indifferently restrained with some profit. What he had respect vnto, when he stoutly refused to circumcise Titus, he himself testifieth, writing thus. But neither was Titus, which was with me, although he was a Grecian, compelled to be circumcised, because of the false brethren which were come in by the way, which had priuily crept in to espie our libertie which we haue in Christ Iesus, that they might bring vs into bondage, to whome we gaue not place by subiection so much as for a time, that the truth of the Gospell might continue with you. There is also a time when we must of necessity defend our libertie, if the same be in weake consciences endangered by the vniust exactions of false Apostles. We must in euery thing study to preserue charity, & haue regard to the edifying of our neighbor. All things (saith he) are lawfull for me, but not all things are expedient: all things are lawfull for me, but not all things do edify. Let no man seeke that which is his owne, but which is an others. There is nothing now plainer by this rule, than that we must vse our libertie, if it may turne to the edifying of our neighbor: but if it be not so expediēt for our neighbor, then we must forbear it. There be some which counterfait the wisdom of Paule in forbearing of libertie, while they do nothing les than apply the same to the duties of charitie. For so that they may provide for their owne quietnes, they wish all mentiō of liberty to be buried, whereas it is no les behouefull for our neighbors, sometime to vse libertie for their benefit and edification, than in fit place to restraints it for their commoditie. But it is the part of a godly man to thinke, that free power in outward things is therefore graunted him,

Ag. 16.
3.
Gal. 2.3.
Cor. 9.
19. and
22.

Gal. 2.4

1. Cor.
3.23.

him, that he may be the freer to all duties of charitie.

13 But whatsoeuer I haue spoken of auoyding of offences, my meaning is that it be referred to meane and indifferent things. For, those things that are necessary to be done, are not to be left vndone for fear of any offence. For as our libertie is to be submitted to charity, so charity it selfe likewise ought to be vnder the purenes of faith. Verily here also ought to be had regard of charitie, but so far as to the altars, that is, that for our neighbors sake we offed not God Their intemperance is not to be allowed, which do nothing but with troublesome turmoiling, and which had rather rashly to rend all things, than leisurely to rip them. Neither yet are they to be harkened to, which when they be leaders of men into a thousand forts of vngodlynnes, yet do faine that they must behaue themselues so that they be none offence to their neighbors. As though they do not in y meane edify the consciences of their neighbors to euill, specially wheras they sticke fast in the same mire without any hope of getting out. And the pleasant men forsoth, whether their neighbor be to be instructed with doctrine or example of life. say that he must be fed with milke, whome they fill with most euill & poisonous opinions. Paule reporteth that he fed the Corinthians with drinking of milke: but if Popish Masse had then bene among them, would he haue sacrificed to geue them the drinke of milke. But milke is not poison. Therefore they lie in saying y they feede them whom vnder a shewe of flattering allurementes they cruelly kill. But, graunting that such dissembling is for a time to be allowed, howe long yet will they feede their children with milke? For if they neuer grow bigger, that they may at the least be able to beare some light meate, it is certain that they were neuer brought vp with milke. There are two reasons that moue me why I do not nowe more sharply contend with them: first, because their folies are scarcely worthy to be cōfuted, sith they worthily seeme filthy in the sight of all men that haue their sound wit: secondly, because I haue sufficiently done it in peculiar bookes, I will not nowe do a thing already done. Onely let the readers remember this, that with whatsoeuer offences satan and the world go about to turne vs away from the ordinances of God, or to stay vs from following that which he apointeth, yet we must neuerthelesse go earnestly forward: and then, that whatsoeuer dangers hang vpon it, yet is it not at our liberty to swarue one heare bredth from the commaundement of the same God, neither is it lawefull by any pretence to attempt any thing but that which he geueth vs leaue.

14 Nowe therefore sith faithfull consciences hauing receiued such

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preiogative of libertie as we haue aboue set forth, haue by the benefite of Christ obtained this that they be not entangled with any snares of obseruations in those things in which the Lorde willed that they should be at libertie: we conclude that they are exempt from all power of men. For it is vnmeete, that either Christ should lose the thanke of his so great liberalitie, or consciences their profite. Neither ought we to thinke it a slight matter, which we see to haue cost Christ so deere: namely which he valued not with gold or siluer, but with his owne blood: so that Paule sticketh not to say, that his death is made voide, if we yeld our soules into subiection to men. For he trauelleth about nothing els in certaine chapters of the epistle to the Galathiās, but to shew that Christ is darkned or rather destroyed to vs, vnlesse our consciences stand fast in their libertie, which verily they haue lost if they may at the will of men be snared with the bondes of lawes and ordinances. But as it is a thing most worthy to be knowen, so it needeth a longer and plainer declaration. For so soone as any word is spoken of the abrogating of the ordinances of men, biandby great troubles are raised vp partly by seditious men, partly by slanderers, as though the whole obedience of men were at once taken away and ouerthrowen.

15 Therefore that none of vs may stumble at this stone, first let vs consider, that there are two sortes of government in man: the one spirituall whereby the conscience is framed to godlinesse and to the worship of God: y other ciuill, wherby man is trayned to the duties of humanitie and ciuilitie which are to be kept among men. They are commonly by not vnfit names called the Spirituall and Temporall iurisdiction, whereby is signified, that the first of these two formes of government pertaineth to the life of the soule, and the latter is occupied in the things of this present life: not onely in feeding and clothing, but in setting forth of lawes whereby a man may spend his life among men holily, honestly, and soberly. For, that first kinde hath place in the inward minde, this latter kinde ordereth onely the outward behaiours. The one we may call the Spirituall kingdome the other, the Ciuill kingdome. But these two, as we haue deuided them, must be either of them alway seuerally cōsidered by themselues: and when the one is in considering, we must withdrawe and turne away our mindes from the thinking vpon the other. For there are in man as it were two worlds, which both diuerse kings & diuerse lawes may gouerne. By this putting of difference shall come to passe, that that which the Gospell teacheth of the spirituall libertie, we shall not wrongfully drawe to the ciuill order, as though Christians were according

1. Pet. 1.
18.
Gal. 5. 1.
and 4.

According to the outward government lesse subiect to the lawes of men, because their consciences are at libertie before God: as though they were therefore exempt from all bondage of the flesh, because they are free according to the spirit. Again, because euen in those ordinances which seeme to pertain to the Spirituall kingdome, there may be some error: we must also put difference betwene these, which are to be taken for lawfull as agreable to the word of God, & on the other side which ought not to haue place among the godly. Of the Ciuile government there shalbe els where place to speake. Also of the Ecclesiasticall lawes I omit to speake at this time, because a more full entreating of it shalbe fit for the fourth book, where we shall speake of the power of the Church. But of this discourse, let this be the conclusion, The question being (as I haue said) of it selfe not very darke or entangled, doth for this cause accomber many, because they do not suttelly enough put differēce betwene the outward court as they call it, and the court of conscience. Moreover this encrease the difficultie, that Paule teacheth that the Magistrate ought to be obeyed, Rom. 13
a. d. 5. not onely for fear of punishment, but for conscience. Whereupon followeth that consciences are also bounde by the ciuile lawes. If it were so, all should come to naught which we both haue spoken and shall speake of the spirituall government. For the losing of this knot, first it is good to know what is conscience. And the definition therof is to be fetched from the deriuation of the word. For, as when men do with minde and vnderstanding conceaue the knowledge of things, they are thereby said. (Scire) to knowe, whereupon also is deriued the name of Science: Knowledge: so when they haue a feeling of the iudgement of God, as a witnes ioined with the, which doth not suffer them to hide their sinnes but that they be drawn accused to the iudgement seate of God, that same feeling is called Conscience. For it is a certaine meane betwene God and man, because it suffreth not man to suppress in himself that which he knoweth, but pursueth him so far till it bring him to guiltines. This is it which Paul meaneth, Rom. 2.
15 where he saith that conscience doth together witnesse with men, when their thoughtes do accuse or aquite them in the iudgement of God. A simple knowledge might remaine as enclosed within man. Therefore this feeling which presenteth man to the iudgement of God, is as it were a keeper ioined to man, to marke and espie all his secretes, that nothing may remaine buried in darknes. Whereupon also commeth that olde Prouerb, Conscience is a thousand witnesses. And for the same reason Peter hath set the examination of a good 1. Pet. 3. conscience for quietnesse of minde, when being perswaded of the

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grace of Christ, we do without fear present our selues before God.

Heb. 10. And the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues, setteth to haue no
2. more conscience of sinne, in steede of to be deliuered or acquitted that
sinne may no more accuse vs.

16 Therefore as workes haue respect to men, so conscience is
referred to God, so that a good conscience is nothing els but the

2 Ti. 1. 5 inward purenes of the hart. In which sense Paul writeth that charity
is the fulfilling of the lawe out of a pure conscience & faith not fained.
Afterward also in y same chapter he sheweth how much it differeth
from vnderstanding, saying that some had suffered shipwracke
from the faith, because they had forsaken good Conscience. For in
these wordes he signifieth it is a liuely affection to worship God, and
a sincere endeour to liue holily and godlily. Sometime in deede it ex-

Ad. 24. tendeth also to men, as in Luke where the same Paul protesteth that
16. he endeouored himselfe to walke with a good conscience toward God
and men. But this was therefore said, because the frutes of good con-

science do flowe and come euen to men. But in speaking properly,
it hath respect to God onely, as I haue already said. Hereby it com-
meth to pas that the lawe is said to binde the conscience, which sim-
ply bindeth a man without respect of men, or without hauing any
consideration of them. As for example: God commaundeth not onely
to kepe the minde chaste and pure from all lust, but also forbiddeth
all manner of filthines of wordes and outwarde wantonnes what-
soeuer it be. To the keepinge of this lawe my conscience is subiect
although there liued not one man in the world. So he that behaueth
himselfe intemperantly, not onely sinneth in this that he geueth an
euill example to the brethren, but also hath his conscience bound
with guiltines before God. In things that are of themselues meane,
there is another consideration. For we ought to abstaine from them

1. Cor. if they bred any offence, but the conscience still being free. So Paule
10. 18. speaketh of flesh consecrate to Idoles. If any (saith he) moue any
doubt, touch it not for conscience sake: I say for conscience, not thine
but the others. A faithfull man should sinne, which being first warned
should neuerthelessse eate such flesh. But howsoever in respect of his
brother, it is necessary for him to abstaine as it is prescribed of God,
yet he ceaseth not to kepe stil the libertie of conscience. Thus we see
howe this lawe binding the outward worke, leaueth the conscience
vnbound.

The

The xx. Chapter.

*Of Praier, which is the chiefe exercise of faith, and vvh whereby we
daily receive the benefites of God.*

OF these things that haue bin hitherto spoken, we plainly perceiue how needy and voide man is of all good things, & howe he wanteth all helpes of saluation. Wherefore if he seeke for reliefes whereby he may succour his needines, he must go out of himselfe and get them else where. This is afterward declared vnto vs, that the Lorde doth of his owne free will and liberally giue himselfe to vs in his Christ, in whom he offereth vs in stede of our misery all felicity, in stede of our neede welkinesse, in whom he openeth to vs the heauenly treasures: that our whole faith should behold his beloued sonne, y vpon him our whole expectation should hange, in him our whole hope should sticke fast and rest. This verily is the secret & hidden Philosophy, which can not be wronge out with Logickall arguments: but they learne it whose eies God hath opened that they may see light in his light. But since that we are taught by faith to acknowledge that whatsoeuer we haue neede of, whatsoeuer wanteth in vs, the same is in God & in our Lord Iesus Christ, namely in whome the Lorde willed the whole fulnesse of his largesse to rest, that from thense we shoulde all drawe as out of a most plentiful fountaine: nowe it remaineth that we seeke in him, and with prayers craue of him that which we haue learned to be in him. Otherwise to know God to be the Lord & giuer of all good thinges, which allureth vs to pray to him: and not to go to him and pray to him: shoulde so nothing profit vs, that it should be al one as if a man should neglect a treasure shewed him buried and digged in the ground. Therfore the Apostle, to shewe that true faith can not be idle from callinge vpon God, hath set this order: that as of the Gospel springeth faith, so by it our heartes are framed to cal vpon the name of God. And this is the same thing which he had a litle before sayd, that the Spirit of adoption, which sealeth in our heartes the witnesse of the Gospell, raiseth vp our spirits that they dare shew forth their desires to God, stirre vp vnspokeable gronings, and crie with confidence Abba, Father. It is mete therfore that this last point, because it was before but only spoken of by the way & as it were lightly touched, should nowe be more largely entreated of.

2 This therfore we get by the benefit of prayer, that we attaine to those richesse which are laid vp for vs with the heauenly father. For there is a certaine communicinge of men with God, whereby they

Rom. 8.
26.

entring into sanctuary of heauen, do in his owne presence call to him touching his promises: that the same thing which they beleued him affirming only in word not to be vaine, they may when neede so requireth finde in experience. Therefore we see that there is nothing set forth to vs to be looked for at the hand of the Lord, which we are not also comāunded to craue with praier: so true it is that by prayer are digged vp the treasures, which our faith hath looked vpon being shewed to it by the Gospel of the Lord. Now how necessary and how many wayes profitable this exercise of praier is, it can by no wordes be sufficiently declared. Vndoubtedly it is not without cause that the heavenly father testifieth, that the only fortresse of saluation is in the callinge vpon his name, namely whereby we call to vs the presence both of his providence, by which he watcheth to take care of our matters: and of his power, by which he sustaineth vs being weake and in a maner faintinge: and of his goodnesse, by which he receiueth vs into fauour being miserably loden with sinnes: finally wherby we call him all whole, to giue himself present to vs. Hereby groweth singular rest and quietnes to our consciences. For when we haue disclosed to the Lorde the necessity which distressed vs, we largely rest though it were but in this only that none of our euils is hidden frō him, whom we are perswaded both to be most well willinge toward vs, and most able to prouide well for vs.

3 But (will some man say) did not he know without any to put in minde of it, both in what parte we be distressed, and what is expedient for vs: so that it may seeme after a certayne maner superfluous, that he should be troubled with our praier, as though he winked or slept, vntill he were awaked with our voice? But they which so reason, marke not to what end the Lord hath instructed them that be his to pray: for he ordained it not so much for his owne cause as rather for ours. He willeth in deede, as right it is, that his due be rendred to him, when they acknowledge to come from him whatsoeuer men require or do perceiue to make for their profit, and do testifie the same with wishings. But the profit also of this sacrifice wherwith he is worshipped, commeth to vs. Therefore how much more boldly the holy fathers gloriously talked both to themselues & other of the benefites of God, so much the more sharply they were pricked forward to pray. The onely example of Elias shalbe enough for vs, which beinge sure of the counsell of God, after that he not rashly had promised raine to Achab, yet busily prayeth betwene his knees, and sendeth his seruant seauen times to espy it: not for that he did discredit the oracle of God, but because he knew that it was his duety, least his faith should waxe

drowſie and ſluggiſh, to lay vp his deſires with God. Wherefore although while we lie ſenſleſſe & ſo dul that we perceiue not our owne miſeries, he waketh and watcheth for vs, and ſomtime alſo helpeth vs vndeſired, yet it much behoueth vs, that he be continually called vpon of vs, that our heart may be enflamed with earneſt and feruent deſire to ſeeke, loue, and worſhip him, while we accuſtome our ſelues in euery neceſſity to flee to him as to our ſhoote anchare. Againe, that no deſire and no wiſhe at all may entre into our minde, whereof we ſhould be aſhamed to make him witneſſe, while we learne to preſent our wiſhes, yea & to poure out our whole heart before his eyes. The, that we may be framed to receiue all his benefites with true thankfulnes of minde, yea & with outward thankſgiuing, of which we are put in mind by our praier that they come to vs from his hand. Moreover, that when we haue obtained that which we deſired, being perſwaded that he hath answered to our prayers, we may be thereby the more feruently caried to thinke vpon his kindenes, and therewithall embrace with greater pleaſure thoſe thinges which we acknowledge to haue bin obtained by praier. Laſt of all, that very uſe & experience may according to the meaſure of our weakenefſe aſſure our mindes of his prouidence, when we vnderſtand that he not only promiſeth that he will neuer faile vs, and that he doth of his owne accord open vs the entry to cal to him in the very point of neceſſity, but alſo hath his hand alway ſtretched out to help the that be his, & that he doth not feede them with wordes, but defendeth them with preſent help. For theſe cauſes, the moſt kinde Father, although he neuer ſleepeth or is ſluggiſh, yet oftentimes maketh a ſhewe as though he ſlept and were ſluggiſh, that ſo he may exerciſe vs, which are otherwiſe ſlouthfull and ſluggiſhe to come to him, to aſke of him, to requiſe him to our owne great benefit. Therefore they do to fooliſhly, which to call away the mindes of men from prayer, babble that the prouidence of God, which maketh for the ſafekeeping of all thinges, is in vaine wearied with our callings vpon him: Whereas the Lord contrariwiſe not in vaine teſtifieth that he is nie to all them that call vpon his name in truth. And of none other ſort is y which other do triſlingly ſay, that it is ſuperfluous to aſke thoſe thinges which the Lorde is of his owne will ready to giue: whereas euen the very ſame thinges which flowe to vs from his owne free liberality, he will haue vs acknowledge to be graunted to our praiers. Which thing that notable ſentence of the Pſalme doth teſtifie, wherewith many like ſayinges do accorde. The eyes of the Lorde are vpon the righteous, and his eares vnto their praiers. Which ſayinge ſo ſetteth out the prouidence of God bent of

Pſa. 145.
18.Pſa. 34.
16.

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his owne accord to prouide for the safety of the godly, that yet he omitteth not the exercise of faith, whereby slouthfulnesse is wiped from the mindes of men. The eyes of God therefore do wake, that he may succour the necessity of the blinde: but he will againe on our behalfe heare our gronings, that he may the better proue his loue toward vs. And so both are true, that the watchman of Israell slepeth not, nor slombreth, and yet that he sitteth still as hauinge forgotten vs when he seeth vs dull and dumme.

Psal. 121

4.

4 Now, to frame praier rightly & wel, let this be the first rule, that we be no otherwise framed in minde and hearte, than becommeth them that enter into talke with God. Which verily we shall attaine as touching the minde, of the same being free from fleshly cares and thoughtes wherewith it may be called away or withdrawen from the right and pure beholding of God, do not onely bende it selfe wholly to prayer, but also so much as is possible be lifted vp & caried aboue it selfe. Neither do I here require a minde so at liberty, y^e it be pricked and nipped with no care, whereas contrariwise the seruentnesse of prayer must by much carefulnesse be kindled in vs (as we see that the holy seruantes of God do sometime declare great tormentes, much more carefulnesse, when they say that they vtter to the Lord a bewailinge voice out of the deepe depth, and out of the middest of the iawes of death) But I say that all strange and foraine cares must be driuen away, wherewith the minde it selfe wandring hither and thither is caried about, & being drawen out of heaven is pressed down to the earth. I meane by this that it must be lifted vp aboue it selfe, that it may not bring into the sight of God any of those things which our blinde & foolish reason is wont to imagine, nor may hold it selfe bound within the compasse of her owne vanity, but rise vp to purenes worthy for God.

5 Both these thinges are specially worthy to be noted, that whosoever prepareth himselfe to pray, should thereto apply all his senses and endeouours, & not (as men are wont) be diuersly drawen with wandering thoughtes: because there is nothing more contrary to the reuerence of God, than such lightnesse which is a witnesse of too wanton licentiousnesse and loose from all feare. In which thing we must so much more earnestly labour, as we finde it more hard, for no man can be so bent to pray, but that he shall feele many bythoughtes to crepe vpon him, either to breake of, or by some bowing & swaruinge to hinder the course of his prayer. But here let vs call to minde, how great an worthinesse it is, when God receiueth vs vnto familiar talke with him, to abuse his so great gentlenesse, with minglinge holy and profane

prophane things together, when the reuerence of him holdeth not our mindes fast bound vnto him: but as if we talked with some meane man, we do in the middest of our prayer, forsaking him, leape hither and thither. Let vs therefore know that none do rightly and well prepare themselues to praier, but they whom the maiesty of God pearceth, that they come to it vncumbred of earthly cares and affectiōs. And that is ment by the ceremony of lifting vp of handes, that men shoulde remember that they be farre distant from God, vnlesse they lift vp their senses on hie. As also it is said in the Psalm, To thee haue I lifted vp my soule. And the Scripture oftentimes vseth this manner of speech, to lift vp praier: that they which desire to be hard of God, should not sit stil in their dregges. Let this be the summe: that howe much more liberally God dealeth with vs, gently alluringe vs to vnloade our cares into his bosome, so much lesse excusable are we vnlesse his so excellent and incomparable benefit do with vs ouerweye all other things and draw vs vnto it selfe, that we may earnestly apply our endeouours and senses to pray: which can not be done vnlesse our minde by strongly wrastringe with the hinderances do rise vp aboue them. An other point we haue set foorth, that we aske no more than God giueth leaue. For though he biddeth vs to poure out our hartes, yet he doth indifferently giue loose reines to foolish and froward affectiōs: and when he promisseth that he will do according to the will of the Godly, he procedeth not to so tender bearing with them that he submitterh himseife to their will. But in both these pointes men do cōmonly much offend. For not only the most part of men presume without shame, without reuerēce, to speake to God for their follies, & shamelesly to present to his throne whatsoeuer liked them in their dreame: but also so great foolishnes or senselesse dulnes possesseth the, that they dare thrust into the hearing of God, euen all their most filthy desires, wherof they would greatly be ashamed to make men priuy. Some prophane men haue laughed to scorne, yea & detested this boldnes, yet the vice it selfe hath alway reigned. And hereby it came to passe that ambitious men haue chosen Iupiter to be their Patrone: couetous men, Mercurie: the desirous of learninge, Apollo and Minerva: warriors, Mars: and Lecherous folke, Venus. Like as at this day (as I haue euen now touched) men do in praiers graunt more licence to their vnlawfull desires, than when they sportingly talke with their Egalles. But God suffreth not his gentlenes to be so mocked: but claiming to himselfe his right, maketh our praiers subiect to his authority, and restraineth them with a bridle. Therefore we must keepe fast this sayinge of Iohn, This is our affiance, that if we aske any thinge

Psal. 125
1.

Psal. 62.
9.

1. Ioh. 5
14.

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according to his wil, he heareth vs. But forasmuch as our abilities are far frō being sufficient to performe so great perfectiō, we must seke a remedy to help vs. As we ought to bend the sight of our mind to God so the affection of the hearte ought also to followe to the same ende. But both do stay farre beneth it, yea rather do faint and faile or be caried a contrary way. Therefore God to succour this weakenesse, in our prayers giueth the Spirite to be our Schoolemaister, to instruct vs what is right, and to gouerne our affections. For, because

Rom. 8.
26. we knowe not what we ought to praye as we ought, the Spirite cometh to our succour, and maketh intercession for vs with vnspokeable gronings, not that it in deede either prayeth or groneth but stirreth vp in vs affiance, desires, and sighinges, which the strength of nature were not able to conceiue. And not without cause Paule calleth them vnspokeable gronings which so the saythfull sende forth by the guidinge of the Spirite, because they which are truly exercised in prayers, are not ignorant that they be so holden in perplexity with blinde cares, that they scarcely finde what is profitable for them to speake: yea while they go about to vtter stammeringe wordes they sticke fast encombred. Whereupon it followeth, that the gift of prayinge rightly is a singular gift. These things are not spoken to this purpose, that we fauoringe our owne slouthfulnesse should giue ouer the charge of prayinge to the Spirit of God, and lie dull in that carelesnesse, to which we are too much enclined: (as there are hearde the wicked sayinges of some, that we must lie negligently gaping to waite vntill he preuent our mindes occupied else where) but rather that we lothing our owne slouthfulnesse and sluggishnesse, should craue such helpe of the Spirite. Neither doth Paule, when he

2. Cor.
14. 26. biddeth vs to pray in Spirite, therefore cease to exhorde vs to wakefulness: meaning that the instinct of the Spirite so vseth his force to frame our prayers, that it nothinge hindereth or slacketh our owne endeuour: because God wil in this behalfe proue how effectually faith moueth our heartes.

6 Lette also an other law be, that in prayinge we alway feele our owne want, & that earnestly thinking how we stand in nede of those thinges that we aske, we ioyne with our prayer an earnest yea feruent affection to obtaine. For, many do slightly for maners sake recite prayers after a prescribed forme, as though they rendered a certaine taske to God: and although they confesse that this is a necessary remedy for their euils, because it is to their destruction to be without the help of God which they craue: yet it appeareth that they do this duty for custome, forasmuch as in the meane time their mindes

are

are cold, & do not wey what they aske. The generall & confuse feeling in deede of their necessity leadeth them hereunto: but it doth not stirre them as it were in a present case to aske reliefe of their neede. Now what thinke we to be more hatefull or more detestable to God than this faining, when a man asketh forgiveness of sinnes, in the meane time either thinkinge that he is not a sinner, or not thinkinge vpon this that he is a sinner: euen wherewith God himselfe is plainly mocked? But of such peruerseness (as I haue sayd) mankinde is full, that for manners sake they many times aske many thinges of God, which they certainly Iudge that without his liberalitie to come to them from some other where, or that they haue them already remaininge with them. The fault of some other seemeth to be lighter and yet not tolerable, that they which haue onely conceiued this principle that we must sacrifice to God with praier, do mumble vp praier without any musing of minde vpon them. But the Godly must principally take heede, that they neuer come into the sight of God to aske any thinge, but because they do both boyle with earnest affection of heart, and do therewithall desire to obtaine it of him. Yea and also though in those thinges which we aske onely to the glory of God, we seeme not at the first sight to prouide for our owne necessity, yet the same ought to be asked with no lesse seruencesse and vehementnes of desire. As, when we pray that his name be hallowed, we must (as I may so speake) seruently hunger & thirst for that hallowing.

7 If any man obiekt, that we are not alway driuen with like necessity to pray, I graunt the same in dede: and this difference is profitably taught vs of Iames: Is any man heauy amonge you? Let him pray. Iac. 5. Who so is mery, let him sing. Therefore euen commō feeling teacheth vs, that because we are to slouthfull, therefore, as the matter requireth we are the more sharply pricked forward of God to pray earnestly. And this Dauid calleth the fit time, because (as he teacheth in many other places) how much more hardly troubles, discomforties, feares, Psa. 32. 6. and other kindes of tentations do presse vs, so much freer access is open for vs, as though God did call vs vnto him. But yet no lesse true Eph. 6. 18. is that saying of Paule, that we must pray at all times: because howe soeuer thinges prosperously flowe accordinge to our heartes desire, and matter of mirth doth compasse vs on euery side, yet there is no minute of time wherein our neede doth not exhort vs to pray. If a man haue abundance of wine and wheate: yet sith he can not enioy one morfell of bread but by the continuall grace of God, whole cellars or barnes full shalbe no let why he should not craue daily bread.

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Nowe if we call to minde howe many dangers do euery moment hang ouer vs, the very feare it selfe wil teach vs that we haue no time free from prayer. But this we may better perceiue in spiritual things. For, when shall so many sinnes, wherof we knowe our selues guilty, suffer vs to sit still without care and not in humble wise craue pardon both of the fault and the paine? When do tentations graunt vs truce, so that we neede not to hast vnto helpe? Moreouer the desire of the kingdome and glory of God ought so to plucke vs to it selfe, not by fittes but continually, that it shoulde alway be fit time for vs. Therefore not without cause we are so oft commaunded to pray continually. I do not yet speake of perseuerance in prayer, whereof mention shalbe made hereafter: but when y^e Scripture warneth vs that we ought to pray continually, it accuseth our slouthfulnesse, because we do not perceiue how necessary this care & diligence is for vs. By this rule all hypocrisie & craftinesse of lying to God, is debarred, yea driuen farre away from prayer. God promisetht that he will be neere to all them that call vpon him in trueth, & he pronounceth that they shall finde him which seeke him with their whole heart. But they aspire not thither which please themselues in their owne filthinesse. Therefore a right praier requireth repentance. Whereupon this is commonly said in the Scriptures, that God heareth not wicked doers, and that their praiers are accursed, like as their sacrifices also be: because it is rightful that they finde the eares of God shut, which do locke vp their owne hearts: and that they should not finde God easie to bow, which do with their owne hardnesse prouoke his stiffenesse. In Esay he threatneth after this maner. When ye shall multiply your prayers, I will not heare you: for your handes are full of blond. Againe in Ieremy: I haue cried, and they haue refused to heare: they shall likewise crie, and I will not heare: because he taketh it for a most hie dishonor, that wicked men shoulde boast of his couenant, which do in all their life defile his holy name. Wherefore in Esay he complaineth, that when the Iewes come neare to him with their lippes, their hearte is farre from him. He speaketh not this of only praiers, but affirmeth that he abhorreth faininge in all the partes of worshippinge him. To which purpose maketh that saying of Iames. Ye aske, & receiue not: because ye aske ill, that ye may spende it vpon your pleasures. It is true in dede (as we shal againe shew a litle hereafter) that the prayers of the godly which they pour out, do not rest vpon their owne worthinesse: yet is not that admonition of Iohn superfluous: If we aske any thing, we shall receiue it of him, because we kepe his commaundementes: forasmuch as an euill conscience shutteth the gate against vs. Whereupon

Esai. 15.

15.

Iere. 11.

7. & 11.

Esai. 29.

9.

Iam. 4.

3.

1. Ioh. 3.

22.

upon followeth that none do rightly pray, nor are hearde, but the pure worshippers of God. Therefore whosoever prepareth himselfe to pray, let him be lothfull to himselfe in his owne euils, and (which can not be done without repentance) let him put on the person and minde of a begger.

8 Hereunto let the third rule be ioyned, that whosoever presenteth himselfe before God to pray, should forsake all thinkinge of his owne glory, put of all opiniõ of worthines, & finally giue ouer al trust of himselfe, giuing in the abacing of himselfe y glory wholly to God: least if we take any thing be it neuer so litle to our selues, we do with our owne swelling fall away from his face. Of this submission which throweth downe all height, we haue often examples in the seruantes of God: amõg whom the holier that euery one is, so much the more he is throwen downe when he commeth into the sight of the Lord. So Daniel, whom the Lord himselfe commended with so great a title of praise, sayd: We poure not out our praiers before thee in our righteousnes, but in thy great mercies. Here vs Lord, Lord be mercifull to vs: Heare vs, & do these things that we aske, for thine owne sake: because thy name is called vpon ouer y people & ouer thy holy place. Neither doth he by a crooked figure (as me sometime speake) mingle himselfe with the multitude as one of the people, but rather seuerally confesseth his owne guiltinesse & humbly fleeth to the sanctuary of forgiuenes, as he expressely sayth: When I confessed my sinnes and the sinnes of my people. And this humblenes Dauid also setteth out with his owne example, when he sayth: Enter not into iudgement with thy seruāt, because in thy sight euery one that liueth shall not be iustified. In such manner Esay prayeth: Loe, thou art angry because we haue sinned, the world is founded in thy wayes, therefore we shalbe saued: And we haue bin all filled with vncleannes, & all our righteousnes as a defiled cloth: and we haue all withered away as a leafe, & our iniquities do scatter vs abroad as the winde: and there is none that calteth vpon thy name, that raiseth vp himselfe to take holde of thee: because thou hast hid thy face from vs, & hast made vs to pine away in the hande of our wickednes. Now therefore O Lord, thou art our father, we are clay, thou art our fashioner, & we are the worke of thy hande. Be not angry O Lord, neither remember wickednes for euer. Behold, looke vpon vs, we are al thy people. Loe, how they stand vpon no affiance at all, but vpon this only, that thinking vpon this that they be Gods, they despeire not that he will haue care of them. Likewise Jeremy: If our iniquities answer against vs, do thou for thy names sake. For it is both most truly & most holy written, of whomsoever

Dan. 9.
18.

Psa. 143
2.
Esa. 74.

5.

Jer. 14

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it be, which being wrytten by an vnknown author is fathered vpon the Prophet Baruch: A soule heauy & desolate for the greatnes of euil, crooked, and weake, a hungry soule, & fainting eies giue glory to thee O Lord. Not accordinge to the righteousnes of our fathers do we poure out praier in thy sight, and aske mercy before thy face O Lord our God: but because thou art mercifull, haue mercy vpon vs, because we haue sinned before thee.

9 Finally the beginning and also the preparing of praying rightly, is crauing of pardon, with an humble & plaine confession of fault. For neither is it to be hoped, that euen the holiest man may obtaine any thing of God, vntill he be freely reconciled to him: neither is it possible that God may be fauourable to any but them whom he pardoneth. Wherefore it is no maruel if the faithfull do with this keie open to theselues the dore to pray. Which we learne out of many places of the Psalmes. For Dauid when he asketh an other thing, sayth:

Psal. 25
6. & 18.

Remember not the sinnes of my youth, remember me according to thy mercy for thy goodnes sake O Lord. Againe, Looke vpon my affliction, and my labour, & forgiue all my sinnes. Where we also see y^t it is not enough, if we euery seuerall day do cal our selues to accopt for our newe sinnes, if we do not also remember those sinnes which

Psa. 51.
7.

might seeme to haue bin long ago forgotten. For, the same Prophet in an other place, hauinge cōfessed one hainous offense by this occasion returneth euen to his mother wombe wherein he had gathered the infection: not to make the fault seeme lesse by the corruption of nature, but that heaping together the sinnes of his whole life, howe much more rigorous he is in condemning himselfe, so much more easie he may find God to entreate. But although y^e holy ones do not alway in expresse words aske forgiuenes of sinnes, yet if we diligently weye their prayers which the Scripture rehearseth, we shall easily finde that which I say, that they gathered a mind to pray of the only mercy of God, and so alway tooke their beginning at appeasing him because if euery manne examine his owne conscience, so farre is he from being bold to open his cares familiarly with God, that he trembleth at euery comming toward him, except that he standeth vpon trust of mercy and pardon. There is also an other speciall confession, where they ask release of peines, y^e they also pray to haue their sinnes forgiuen: because it were an absurdity to will that the effect be taken away while the cause abideth. For we must beware that God be fauourable vnto vs, before that he testifie his fauour with outwarde signes: because both he himselfe will kepe this order, & it should litle profit vs to haue him beneficiall, vnlesse our conscience feling him appeased

sed shoulde throughly make him louely vnto vs. Which we are also taught by the answer of Christ. For when he had decreed to heale the man sicke of the Palsey, he sayd, Thy sinnes are forgiven thee: lifting vp our mindes thereby to that which is chiefly to be wished, that God first receiue vs into fauour, and then shew forth the frute of reconciliation in helping vs. But beside that special confessiō of present guiltines, whereby the faithful make supplication to obtaine pardon of euery special fault & peine, that general preface, which procureth fauour to prayers, is neuer to be omitted, because vnlesse they be grounded vpon the free mercy of God, they shall neuer obtaine any thing of God. Wherunto may be referred that saying of Iohn: If we cōfesse our sinnes, he is faithful & righteous to forgive vs, & cleanse vs from all iniquity. For which cause it behoued prayers in the time of the law to be hallowed with expiation of blood, y they might be acceptable, & that so the people should be put in minde that they are vnworthy of so great a prerogatiue of honor, till being cleansed from their defillings they should of the only mercy of God cōceiue affiance to pray.

Matt 9.
2.

1. Ioh. 1

9.

Psal 86

2 Reg.

20. 2.

Psal. 34.

16.

1. Ioh. 3

Iohn. 9.

21.

10 But whereas the holy ones seeme sometime for the entreatinge of God to alleage the help of their owne righteousness (as when Dauid saith: kepe my soule, because I am good. Againe Ez echias: Remēber Lord I besech thee, that I haue walked before thee in trueth, and haue done good in thine eies) by such formes of speaking they mean nothing else than by their very regeneratiō to testifie theselues to be the seruants & children of God, to whome he himselve pronounceth that he will be mercifull. He teacherh by the prophet (as we haue already seene) that his eies are vpo the righteous, & his cares vnto their prayers. Againe by the Apostle, that we shall obtaine whatsoever we aske, if we keepe his cōmaundements. In which sayings he doth not value praier by the worthinesse of workes: but his will is so to stablish their affiance, whose owne conscience well assureth them of an vnfained vprightnes & innocency, such as all the faithfull ought to be. For the same is taken out of the very trueth of God, which the blind man y had his sight restored, saith in Iohn, y God heareth not sinners: if we vnderstand sinners after the cōmon vse of the Scripture, for such as without all desire of righteousness do altogether slepe & rest vpon their sinnes: forasmuch as no heart can euer breake forth into vnfained calling vpon God which doth not also aspire to godlines. Therefore with such promises accord the prayers of the holy ones, wherein they make mentiō of their owne purenes or innocency that they may feelee y to be giuen them which is to be looked for of al y seruants of God. Againe it is the cōmonly found y they vse this kinde of prayer,

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whē they do in the presence of the lord compare themselues, wth their enemies, frō whose vniust dealing they wished themselues to be deliuered by his hand. In this comparison it is no maruel if they brought forth their righteousnes & simplicity of heart to moue him y^e rather by y^e rightfulness of their cause to help thē. This therfore we take not away frō the godly heart of a good mā, but y^e he may vse the purenes of his conscience before the lord, to strengthē himself in y^e promises wherwith the Lord cōforteth & vpholdeth his true worshippers: but our meaning is, that the trust of obtaining stand vpon the only mercy of God, laying away all thinking of their owne deseruing.

11 The fourth rule is, that being so throwen downe and subdued with true humility, we should neuertheles with certaine hope of obtaining be encouraged to pray. These be things in deede contrary in shew, to ioyne with the feeling of the iust vengeance of God sure affiance of fauour: which things do yet very well agree together, if the onely goodnesse of God raise vs vp beinge oppressed with our owne euills. For, as we haue before taught that repentance & faith are knit as companions together with an vnseparable bond: of which yet the one afraieth vs, the other chereth vs: so in prayers they must mutually meete together. And this agreement Dauid expresseth in fewe

Psa. 5. 8 wordes: I (sayth he) will in the multitude of thy goodnesse enter into thy house: I will worship in the temple of thy holinesse with feare. Vnder the goodnesse of God he comprehendeth faith, in the meane time not excluding feare: because not only his maiesty driueth vs to reuerence, but also our owne vnworthinesse holdeth vs in feare forgetting all pride & assurednes. But I meane not such an affiance which should stroke the minde loosed from all feeling of carefulnes with a sweete & full quietenesse. For, to rest so peasably is the doing of them which hauinge all thinges flowing as they would wish it, are touched with no care, are kindled with no desire, do swel with no feare. And it is a very good spurre to the holy ones to call vpon God, when being distressed with their owne necessity, they are vexed with most great vnquietenesse, & are almost dismaied in themselues, till faith come in fit time to their succours, because in such distresses the goodnesse of God so shineth to them, y^e they do in dede grone beinge weried with weight of present euils, they are also in paine & grieved with feare of greater, yet being so vpholden by it, they both relieue and cōfort the hardnes of bearing them, & do hope for escape & deliuerance. Therfore the prayer of a godly man must arise out of both affections, must also containe & shew both: namely to grone for present euils, & to be carefully afraid of new, & yet therewithall to flie to God, not douting
that

that he is ready to reach his helping hande. For God is maruelously prouoked to wrath by our distrustfulness, if we aske of him the benefits which we hope not to obtaine. Therefore there is nothinge more agreeable with the nature of praier, than that this law be prescribed & apointed to them, that they breake not soorth rashly, but folowe faith going before the. To this principle Christ calleth vs all wth this saying: I say vnto you, whatsoeuer things ye require, beleue y^e ye shal receiue them, & they shall happen to you. The same also he cōfirmeth in another place. Whatsoeuer ye aske in prayer beleuing, ye shall receiue. Wherewith agreeth Iames sayinge, If any neede wisdom, let him aske it of him which giueth to all mē freely, & vpbraideth not: but let him aske in faith no douting. Wherin setting douting as contrary to faith, he doth most fittely expresse the nature of it. And no lesse is that to be noted which he addeth, that they obtaine nothinge which cal vpon God in wauering & dout, and do not determine in their hearts whether they shal be heard or no. Whom he also cōpareth to waues which are diuersly tossed and driven about of the winde. Whereupon in another place he calleth a right praier, the praier of faith. Againe whē God so oft affirmeth that he will giue to euery one according to his faith, he signifieth that we obtaine nothing without faith. Finally it is faith that obtaineth whatsoeuer is graunted by prayer. This is meant by that notable sayinge of Paule, which the foolish menne do take no heede vnto. Howe shall any man call vpon him, in whome he hath not beleued? But whoe shall beleue, vnlesse he haue heard? But faith commeth of hearinge, and hearinge of the word of God. For, cōueying by degrees the beginning of praier from faith, he plainly affirmeth that God can not be sincerely called vpon of any other, than them to whom by the preachinge of the Gospell his mercifulnes and gentlenesse hath bin made knowen, & familiarly declared.

12 This necessity our aduersaries do not thinke vpon. Therefore when we bid the faithfull to holde with assured confidence of minde that God is fauourable & beareth good will to them, they thinke that we speake a most great absurdity. But if they hadde any vse of true praier, they would truely vnderstand that God can not be rightly called vpon without that stedfast feeling of Gods good will. Sith no mā can wel perceiue the force of faith, but he which by experience feleth it in his heart: what may a man profite by disputinge with such men which do openly shew, that they neuer had any thing but a vaine imagination? For of what force, & how necessary is y^e assurednes which we require, is chiefly learned by inuocation. Which who so seeth not,

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he bewraith y^e he hath a very dul cōscience. Let vs therfore, leauing this kinde of blindemen, sticke fast in that saying of Paule, that God can not be called vpon of any other, but them that know his mercy by the Gospell, & are surely perswaded y^e it is ready for thē. For what maner of saying should this be? O Lord, I am verily in dout whether thou wilt heare me: but because I am distressed with carefulnes, I flee to thee, that thou maist help me if I be worthy. This was not the wōted maner of all the holy ones, whose praiers we reade in the Scriptures. Neither hath y^e holy Ghost thus taught vs by the Apostle which biddeth vs to go to the heavenly throne with cōfidence, that we may obtaine grace & when in an other place he teacheth y^e we haue boldnes & acceffe in confidence by the faith of Christ. We must therfore holde fast with both handes this assurednes to obtaine what we aske (lik both the Lord with his owne voice so cōmaundeth vs, & all the holy ones teach it by their exāple) if we will pray with frute. For, that only praier is pleasinge to God which springeth out of such a presūptiō of faith (as I may so call it) & is grouided vpon a dredles certainty of faith. He might haue bin content with the bare name of faith, but he not only added cōfidence, but also furnished the same with liberty or boldnes, by this marke to put differēce betwene vs & vnbelcuers, which do in deede also praye to God as we do. but at aduenture. For

Hebr. 4. which reason y^e whole Church praith in y^e Psalmie: Let thy mercy be vpon vs, as we put our trust in thee. The same cōdition is also spoken

16. Eph. 3. of in an other place by the Prophet: In what day I shall crie, this I know that God is with me. Againe, in the morninge I will direct my

12. Psal. 66 selfe to thee, & I wil watch. For of these words we gather, that praiers

10. Psal. 5. are in vaine cast into y^e aire, vnlesse hope be adioined, from whence as

15. out of a watchtour we may quietly waite for the Lord. Wherewith agreeth the order of Paules exhortation. For before that he moue the

Eph. 6. faithfull to pray in spirit at all times with wakefulnes & diligence, he

16. first of al biddeth them to take the shield of faith, the helmet of saluation, & the sward of the spirit, which is the word of God. Now let the readers here cal to remēbrance that which I haue before said, y^e faith is not ouerthrowen where it is ioyned with acknowledginge of our misery, nedines, & filthines. For with how heauy weight soeuer of euil doings the faithfull feele themselues to be ouerloden or grieved, & y^e they be not only void of all thinges which may procure fauour with God, but also that they be burdened with many offenses which may worthily make him dreadful to them: yet they ceasse not to present themselues, neither doth this feeling make thē so afraid but that they stil resort to him, forasmuch as there is no other way to come

to him. For, prayer was not ordained, whereby we should arrogantly aduance our selues before God, or esteeme at great value any thing of our owne, but wherby confessing our guiltines, we should bewaile our miseries to him, as childré do familiarly open their cōplaints to their parents. But rather the vnmeasurable heape of our euils ought to be full of spurres or prickes to pricke vs forward to pray. As also the prophet teacheth vs by his example, sayinge. Heale my soule, because I haue sinned against thee. I graunt in deede that in such sayings should be deadly prickings vnlesse God did help: but the most good father of his incomparable tender kindes hath brought remedy in fit season, whereby appeasing all trouble, assuaging all cares, wiping away feares, he might gently allure vs to him, yea & taking away all doubt (much more all stoppes) he might make vs an easie way.

Psa. 64.

5.

13 And first when he commaundeth vs to pray, he doth by the very same commaundement accuse vs of wicked obstinacy, vnlesse we obey him. Nothing could be more precisely commaunded, than that which is in the psalme: call vpon me in the day of trouble. But forasmuch as among all the duties of godlines, the scripture cōmendeth none more often, I nede not to tary longer vpon this point. Aske (saith our maister) & ye shal receiue: knocke, it shalbe opened to you. Howbeit here is also with the commaundement ioyned a promise as it is necessary. For though all men cōfesse that the cōmaundement ought to be obeyed, yet the most part would flee from God whē he calleth, vnlesse he promised y he would be easie to be entreated, yea & would offer himselfe. These two things being stablished, it is certain y who-soeuer make delaies that they come not streight to God, are not only rebellious and disobedient, but also are proued guilty of infidelity, because they distrust the promises. Which is so much more to be noted, because hypocrites vnder the colour of humility & modesty do as wel proudly despise the commaundement of God, as discredit his gentle callinge, yea and defraud him of the chiefe part of his worship. For after that he hath refused sacrifices, in which at that time all holines seemed to stand, he declareth that this is the chiefe thing and most precious to him, aboue all other, to be called vpon in the day of nede. Therefore where he requireth his owne, & encourageth vs to cherefulness of obeyinge, there are none so gay colours of douting y may excuse vs. Wherefore how many testimonies are cōmonly found in y scriptures wherby we are cōmaunded to cal vpon God, so many standerdes are sette vp before our eyes to put affiance into vs. It were rashnes to rushe into the sight of God, vnlesse he did preuēt vs with calling vs. Therefore he openeth vs y way with his owne voice saying:

Psa. 50.

15.

Mat. 7. 7

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Zach. 13 I will say to them, Ye are my people: and they shal say to me, thou art
9. our God. We see how he preuenteth them that worship him, & wil-
 leth them to follow him, and therfore it is not to be feared that this
 should not be a very swete melody which he tuneth. Specially let this
 notable title of God come in our minde, wherupon if we stay, we shall
Psa. 65. easily passe ouer all stoppes. Thou God that hearest prayer, euen to
3. thee shall all flesh come. For what is more louely or more alluringe,
 than that God be garnished with this title which may ascertain vs
 that nothing is more proper to his nature, than to graunt the desire of
 humble suiters? Hereby the Prophet gathereth that the gate standeth
 open not only to a fewe, but to all men: because he speaketh euen to
Psa. 50. all in this sayinge: Call vpon me in the day of trouble: I will deliuer
15. thee, and thou shalt glorifie me. According to this rule Dauid laeth
 for himselfe that a promise was giuen him, that he may obtaine what
2. Sa. 7. he asketh: Thou Lorde hast reuealed into the eare of thy seruau:
27. therefore thy seruau hath found his heart to pray. Whereupon we
 gather that he was fearefull, sauing insomuch as the promise had en-
 couraged him. So in an other place he armeth himselfe with this ge-
Psa. 145 neral doctrine. He will do the will of them that feare him. Yea & this
19. we may note in γ Psalmes γ as it were breaking his course of praying
 he passeth ouer somtime to the power of God, somtime to his good-
 nesse, somtime to the trueth of his promises. It might seeme that Da-
 uid by vnseasonable thrustinge in of these sentences, made mangled
 praiers: but the faithfull know by vse and experience, that seruantes
 fainteth vnlesse they put new nourishmentes vnto it, and therfore in
 prayinge the meditation both of the nature of God, and of his word
 is not superfluous. And so by the example of Dauid, let it not grieue vs
 to thrust in such things as may refresh fainting hearts with new liue-
 ly strength.

14 And it is wonderfull that with so great sweetenesse of promises
 we are either but celdly or almost not at all moued, that a great parte
 of men wandringe about by compasses had rather leauinge the foun-
 taine of liuing waters, to digge for themselues drie pitts, than to em-
 brace the liberality of God freely offred thē. An inuincible tour is the
Pro. 18. name of the lord, (saith Salomon) to it the righteous man shal flee, &
10. he shalbe saued. And Ioel, after that he had prophecied of that horri-
Ioel. 2. ble destructiō which was at hand, added this notable sentence. Who-
32. soeuer calleth vpon the name of γ lord, shalbe safe: which sentēce we
 know to pertaine properly to the course of γ Gospell. Scarcely euery
 hundreth mā is moued to go forward to mete God. He himself crieth
Esa. 65 by Esay: Ye shal cal vpon me, & I wil heare you, yea before that ye crie,
24.

I will aunswer you. And this same honor also in an other place he vouchesaueth to geue in common to the whole Church, as it belongeth to all the membres of Christ. He hath cried to me, I will Psa. 91.
 heare him, I am in trouble with him, that I may deliuer him. Neither 15.
 yet (as I haue already said) is it my purpose to reckon vp all the places, but to choose out the chiefe, by which we may take a tast howe kindly God allureth vs vnto him, and with howe streight bonds our vnthankfulnes is bound, when among so sharp prickings our sluggishnesse stil maketh delay. Wherefore let these sayings alway sound in our eares: The Lorde is nie to all them that call vpon him, that call vpon him in trueth: also these sayings which we haue alleged out of Esaye and Ioel, by which God affirmeth that he is hede full to heare prayers, yea and is delited as with a sacrifice of swete sauoure, when we cast our cares vpon him. This singular frute we receiue of the promises of God, when we make our prayers not doubtingly & ferefully: but trusting vpon his word, whose maiesty wold otherwise make vs afraide, we dare call vpon him by the name of Father, forasmuch as he vouchesaueth to put this most swete name into our mouthes. It remaineth that we hauing such allurementes should knowe that we haue thereby matter enough to obteine our prayers: forasmuch as our prayers stand vpon no merite of our own, but all their worthines and hope of obtaining are grounded vpon the promises of God, and hang vpon them: so that it nedeth none other vnderpropping, nor loketh vpwarde hither or thither. Therefore we must determine in our minds, that although we excell not in like holines as is praised in the holy fathers, prophets & Apostles, yet because the comaundement of prayer is common to vs, and faith is also common, if we rest vpon the word of God, in this right we are fellowes with them. For, God (as we haue before shewed) promising that he will be gentle, and mercifull to all, geueth cause of hope to all euen the most miserable that they shall obteine what they aske. And therefore the generall formes are to be noted, from which no man (as they say) from the first to the last is excluded: onely let there be present a purenes of heart, misliking of our selves, humility, and faith: let not our hypocrisy vnholily abuse the name of God with deceitfull calling vpon it: the most good father will not put back them, whom he not onely exhorteth to come to him, but also moueth them by all the meanes that he can. Herupon cometh the māner of praying of Dauid which 2. Sa. 7.
 I haue euen now reherfed. Lo thou hast promised, Lorde, to thy seru- 27.
 uant: for this cause thy seruant at this day gathereth courage, and hath found what prayer he might make before thee. Now therefore

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O Lorde God, thou art God, and thy words shalbe true. Thou hast spoken to thy seruant of these benefits: begin therfore, and do them. As also in an other place, Performe to thy seruant according to thy word. And all the Israelites together, so oft as they arme themselves with remembrance of the couenant, do sufficiently declare that we should not pray fearfully, whereas the Lorde so appointeth. And herein they followed the examples of the fathers, specially of Iacob, which after that he had confessed that he was vnworthy of so many mercies which he had receiued at the hand of God, yet he saith that he is encouraged to require greater things because God had promised that he would do the. But whatsoever colours the vnbeleuers do pretend, when they flee not to God so oft as necessitie presseth the, when they seke not him nor craue his helpe, they do as much defraud him of his due honor as if they made to themselves newe Gods, and idoles: for by this meane they deny that he is to the the author of all good things. On the other side there is nothing stronger to deliuer the godly from all dout, than to be armed with this thought, that no stop ought to stay them while they obey the commaundement of God, which pronounceth that nothing is more pleasing to him than obedience. Here againe that which I said before more clerely appereth, that a dredles spirit to pray agreeth well with fear, reuerence, and carefulness: and that it is no absurdity to say that God raiseth vp the ouerthrowen. After this manner those formes of speach agree well together which in seming are contrary. Ieremie and Daniel say that they throwe downe prayers before God. In an other place Ieremie saith. Let our prayer fall down in the sight of God, that he may haue mercy on the remnant of his people. On the other side, the faithfull are oftentimes said to lift vp prayer. So speaketh Ezechias, requiring the prophet to make intercession for him. And Dauid desireth that his prayer may ascende as incense. For although they being perswaded of the fatherly loue of God, cherefully committ themselves into his faithfull keeping, and dout not to craue the helpe which he freely promisseth: yet doth not an idle carelesnesse lift them vp, as though they had cast away shame, but they ascend so vpward by degrees of promises, that they still remaine humble suppliants in the abacement of themselves.

15 Here are questions obiected more than one. For the scripture reporteth that the Lorde granted certaine desires which yet brake forth of a minde not quiet nor well framed. Verily for a iuste cause: Ioatham had auowed the inhabitants of Sichem, to the destruction which afterward came vpon the: but yet God kindled with seruēnes

of

Psa. 119
36.

Gen. 32
10.

Iere. 42
9.
Dani. 9.
18.
Iere. 42.
2.
2. Ki. 20.
10.
Psa. 141

Iu. 9. 30

of anger and vengeance following his execration seemeth to allowe ill tempered violent passions. Such heat also caried Samson when he said, Strengthen me O God, that I may take vengeance of the vncircumcised. For though there were some peece of good zeale mingled with it: yet a hote, and therefore faulty greedines of vengeance did beare rule therein. God granted it. Whereupon it seemeth that it may be gathered, that although the prayers be not framed according to the prescribed rule of the word, yet they obtaine their effect I answer first that a generall law is not taken away by singular examples: again, that sometime speciall motions haue bene put into a fewe men, whereby it came to passe that there was an other cōsideration of the than of the cōmon people. For the answer of Christ is to be noted, when the disciples did vndiscretly desire to cōterfait the example of Elias, that they knewe not with what spirit they were endued. But we must go yet further, and say that the prayers do not alway please God which he granteth: but that, so much as serueth for example that is by clere praise made plaine which the scripture teacheth, namely that he succoureth the miserable, heareth the gronings of them which being vniustly troubled do craue his helpe: that therefore he executeth his iudgemēts, when the complaints of the poore rise vp to him, although they be vnworthy to obtaine any thing be it neuer so litle. For howe oft hath he taking vengeance of the cruelties, robberies, violence, filthy lustes and other wicked doings of the vngodly, subduing their boldnes and rage, and also ouerthrowing their tyrannous power, testified that he helpeth the vnworthily oppressed, which yet did beat the aire with praying to an vncertaine godhed? And one Psalme plainly teacheth that the prayers want not effect, which yet do not pearce into heauen by faith. For he gathereth together those prayers which necessitie wringeth no lesse out of the vnbeleuers thā out of the godly by the very feling of nature: to which yet he proueth by the effect that God is fauourable. Is it because he doth with such gentlenes testifie that that they be pleasing to him? No. but to enlarge or to set out his mercie by this circumstance, for that euen to vnbeleuers their prayers are not denied: and then the more to pricke forward his true worshipers to pray, when they see that profane wailinges sometime want not their effect. Yet there is no cause why the faithfull should swarue from the lawe laid vpon them by God, or should enuie the vnbeleuers, as though they had gotten some great gaine, when they haue obtained their desire. After this manner we haue said, that the Lorde was bowed with the repentance of Achab, that he might shew by this example how easy he is to entreat toward

Iud. 6.
28.

Luc. 9.
55.

Psa. 107

1. King.
21. 39.

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his elect, when true turning is brought to appease him. Therefore in
Psa. 100 the Psalme he blameth the Iewes, that they hauing by experience
5. proued him so easy to grant their prayers, yet within a litle after re-
 turned to the stubbornes of their nature. Which also plainly ap-
 peareth by the history of the Iudges: namely that so oft as they wept,
 although their teares were deceitfull, yet they were deliuered out
 of the handes of their enemies. As therefore the Lord indifferently
 bringeth forth his sunne vpon the good and the euell: so doth he
 also not despise their weepinges, whose cause is righteous and their
 miseries woorthy of helpe. In the meane time he no more heareth
Gen. 18 these to saluation, than herein ministreth foode to the despisers of
23. his goodnes. The question seemeth to be somewhat harder of Abrahā
1 Sam. and Samuel: of whom the one being warranted by no word of God,
11. prayed for the Sodomites: the other against a manifest forbidding
Iere. 31. prayed for Saul. Likewise is it of Ieremie, which prayed that the citie
16. might not be destroyed. For though their requestes were denied, yet
 it semeth harde to take faith from them. But this solution shall (as I
 trust) satisfie sober readers: that they being instructed with the gene-
 rall principles, whereby God cōmaundeth them to be mercifull euen
 also to the vnworthy, were not altogether without faith, although in
Libr. de a speciall case their opinion deceiued them. Augustine writeth wisely
ciu. Dei in a certaine place. Howe (saith he) do the holy ones pray by faith,
22. ca. 1. to aske of God contrarie to that which he hath decreed? Euen be-
 cause they pray according to his will: not that hiddē & vncheangea-
 ble will, but the will which he inspireth into them, that he may heare
 them after an other manner: as he wisely maketh difference. This is
 well said: because after his incomprehensible counsell he so tempe-
 reth the succeses of things, that the prayers of the holy ones be not
 voyde which are wrapped both with faith and errour together.
 Neither yet ought this more to auaille to be an example to followe,
 than it excuseth the holy ones themselues, whome I denie not to
 haue passed measure. Wherefore where appeareth no certaine pro-
 mise, we must aske of God with a condition adioined. To which pur-
Psal. 7. pose serueth that saying of Dauid. Watch to the iudgement which
7. thou hast commaunded: because he telleth that he was warranted
 by a speciall oracle to aske a temporall benefite.

16 This also it is profitable to note, that those things which I
 haue spoken of the fower rules of right prayer, are not so exactly re-
 quired with extreme rigor, that God refuseth the prayers in which
 he shall not finde either perfect faith or perfect repentance together
 with a seruentnesse of zeale and well ordered requestes. We haue said
 that

that although prayer be a familiar talke of the godly with God, yet we must kepe a reuerence and modestie, that we geue not loose reines to all requestes whatsoeuer they be, and that we desire no more than God geueth leaue: and then, least the maiesty of God should growe in contempt with vs, that we must lift our mindes vpward to a pure & vndefiled worshipping of him. This no man hath euer performed with such purenesse as it ought to be. For (to speake nothing of the common sort) howe many cōplaintes of Dauid do fauore of vntemperance: not that he meant of purpose to quarell with God, or carpe against his iudgements: but because he fainting for weakenesse, found no other better comfort, than to cast his sorrowes into his bosome. Yea and God beareth with our childish speech and pardoneth our ignorance, so oft as any thing vnaduisedly escapeth vs: as truely without this tender bearing, there shoulde be no libertie of praying. But although Dauids minde was to submit himselfe wholly to the will of God, and he prayed with no lesse patience than desire to obtaine: yet there arise yea boile out sometimes troublous affection, which are much disagreeing from the first rule that we haue set. Specially we may perceiue by the conclusion of the xxxix. Psalme, with howe great vehemence of sorrowe that holy man was carried away, that he could not kepe measure. Cesse (saith he) frō me, til I go away and be not. A man would say that he like a desperate man desireth nothing els but that the hand of God cessing, he might rot in his euels. He saith it not for that he with an auowed minde runneth into such outrage, or (as the reprobate are wont) would haue God to depart from him: but onely he complaineth that the wrath of God is to heauy for him to beare. In these tentations also there fall out oftentimes requestes not well framed according to the rule of the word of God, and in which the holy ones do not sufficiently wey what is lawfull and expedient. Whatsoeuer prayers are spotted with these faultes, they deserue to be refused: yet if the holy ones do bewaile, correct themselues, and by & by come to themselues againe, God pardoneth them. So they offend also in the second rule, because they are oftentimes driuen to wastle with their owne coldenesse, & their neede and misery doth not sharply enough pricke them to pray earnestly. And oftentimes it happeneth that their mindes do slippe aside, and in a manner wander away into vanitie. Therefore in this behalfe also there is neede of pardon, least our faint, or vnperfect, or broken and wandering prayers haue a deniall. This God hath naturally planted in the mindes of men, that prayers are not perfect but with mindes lifted vpwarde. Hereupon came the ceremonie of

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lifting vp of handes, as we haue before said, which hath bene vsed in all ages and nations, as yet it is in v're. But howe many a one is there, which when he listeth vp his hands, doth not in his owne conscience finde himselfe dull, because his heart resteth vpon the ground? As touching the asking of forgeuenesse of sinnes, although none of the faithfull do ouerpasse it, yet they which are truly exercised in prayers do fele that they bring scarcely the tenth part of that sacrifice, of which Dauid speaketh. An acceptable sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit: a broken and humbled heart O God thou wilt not despise. So there is alway double pardon to be asked, both because they knowe themselues guilty in consciences of many faultes, with feeling whereof they are not yet so touched, that they mislike themselues so much as they ought: and also that, so much as it is giuen them to profit in repentance and in the feare of God, they being throwen downe with iust sorrowe for their offenses, should pray to escape the punishment of the iudge. Chiefely the feblenesse or imperfection of faith corrupteth the prayers of the faithfull, vnlesse the tendre mercie of God did helpe them: But it is no maruell that God pardoneth this default, which doth oftentimes exercise them that be his with sharpe instructions, as if he would of purpose quench their faith. This is a most harde tentation, when the faithfull are compelled to crie: How long wilt thou be angry vpon the prayer of thy seruant? as though the very prayers made God more angry. So whē Ieremie saith. The Lord hath shut out my prayer, it is no dout that he was shaken with a violent pange of trouble. Innumerable such examples are commonly found in the scriptures, by which appeareth that the faith of the holiones was oftentimes mingled and tossed with doutinges, that in beleuing and hoping they bewrayed yet some vnfaithfulnesse: but bicause they come not so far as it is to be wished, they ought to endeour so much the more that their faults being amended, they may daily come nerer to the perfect rule of praying, and in the meane time to fele in howe great a depth of euels they be drowned, which euen in the very remedies do get to themselues newe diseases: sith there is no prayer, which the Lorde doth not worthily loth, vnlesse he winke at the spottes wherwith they are all besprinkled. I reherse not these things to this ende that the faithfull should carelesly pardon themselues any thing, but that in sharply chastising themselues they should trauaile to ouercome these stoppes, and although Satan laboure to stoppe vp all the wayes, that he may kepe them from praying, yet neuerthelesse they should breake through, being certainly perswaded, that although they be not vncombred of all hinderances, yet their endeours do please

Psal. 51.
19.

Psa. 80.
Iam. 3.
8.

please God, & their prayers are allowed of him, so y they trauaile and bende thei selues thitherward, whether they do not by and by attaine.

17 But forasmuch as there is no man woorthy to present himselfe to God, and to come into his sight: the heavenly Father himselfe to deliuer vs both from shame and feare which should haue throwen downe all our courages, hath geuen to vs his sonne Iesus Christ our Lorde, to be an aduocate and Mediator with him for vs, by whose leading we may boldly come to him, trusting that we haue such an intercessor, nothing shall be denied vs which we aske in his name, as nothing can be denied him of the Father. And here vnto must all be referred whatsoeuer we haue heretofore taught cōcerning faith: because as the promise setteth out vnto vs Christ for our Mediator, so vnlesse our hope of obteneing stay vpon him, it taketh from it selfe the benefite of praying. For so soone as the terrible maiesty of God cometh in our minde, it is impossible but that we should tremble for feare, & the acknowledging of our own vnworthinesse should driue vs far away, till Christ come meane betwene vs and him, which may change the throne of dreadfull glorie into the throne of grace: as also the Apostle teacheth that we may be bould to appeare with al confidence which shall obtene mercy and finde grace in helpe cōming in fit season. And as there is a lawe set that we should call vpon God like as there is a promise geuen, that they shalbe heard which call vpon him: so are we peculiarly commaunded to call vpon him in the name of Christ, and we haue a promise set forth, that we shall obtene that which we shall aske in his name. Hetherto (saith he) ye haue not asked any thing in my name: aske and ye shall receiue. In that day ye shall aske in my name, and whatsoeuer ye aske, I will do, that the father may be glorified in the sonne. Herby it is plaine without controuersie, that they which call vpon God in any other name than of Christ, do stubbornly breake his commaundements, and regarde his will as nothing, and that they haue no promise to obtene any thing. For (as Paule saith) all the promises of God are in Christ, yea and Amen, that is to say, they are confirmed and fulfilled.

18 And y circumstance of the time is diligētly to be marked, where Christ cōmaundeth his disciples to flee to intercessiō to him after that he is gone vp into heaven. In that houre (saith he) ye shall aske in my name. It is certain y euen from the beginning none were hearde that prayed, but by meane of y Mediator. For this reason y Lord had ordeined in the law, y the priest alone entring into y sanctuarie, should beare vpon his shoulders the names of the tribes of Israell, & as many precious stones before his breast: but the people should stand a far of in

1. Tim. 1

5.

1. Iohn.

2. 1.

Hebr. 4

15.

Ioh. 14.

13. and

16. 24.

2. Cor. 1

20.

Ioh. 16.

26.

Exo. 28.

9 & 12.

21.

the porche, & from thence should ioine their prayers with the priest. Yea and the sacrifice auailed hereto, that the prayers should be made sure and of force. Therefore that shadowish ceremonie of the lawe taught that we are all shutt out from the face of God, and that therefore we neede a Mediator, which may appeare in our name, and may beare vs vpon his shoulders, and holde vs fast bound to his breast, that we may be heard in his person: then that by sprinkeling of bloode our prayers are cleansed, which (as we haue already said) are neuer voide of filthinesse. And we see that the holy ones, when they desired to obtaine any thing, grounded their hope vpon sacrifices, bycause they knewe them to be the stablishings of all requestes. Let him remembre thy offering (sayeth Dauid) and make thy burnt offering fatt. Hereupon is gathered that God hath bene from the beginning appeased by the intercession of Christ, to receiue the prayers of the godly. Why then doth Christ appoint a newe heire, when his Disciples shall beginne to pray in his name, but because this grace, as it is at this day more glorious, so deserueth more commendation with vs. And in this same sense he had said a litle before. Hetherto ye haue not asked any thing in my name: now aske. Not that they vnderstood nothing at all of the office of the Mediator (whereas all the Iewes were instructed in the principles) but because they had not yet clerely knowen that Christ by his ascending into heauen should be a surer patron of the Church than he was before. Therefore comfort their greefe of the absence with some speciall frute, he claimeth to himself the office of an aduocate, & teacheth that they haue hitherto wanted the chiefe benefite, which it shalbe graunted them to enioy, when being aided by his mediation, they shall more frely call vpon God: as the Apostle saith that his newe way is dedicate in his blood. And so much lesse excusable is our frowardnes, vnlesse we do with both armes (as the saying is) embrace so inestimable a benefite, which is properly apointed for vs.

Heb. 10.
20.

19 Nowe whereas he is the onely way, and the onely entrie by which it is graunted vs to come in vnto God: whoe so do swarue from this way and forsake this entrie, for them there remaineth no way nor entrie to God: there is nothing left in his throne but wrath, iudgement, and terrour. Finally sith the Father hath marked him for our heade, and guide, they which do in any wise swarue or go away from him, do labore as much as in them lieth to race out & disfigure the marke which God hath imprinted. So Christ is set to be the only Mediator, by whose intercession the Father may be made to vs fauorable and easy to be entreated. Howe be it in the meane time the
holy

holy ones haue their intercessions left to them, whereby they do mutually commend the safetie one of an other to God, of which the Apostle maketh mention: but those be such as hange vpon that one onely intercession: so farre is it of, that they minish any thing of it. For as they springe out of the affection of loue, wherewith we embrace one another, as the membres of one body: so they are also referred to the vnitie of the heade. Sith therefore they also are made in the name of Christ, what do they els but testifie that no manne canne be holpen by any prayers at all, but with the intercession of Christ? And as Christ with his intercession withstandeth not, but that in the Church we may with prayers be aduocates one for an other: so let this remaine certaine, that all the intercessors of the whole Church ought to be directed to that onely one. Yea and for this cause we ought specially to be beware of vnthankesfulnesse, because God pardoning our vnworthinesse, doth not onely geue leaue to euery one of vs to pray for himselve, but also admitteth vs to be entreaters one for an other. For, where God appointeth aduocates for his Church which deserue worthily to be reiecte if they pray priuately euery one for himselve: what a pride were it to abuse this libertie to darken the honoure of Christ?

1. Ti. 2.1

20 Nowe it is a meare trifeling, which the Sophisters bable, that Christ is the Mediatour of redemption, but the faithfull are Mediatours of intercession. As though Christ having perfourmed a Mediation for a time, hath geuen to his seruantes that eternall Mediatourshippe which shall neuer dy. Full courteously forsooth they hadle him, that cutte away so little a portion of honor from him. But the Scripture saith farre otherwise, with the simplicitie whereof a godly man ought to be contented, leauing these deceiuers. For where Iohn saith, that if any do sinne, we haue an aduocate with ŷ Father, Christ Iesus: doth he meane that he was ones in olde time a patrone for vs, and not rather assigneth to him an euerlasting intercession? Howe say we to this that Paule also affirmeth, that he sitteth at the right hande of God the Father and maketh intercession for vs? And when in an other place he calleth him the onely Mediatour of God and men: meaneth he not of prayers, of which he had a little before made mention? For when he hadde before said that intercession must be made for all men: for prooffe of that saying, he by and by adderth, that of all menne there is one God and one Mediatour. And none otherwise doth Augustine expounde it, when he saith thus: Christian menne do mutually commende themselues in their prayers. But he for whom none maketh intercession, but he for all, he is the only

1. Io. 1.2.

2.

Rom. 8.

32.

1. Ti. 2.

5.

Rom. 15

30.

Lib. c6.

tra Par.

2. Ca. 8.

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and true Mediatour. Paule the Apostle, though he were a principall membre vnder the heade (yet bycause he was a membre of the body of Christ, and knewe that the greatest and truest priest of the Church entred, not by a figure, into the inward places, of the vaile, to the holy of holy places, but by expresse & stedfast trueth into the innermost places of heauen, to a holinesse not shadowish but eternall) commendeth himselfe also to the prayers of the faithfull. Neither doth he make himselfe a Mediatour betwene the people and God, but prayeth that all the membres of the body of Christ should mutually pray for him: bycause the membres are carefull one for an other: and if one membre suffer, the other suffer with it. And that so the mutuall prayers one for an other of all the membres yet trauailing in earth, may ascende to the head which is gone before into heauen, in whom is appeasement for our sinnes. For if Paul were a Mediatour, the other Apostles should also be Mediatours: and if there were many Mediatours, then neither should Pauls own reason stande fast, in which he hadde said, For there is one God, one Mediatour of one God and menne, the manne Christ, in whom we also are one if we keepe the vnitie of faith in the bonde of peace. Again in an other place. But if thou seke for a Priest he is aboue the heauens, where he maketh intercessiō for thee, which in earth died for thee. Yet do we not dreame that he falleth downe at the fathers knees and in humble wise entreateth for vs: but we vnderstand with the Apostle, that he so appeareth before the face of God, that the vertue of his death auaieth to be a perpetuall intercession for vs: yet so that being entred into the sanctuarie of heauen, vnto the ende of the ages of the world he alone carrieth to God the prayers of the people abiding a farre off in the porche.

21 As touching the Saintes, which being deade in the flesh do liue in Christ, if we geue any prayer at all to them, let vs not dreame that they themselues haue any other way of askinge, than Christ which onely is the way, or that their prayers be acceptable to God in any other name. Therefore sith the Scripture calleth vs backe from all to Christ only: sith the heavenly fathers wil is to gather together all in him: it was a point of to much dulnes, I wil not say madnes, so to desire to make for our selues an entrie by them, that we should be ledde away from him without whome euen they them selues haue no entrie open. But, that this hath bene vsually done in certaine ages past, and that it is at this day done wheresoeuer Papistry reigneth, who can denie? Their merites are from time to time thrust in, to obtaine the good will of God: and for the most part, Christ being

passed ouer, God is prayed to by their names. Is not this, I beseeche you to conuey away to them the office of that onely intercession, which we haue affirmed to belong to Christ alone? Againe, what Angel or Deuell euer reueled to any man any one syllable of this their intercession which these men fame? For in the Scripture is nothing of it. What is the reason therefore of inuventing it? Truly, when the witte of man so seeketh for it selfe succoures, wherewith we are not certified by the word of God, it plainly bewrayeth his owne distrustfulnesse. If we appeale to all their consciences that are delited with the intercession of saintes, we shall finde that the same cometh from no other ground, but because they are greued with carefulesnes, as though Christ were in this behalf either to weake or to rigorous. By which doubtfulnesse first they dishonour Christ, and robbe him of the title of onely Mediatour, which as it is geuen him of the Father for a singular prerogatiue, so ought not also to be conueyed away to any other. And in this very doing they darken the glorie of his birth, they make voide his crosse, finally whatsoeuer he hath done or suffred they spoile & defraude of the due praise therof: for all tend to this ende that he may be in deede and be accompted the onely Mediatour. And therewith they cast away the goodnesse of God, which gaue himselfe to be their Father. For he is not their father, vnlesse they acknowledge Christ to be their brother. Which they vterly deny vnlesse they thinke that he beareth a brotherly affection towards them, than which there can nothing be more kinde or tender. Wherefore the Scripture offereth onely him to vs, sendeth vs to him, and stayeth vs in him. He (saith Ambrose) is our mouth, by which we speake to the Father: our eye, by which we see the Father: our right hande, by which we offer vs to the Father, otherwise than by whose intercession neither we nor all the Saintes haue any thing with God. If they aunswer that the comon prayers which they make in Churches, are ended with this cōclusiō adioined, Through Christ our Lorde: this is a trifeling shifte: because the intercession of Christ is no lesse profained when it is mingled with the prayers and merites of deade men, than if it were vterly omitted and onely deade men were in our mouth. Againe, in al their Letanies, Hymnes, and Profes where no honor is leste vngeuen to deade saintes, there is no mention of Christ.

Libr. de
Isa. &
anima.

22 But their folish dulnesse proceded so farre, that here we haue the nature of Superstition expressed, which when it hath ones shaken of the bridle, is wont to make no ende of running a stray. For after that men ones begun to loke to the intercession of Saintes, by little

and litle there was geuen to euery one his speciall doing, that according to the diuersity of busines, sometime one & sometime an other should be called vpon to be intercessor: then they to them selues euery one his peculiar Sainte, into whose faith they comitted themselves as it were to the keping of safegarding Gods. And not onely (wherewith the prophet in the olde time reproched Israell) Gods were set vp according to the nūbre of cities, but euen to the numbre of persons. But sith the Saintes referre their desires to the onely will of God, and behold it and rest vpon it: he thinketh foolishly, and fleshly, yea and sclaunderously of them, which assigneth to them any other prayer, then whereby they pray for the comming of the kingdom of God: from which that is most farre distant which they faine to them, that euery one is with priuate affection more partially bent to his owne worshippers. At length many abstained not frō horrible sacrilege, in calling nowe vpon them not as helpers but as principall rulers of their saluation. Lo wherunto foolish men do fall when they wander out of their true standing, that is, the word of God. I speake not of the grosser monstrousnes of vngodlinesse, wherein although they be abhominable to God, Angels, & men, they are not yet ashamed nor wery of them. They falling downe before the image or picture of Barbara, Catharine, and such other, do mumble Pater noster, Our father. This madnes the Pastors do so not care to heale or restraine, that being allured with ŷ swete sauour of gaine they allowe it with reioysing at it. But although they turne frō themselves the blame of so hainous an offense, yet by what colour will they defende this that Loy or Medard are prayed vnto to looke downe vpon & helpe their seruantes from heauen? that the holy Virgin is prayed vnto, to commaunde her sonne to do that which they aske? In the olde time it was forbidden in the Councel at Carthage, ŷ at the alter no directe prayer should be made to Saintes. And it is likely that when the holy men could not altogether suppress ŷ force of that naughty custome, yet they added at least this restraint that the publike prayers should not be corrupted with this forme: Saint Peter pray for vs. But howe much further hath their deuellish importunacie ranged, which sticke not to geue away to deade men that which proprely belonged onely to God and Christ?

23 But whereas they traauaile to bring to passe that such intercession may seeme to be grounded vpon the authoritie of scripture, therein they labor in vaine. We read oftentimes (say they) of the prayers of Angels: & not that only: but it is said that the prayers of the faithfull are by their handes caried into the sight of God. But if they liste

to cōpare holy men departed out of this p̄sent life, to Angels: they should proue that they are ministring spirits, to whom is comitted the ministerie to loke to our safetie, to whom the charge is geuen to kepe vs in all our wayes, to go about vs, to admonish and cōsell vs, to watch for vs: all which things are geuen to Angels, but not to thē. Heb. 1.
14.
Psa. 91.
11.
Psa. 34.
8.

Howe wrongfully they wrappe vp deade holy men with Angels, appeareth largely by so many diuers offices, whereby the scripture putteth difference betwene some and other some. No man dare execute the office of an aduocate before an earthely iudge, vnlesse he be admitted, from whēse then haue wormes so great libertie, to thrust vnto God those for patrons to whom it is not read that the office is enjoined? Gods will was to appoint the Angels to loke vnto our salfie, wherefore they do both frequent holy assemblies, and the Church is a stage to thē, wherein they wōder at the diuers & manifold wisdom of God. Who so conueye away to other that which is peculiar to them, verily they cōfounde and peruert the ordre set by God, which ought to haue bene inuiolable. With like hādsomnesse they procede in alleging other testimonies. God said to Ieremie: If Moses and Samuel should stand before me, my soule is not to this people. Howe Iere. 15
1. (say they) could he haue spoken thus of deade men, vnlesse he knewe that they made intercession for the liuinge? But I on the cōtrary side gather thus, that sith it thereby appeareth that neither Moses nor Samuel made intercessiō for the people of Israel, there was then no intercession at all of deade men. For which of the Saintes is to be thought to be carefull for ȳ safetie of the people, whē Moses cesseth, which in this behalfe farre passed al other when he liued? But if they followe such slight suttelties, to say that the deade make intercession for the liuing, because the Lorde said, If they should make intercessiō: I will much more colorably reason in this maner: In the extreme necessitie of the people Moses made not intercessiō, of whom it is said, if he shall make intercession. Therefore it is likely that none other maketh intercession, sith they are all so farre from the gentlenesse, goodnesse, and fatherly carefulnesse of Moses. This forsooth they get with cauilling, that they be wounded with the same weapons, wherewith they thought themselues gaily fensed. But it is very sonde that a simple sentēce should so be wrested, because the Lord pronounceth onely that he will not spare the offenses of the people, although they had seen Moses to be their patron, or Samuel, to whose prayers he had shewed himselfe so tender. Which sense is most clerely gathered out of a like place of Ezechiel. If (saith the Lorde) these three men Eze. 14.
14. were in ȳ citie, Noe, Daniel, & Iob, they shall not deliuer their sonnes

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and daughters in their righteousness: but they shall deliuer onely their owne soules. Where it is no dout that he meant if two of them should happen to reuiue againe, for the thirde was the alieue, namely Daniell, who (as it is knowen) did in the first flourishing of his youth shewe an incomparable example of godlinesse: let vs then leaue them whom y^e Scripture plainly sheweth to haue ended their course. Therefore Paule, when he speaketh of Dauid, teacheth not y^e he doth with prayers helpe his posteritie, but onely that he serued his owne time.

24 They answere againe: shall we then take from them all prayer of charitie, which in the whole course of their life breathed nothing but charitie and mercie? Verily as I will not curiously searche what they do, or what they muse vpon: so it is not likely, y^e they are caried about hether and thether with diuerse and particular requestes: but rather that they do with a stayed & vnmoued will, long for the kingdom of God, which standeth no lesse in the destruction of the wicked than in the saluation of the godly. If this be true, it is no dout that their charitie is contained in the communion of the body of Christ, and extendeth no further, than the nature of that communion beareth. But now though I graunt that they pray in this maner for vs, yet they do not therefore depart from their own quietnesse, to be diuersly drawen into earthly cares: and much lesse must we therefore by and by call vpon them. Neither doth it thereby followe that they must so do, because men which liue in earth may commend one an other in their prayers. For this doing serueth for nourishing of charitie among them, when they do as it were part and mutually take vpon them their necessities among themselues. And this they do by the commandement of the Lorde, and are not without a promise, which

twoo things, haue alway the chiefe place in prayer. All such considerations are farre from the dead, whom when the Lord hath coueied from our companie, he hath left to vs no enterchange of doings with them, nor to them with vs, so farre as we may gather by coniectures. But if any man allege, that it is impossible but that they must kepe the same charity toward vs, as they be ioined in one Faith with vs: yet who hath reueled y^e they haue so long eares to reach to our voices? and so percing eyes to watch our necessities? They prate in their shadowes I wote not what of the brightnes of the countenance of God extending his beames vpon them, in which as in a mirror they may from on hie behold the matters of men beneath. But to affirme that, specially with such boldnesse as they dare, what is it elles but to go about by the drunken dreames of our owne braine, without his word to pearce & breake into the hidden iudgements of God, & to treade the

Act. 13.
36.

Ecc. 9.
5. & 6.

the Scripture vnder fete which so oft pronouñeth that the wisdomē Ro. 8. 6.
of the flesh is enemie to the wisdomē of God, which wholly condem-
neth the vanitie of our naturall witt, which willeth all our reason to
be throwen downe, and the onely will of God to be loked vnto of vs.

25 The other testimonies of Scripture which they bring to de-
fende this their lie, they most noughtily wrest. But Iacob (said they)
praieth that his name & the name of his Fathers Abraham & Isaac be Gen. 48
called vpon ouer his posteritie. First let vs see what forme of calling
vpon this is amōg the Israelites. For they call not vpon their Fathers,
to helpe them: but they besech God to remēber his seruantes Abra-
ham, Isaac, and Iacob. Therefore their example maketh nothing for
thē that speake to the Saintes themselues. But because those blockes
(such is their dulnesse) neither vnderstande what it is to call vpon the
name of Iacob, nor why it is to be called vpon it is no maruell if in the
very forme also they so childishly stumble. This maner of speche is
not seldome founde in the Scriptures. For Esaye saith that the name Esa. 4. 1.
of the men is called vpon ouer the women, when they haue them as
their husbādes vnder whoes charge & defense they liue. Therefore
the calling vpon of the name of Abraham vpon the Israelites, standeth
in this when they conuey their pedegree from him, and doo with so-
lemne memorie honor him for their author & parent. Neither doth
Iacob this because he is carefull for the enlarging of the renome of
his name: but for asmuch as he knewe that the whole blessednesse of
his posteritie cōsisted in the enheritance of the couenant which God
had made with him: he wisheth that which he seeth should be the
chefe of all good things to them, that they be accōpted in his kinred:
For, that is nothinge els but to conuey to them the succession of the
couenant. They againe when they bring such remembrāce into their
prayers, do not flee to the intercessions of deade men: but do put the
Lorde in minde of his couenant, wherby the most kinde father hath
promised that he will be fauorable & beneficiall to thē for Abraham's,
Isaac's, and Iacob's sakes. Howe litle the holy ones did otherwise leane
vpon the merites of their father, the cōmon saying of the Chirch in
the Prophet testifieth, Thou art our Father, and Abraham knewe vs Esa. 63.
not, & Israell was ignorant of vs. Thou Lorde art our Father and our 16.
redemer. And when they say thus, they adde therewithall, Returne O
Lorde for thy seruants sakes: yet thinking vpon no intercession, but
bendinge their minde to the benefite of the couenāt. But now sith we
haue the Lord Iesus, in whoes hand the eternall couenant of mercy
is not onely made but also confirmed to vs: whoes name should we
rather vse in our prayers? And because these good maisters will haue

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the Patriarches to be by these wordes made intercessors, I woulde faine knowe of them why in so great a route Abraham the Father of the Chirch hath no place at all among them. Out of what sinke they feth their aduocates, it is not vnknowē. Let the aunswere me, how fit it is that Abraham, whom God preferred aboue all other, and whom he aduanced to the hiest degree of honor, should be neglected & suppressed. Verily when it was euidēt that such vse was vnknowē to the old Chirch, they thought good for hiding of the newnesse to speake nothing of the olde Fathers: as though y diuersity of names excused the newe & forged maner. But whereas some object y God is prayed vnto, to haue mercy on y people for Dauids sake, it doth so nothing at all make for defense of their error, that it is a most strōg profe for the cōfutation therof. For if we cōsider what person David did beare: he is seuered from all the assembly of y Saintes, y God should stablish the couenāt which he hath made in his hāde. So both y couenāt is rather cōsidered thā y mā, & vnder a figure y only intercessiō of Christ is affirmed. For it is certaine that that which belōged only to David, in so much as he was the image of Christ, accordeth not w any other.

26 But this forsoth moueth some, that it is oftentimes red that the prayers of Saintes haue bene heard. Why so? Euen because they prayed. They trusted in thee (saith the Prophet) & they were saued: they cried, and they were not cōfounded. Therefore let vs also pray as they did, that we may be heard as they were. But these men, otherwise than they ought, do wrōgfully reason, that none shalbe heard but they that haue ones bene heard. Howe much better doth Iames say? Elias (sayeth he) was a man like to vs: & he prayed with prayer that it should not raine, & it rained not vppon the earth in three yeares and six monethes. Againe he prayed, and the heauen gaue raine, and the earth gaue here frute. What? doth he gather any singular prerogatiue of Elias, to which we ought to flee? No. But he teacheth what is y continual strength of godly & pure praier, to exhorte vs likewise to pray. For we do niggardly construe the redinesse & gentlenesse of God in hearing the, vnlesse we be by such experiences cōfirmed into a more sure affiāce of his promises, in w he promiseth y his eare shalbe enclined not to one, or two, nor yet to a few, but to all y call vpō his name. And so much lesse excusable is this foolishnesse, because they seeme as it were of set purpose to despise so many admonitiōs of Scripture. David was oft deliuered by the power of God. Was it that he should draw that power to himself, that we should be deliuered by his helpe? He himself affirmeth farre otherwise: The righteous loke for me, till thou reder to me. Againe, The righteous shall see & they shall reioise, and

Pla. 22.
5.

Iam. 6.
17.

Pla. 142.
8
Pla. 53.
8.

and trust in the Lord. Behold, this poore man hath cried to God, and Psa. 34.
 he hath answered him. There be in the psalmes many such praers, in 7.
 which to craue that which he requireth, he moueth God by this man-
 ner, y^e the righteous be not made ashamed, but may by his exāple be
 raised vp to hope well. Let vs now be contented with this one exam-
 ple. Therefore euery holy one shall pray to thee in fit time. Which Psa. 32.
 place I haue so much the more willingly rehearsed, because the leud 6.
 babblers which do let out to hire the seruice of their waged tongue
 haue not bin ashamed to alleage it to proue the intercession of the
 dead. As though Dauid meant any thing else, than to shew the frute
 that shall come of the mercifulnesse and gentlenesse of God, when
 he shall be heard. And in this kinde we must learne, that the experi-
 ence of the grace of God, as well towarde our selues as other, is no
 slender help to cōfirme the credit of his promises. I leaue vnrehear-
 sed many places, where Dauid setteth before himselfe the benefits of
 God for matter of cōfidence, because the readers of the Psalmes shal
 commonly find them without sekeing. This selfe same thing had Ia-
 cob before taught by his owne example: I am vnworthy of all thy Gen 32
 mercies, and of the trueth which thou hast performed to thy seruant. 10.
 I with my staffe haue passed ouer this Iordane, and now I come forth
 with two bandes. He alleageth in deede the promise, but not a-
 lone: but he also ioineth the effect, that he may the more couragiously
 in time to come trust that God will be the same toward him. For he
 is not like to mortall men, which are wery of their liberality, or whose
 ability is wasted: but he is to be weyed by his owne nature, as Dauid
 wisely doth where he sayth, Thou hast redeemed me, O God that Psa. 31.
 speakest trueth. After that he hath giue to God the praises of his sal- 6.
 uation, he addeth that he is a true speaker: because vnlesse he were
 cōtinually like himselfe, there could not be gathered of his benefites
 a sufficiently strong reason of affiance & calling vpon him. But when
 we know that so oft as he helpeth vs, he sheweth an exāple & prooffe
 of his goodnesse, we neede not to feare that our hope shalbe put to
 shame or disapoint vs.

27 Let this be the summe. Whereas the Scripture setteth out this
 vnto vs for the chiefe point in the worshipping of God, (as refusing
 all sacrifices, he requireth of vs this duety of godlinesse) praier is not
 without manifest sacrilege directed to other. Wherefore also it is sayd
 in the Psalme. If we stretch forth our hands to a strāge God, shall not Psa. 44.
 God require these things? Againe, wheras God wil not be called vpō, 21.
 but of Faith, & expressly commaūdeth praers to be framed according
 to the rule of his word: finally wheras Faith founded vpon the word,

is the mother of right praier: so sone as we swarue frō the word, our praier must needes be corrupted. But it is already shewed, that if the whole Scripture be sought, this honor is therein chalenged to God only. As touching the office of intercessiō, we haue also shewed that it is peculiar to Christ, & that there is no praier acceptable to God, but which that mediator halloweth. And though the faithful do one for an other offer praiers to God for their brethren, we haue shewed that this abateth nothing from the onely intercession of Christ: because they altogether standing vpon it do cōmend both theselues & other to God. Moreouer we haue taught that this is vnfitly drawn to dead men, to whom we neuer read that it hath bin commaunded that they should pray for vs. The Scripture doth oftentimes exhorte vs to mutuall doings of this duety one for an other: but of dead men there is not so much as one syllable: yea and Iames ioyning these two things together, that we should cōfesse our selues among our selues, & mutually pray one for an other, doth secretly exclude deade men. Therefore to condemne this errour, this one reason sufficeth, that the beginning of praying rightly, springeth out of Faith, and that Faith commeth of the hearing of the word of God, where is no mentiō of the fained intercession, because superstition hath rashly gotten to it selfe patrones which were not given them of God. For whereas the Scripture is full of many formes of praier, there is no example found of this patronship, without which in y papacy they beleue that there is no praier. Moreouer it is certaine that this superstition hath growē of distrustfulnesse either because they were not content with Christ to be their intercessour, or haue altogether robbed him of his praise. And this later point is easily proued by their shamelesnesse: because they haue no other stronger argumēt to proue that we haue nede of the intercession of Saintes, than whē they obiect that we are vnworthy of familiar accessē to God. Which we in deeде graunt to be most true: but thereupō we gather, that they leaue nothing to Christ, which esteeme his intercession nothinge worth, vnlesse there be adioyned George, Hypolite, or such other visors.

28 But although prayer properly signifieth only wishes & petitiōs: yet there is so great affinity betwene petitiō & thankesgiuing, y they may be fitly comprehended both vnder one name. For, these special sortes which Paule rehearseth, fall vnder the first part of this diuision. With asking & crauing we poure forth our desires before God, requiring as well those things y seme to spred abroad his glory & set forth his name, as the benefites that are profitable to our vse. With giuinge of thanks, we do with due praise magnifie his good doings towarde

vs, acknowledging to be receiued of his liberality whatsoeuer good things do come to vs. Therefore Dauid cōprehended these two partes together, saying: Call vpon me in the day of necessity : I will deliuer thee, & thou shalt glorifie me. The Scripture not in vaine cōmaundeth vs to vse both. For we haue sayd in an other place that our needines is so great, & y experience it selfe crieth out that we are on euery side pinched and pressed with so many & so great distresses, that all haue cause enough why they should both sigh to God, & in humble wise call vpon him. For though they be free from aduersities, yet the guiltines of their wicked doings, & their innumerable assaultes of tentations ought to pricke forward the most holy to aske remedy. But in the sacrifice of praise and thankesgiuing there can be no interruptiō without hainous sinne, forasmuch as God cesseth not to heape vpon diuerse men diuerse benefites to driue vs though we be slacke & slow, to thankfulnes. Finally so great & so plenteous largesse of his benefites doth in a maner ouerwhelme vs: ther are so many & so great miracles of his sene on euery side which way, soeuer thou turne thee, that we neuer want ground and matter of praise and thankesgiuinge. And, that these things may be somewhat plainelier declared: sith all our hopes and wealth stand in God (which we haue before sufficiently proued) that neither we nor all our things can be in prosperity but by his blessinge : we must continually commit our selues and all our things to him. Then, whatsoeuer we purpose, speake, or do, let vs purpose, speake, & do vnder his hande & wil, finally vnder the hope of his help. For, all are pronounced accursed of God, which deuise or determine any purposes vppon trust of themselves or of any other, which without his wil, & without calling vpon him do enterprise or attempt to begin any thing. And wheras we haue diuerse times already said, y he is duely honored when he is acknowledged the author of al good things: therupon followeth that all those things are so to be receiued at his hande, that we yelde continuall thanks for them: & that there is no other right way for vs to vse his benefites, which flow & procede frō his liberality to no other end, but y we should be continually busied in confessing his praise & giuing of thanks. For Paul, when he testifieth y they are sanctified by the word & praier, doth therewithal signify y they are not holy & cleane to vs without the word & praier, vnderstanding by y word, faith by figure. Therefore Dauid saith very wel, when hauing receiued y liberality of the Lord, he declareth that there is giuen him into his mouth a new song: wherby verily he signifieth that it is a malitious silence, if we passe ouer any of his benefites without praise : sith he so oft giueth vs matter to say good of him,

Psal. 50.
15.

Iohn. 4.
14.
Esa. 30.
1 & 31.
1.

1. Tim. 4.
5.
Meto.
nymia.
Pla. 40.
4.

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Esa. 2. as he doth good to vs. As also Esay settinge out the singular grace of
10. God, exhorteth the faithfull to a new and vnwonted songe. In which
Psal 51 sense Dauid sayth in an other place, Lord open thou my lippes, and
17. my mouth shall shew foorth thy praise. Likewise Ezechias and Ionas
Esa. 38. testifie y this shalbe to the end of their deliuerance, to celebrate
20. the goodnes of God with songes in the temple. This same Law Da-
Ioh. 11. uid prescribeth to all the godly. What shal I repay to the Lord (saith
10. he) for all the thinges that he hath bestowed vpon me? I will take the
Psal. 116 cup of saluations, and will call vpon the name of the Lorde. And the
12. same law the Church foloweth in an other Psalme, Saue vs our God,
Psal. 106 that we may confesse to thy name and glory in thy praise, Againe, he
47. hath looked vnto the praier of the solitary, and he hath not despised
Psal. 110. their praiers. This shalbe wrytten to the generation that shal follow,
13. and the people created shall praise the Lorde, that they may declare
 his name in him and his praise in Hierusalem. Yea so oft as the faith-
 full besech God to do for his names sake: as they professie themselues
 vnworthy to obtaine any thinge in their owne name, so they binde
 themselues to giue thanks, and they promise that this shalbe to them
 the right vse of the bountifulnes of God that they shalbe publishers
 of it. So Osee speakinge of the redemption to come of the Church,
Ose. 14. sayth: Take away iniquity O God, and lift vp good: and we will pay
3. the calues of lippes. And the benefites of God do not onely claime
 to themselues the praise of the tongue, but also do naturally procure
 loue. I haue loued (sayth Dauid) because y Lord hath heard the voice
Psal. 116 of my prayer. Againe in an other place, rehearsing the helpes which
1. he had felt, he sayth: I will loue thee O God my strength. Neither shal
Psal. 18. the praises euer please God, which shal not flow out of this sweetenes
1. of loue. Yea and also we must holde fast this sayinge of Paule, that all
Phili. 4 praiers are wrongfull and faulty to which is not adioyned giuinge of
6. thanks. For thus he sayth, in all praier and beseechinge with thankes-
 giuing, let your petitions, be knowen with God. For, sith testinesse, re-
 dioulnesse, impatience, bitternes of grieve, and feare do moue many
 in prayinge to murmure, he commaundeth that our affections be so
 tempered, that the faithful ere they haue obtained that which they
 desire, should neuerthelesse cherefully blesse God. If this knot ought
 to haue place in things in a maner contrary, with so much more holy
 band doth God binde vs to sing his praises, so oft as he maketh vs to
 enioy our requestes. But as we haue taught that our praiers are hallow-
 ed by the intercession of Christ, which otherwise shoulde be vncleane:
 so the Apostle, where he commaundeth vs to offer a sacrifice
 of praise by Christ, putteth in minde that we haue not a mouth cleane
 enough

enough to praise the name of God, vnlesse the priesthode of Christ ^{Heb.13.} become the meane. Whereupon we gather that men haue bin monstruouſly bewitched in the papacy, where the greater part marueleth y^e Christ is called an aduocate. This is the cause why Paule comaundeth both to pray and to giue thanks without cessinge: namely for that he willeth that with so great cōtinuing as may be, at euery time in euery place, in all matters and businesses, the praiers of all men should be lifted vp to God, which may both looke for al things at his hand & yelde to him the praise of al things, as he offreth vs continuall matter to praise and pray. ^{15.} ^{1.Thes. 5.13.}

29 But this continuall diligence of prayinge, although it specially concerne the prope and priuate prayers of euery man, yet somewhat also pertaineth to the publike prayers of the Church. But those can neither be continuall, nor ought otherwise to be done than according to the politike order that shall by cōmon consent be agreed vpon amonge all. I graunt the same in dede. For therefore certaine houres are set & appointed, as indifferent with God, so necessary for the vses of men, that the cōmodity of all men may be prouided for, and all things (according to the saying of Paul) may be comelily and orderly done in the Church. But this maketh nothing to the cōtrary but that euery Church ought both from time to time to stirre vp it selfe to often vse of prayers, and when it is admonished by any greater necessity, to be feruent with more earnest endeouour. As for perseuerance which hath a great affinity with continual diligence, there shall be a fitte place to speake of it about the ende. Nowe these make nothing for the much babbling which Christ willed y^e we should be forbidden. For he forbiddeth not to continue longe, nor oft, nor with much affection in praiers, but that we shoulde not trust that we may wringe any thinge out of God, by dullinge his eares with much babbling talke, as if he were to be perswaded after the maner of mē ^{1.Cor. 13.40.} For we know that Hypocrites, because they do not cōsider that they haue to do with God, do no lesse make a pōpous shew in their praiers than in a triumph. For, the Pharisee which thanked God that he was not like to other men, without dout reioysed at himselfe in the eyes of men, as if he would by praier seeke to get a fame of holines. Hereupon came that much babbling, which at this day vpon a like cause is vsed in y^e papacy: while some do vainly spend the time in repeating the same praiers, and other some do set out themselues amonge the people with a lōg heape of words. Sith this babbling childishly mocketh God, it is no maruell that it is forbidden out of the Church, to the end that nothing should there be vsed but earnest & proceeding ^{Matt.6. 7.}

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from the bottome of the hart. Of a neere kinde and like to this corruption is there an other, which Christ condemneth with this, namely that hypocrits for boasting sake do seeke to haue many witnesses, and do rather occupy the market place to pray in, than their praiers shoulde want the praise of the worlde. But whereas we haue already shewed that this is the mark that praier shooteth at, that our mindes may be caried vpward to God, both to confession of praise & to crauing of helpe: thereby we may vnderstande that the chiefe duties thereof do stand in the minde & the hart, or rather that praier it selfe is properly an affection of the inward hart, which is poured forth and laid open before God the searcher of hearts. Wherefore (as it is already sayd) the heavenly schoolemaister, whē he minded to set out the best rule of praying, cōmaunded vs to go into our chamber, & there the dore being shut to pray to our Father which is in secrete, that our Father which is in secrete may heare vs. For when he hath drawn them away frō the example of hypocrites, which with ambitious boasting shew of prayers sought the fauour of men, he therewithall addeth what is better, namely to enter into our chamber, & there to pray the dore being shut. In which words (as I expound them) he willed vs to seeke solitary beinge, which may helpe vs to descende & to enter throughly with our whole thought into our hart, promising to the affections of our hart that God shalbe neere vs whose tēple our bodies ought to be. For he meant not to deny but that it is expedient also to pray in other places: but he sheweth that praier is a certaine secret thing, which both is chiefly placed in the soule, & requireth the quiet therof farre from all troubles of cares. Not without cause therefore the Lorde himselfe also, when he was disposed to apply himselfe more earnestly to praier conueied himselfe into some solitary place farre from the troublesome company of men: but to teach vs by his example that these helps are not to be despised, by which our mind being to slippery of it selfe is more bent to earnest applying of praier. But in the meane time such as he in the midst of the multitude of men, abstained not from praying, if occasion at any time so serued: so

1. Ti. 2. should we in all places where nede shalbe, lift vp pure hands. Finally thus it is to be holdē, that whosoever refuseth to pray in the holy assembly of the godly, he knoweth not what it is to pray aparte, or in solitarines, or at home. Againe, that he that neglecteth to pray alone or priuately how diligently soeuer he haunt publike assemblies, doth there make but vaine praiers: because he giueth more to the opinion of men than to the secret iudgement of God. In the meane time, that the commō praiers of the Church should not grow into contempt,

God

Mat. 6. 6

1. Ti. 2.

God in old time garnished them with glorious titles, specially where he called the temple the house of praier. For, by this sayinge he both taught that the chiefe part of the worshipping of him is the duty of praier: & that to the end that the faithfull shoulde with one consent exercise themselves in it, the temple was set vp as a standard for them. There was also added a notable promise: There abideth for thee, O God, praise in Sion: & to thee the vow shalbe paid. By which wordes the Prophet telleth vs, that the praiers of the Church are neuer void: because the Lord alway ministrereth to his people matter to sing vpon with ioy. But although the shadowes of the law are cessed: yet because the Lords wil was by this ceremony to nourish among vs also the vinity of faith, it is no dout that the same promise belógeth to vs, which both Christ hath stablished with his owne mouth, and Paul teacheth that it is of force for euer.

30 Now as the Lord by his word cōmaundeth the faithfull to vse common praiers: so there must be cōmon temples appointed for the vling of them: where who so refuse to communicate their praier with the people of God, there is no cause why they should abuse this pretense, that they enter into their chamber that they may obey the cōmaundemēt of the Lord. For he that promisereth that he wil do what soeuer two or three shall aske beinge gathered together in his name, testifieth that he despiseth not praiers openly made: so that boastinge and seeking of glory of men be absent, so that vnfaigned & true affectiō be present which dwelleth in the secret of the hart. If this be the right vse of temples (as truely it is) we must againe beware that neither (as they haue begon in certaine ages past to be accompted) we take them for the proper dwellinge places of God from whence he may more nerely bende his eare vnto vs: nor faine to them I wote not what secrete holinesse, which may make our praier more holy before God. For sith we our selues be the true tēples of God we must pray in our selues if we will call vpon God in his own holy temple. As for y^e grosse- nesse, let vs which haue a commaundement to call vpon the Lord in Spirit and trueth without difference of place, leaue it to the Iewes or the Gentiles. There was in dede a temple in old time by the cōmaundement of God for offringe of praiers and sacrifices: but that was at such time as the truth lay hid figured vnder such shadowes, which being now liuely expressed vnto vs doth not suffer vs to stick in any materiall temple. Neither was the temple giuen to the Iewes themselves with this condition, that they should enclose the presence of God, win the walles thereof, but whereby they might be exercised to beholde the image of the true temple. Therfore they, which in any thought

Esa. 56.
7.Psal. 65
1.Mat 18.
20.Ihon. 4.
23.

Esa. 66.

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Act. 7. that God dwelleth in temples made with handes, were sharply rebuked of Esay and Stephen.
48.

31 Here moreouer it is more than euident, that neither voice nor song, if they be vsed in praier, haue any force, or do any whit profite before God, vnlesse they procede from the depe affectiō of the hart. But rather they prouoke his wrath against vs, if they come only from the lippes and out of the throte: forasmuch as that is to abuse his holy name, and to make a mockery of his maiesty: as we gather out of the words of Esay, which although they extend further, yet pertaine also to reprove this fault. This people (sayth he) commeth nere to with their mouth and honoreth me with their lippes but their hart is farre from me: and they haue feared me with the commaundement and doctrine of men. Therefore beholde I will make in this people a miracle great and to be wondered at: For, wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the prudence of the Elders shall vanish away. Neither yet do we here condemne voice or singing, but rather do hiely commend them, so that they accompany the affection of the minde. For so they exercise the minde and holde it intentiue in thinkinge vpon God: which as it is slippery and rolling, easily slacketh and is diuersely drawn vnlesse it be stayd with diuerse helpes. Moreouer whereas the glory of God ought after a certaine maner to shine in al the parts of our body, it specially behoueth that the tongue be applied and a- uowed to this seruice both in singinge and in speakinge which is properly created to shewe forth and display the praise of God. But the chiefe vse of the tongue is in publike praiers, which are made in the assembly of the Godly: which tende to this ende, that we may all with one common voice, and as it were with one mouth together glorifie God, whom we worship with one Spirit & one Faith: and that openly, that all men mutually, euery one of his brother, may receiue the confession of Faith, to the example wherof they may be both allured and stirred.

32 As for the vse of singing in Churches (that I may touch this also by the way) it is certaine that it is not only most auncient: but that it was also in vse among the Apostles, we may gather by these words
1. Cor. of Paule, I will sing in Spirit, I will sing also in minde. Againe to the
14. 13. Colossians, Teachinge and admonishinge you, mutually in hymnes psalmes, and spirituall songes, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord. For in the first place he teacheth that we should sing with voice and hart: in the other he commendeth spirituall songes, wherewith the Godly do mutually edifie themselues. Yet that it was not vniuersall, Augustine testifieth, which reporteth that in the time of Ambrose the

Cōfess.
lib. 9.
cap. 7.

the Church of Millain first beganne to singe, when while Iustina the mother of Valentinian cruelly raged against y^e true Faith, the people more vsed watchings than they were wont: and that afterwarde the other westerne Churches followed. For he hadde a litle before sayd that this maner came from the Easterne Churches. He telleth also in his seconde booke of Retractions that it was in his time receiued in Africa. One Hilarie (sayth he) a ruler did in euery place wherefoeuer he could, with malicious blaming raile at the maner which the began to be at Carthage, that the hymnes at the altar shoulde be pronounced out of the booke of Psalmes, either before the oblation, or when that which had bin offered was distributed to y^e people. Him I answered at the commaundement of my brethren. And truely if song be tempered to y^e grauity which becommeth the presence of God & Angels, it both procureth dignity and grace to the holy actions, and much aualeth to stirre vp the mindes to true affection, and feruentnesse of prayinge. But we must diligently beware that our eares be not more heedefully bent to the note, than our mindes to the spirituall sense of the words. With which peril Augustine in a certain place saith y^e he was so moued, that he sometime wished that the maner which Athanasius kept should be stablished, which commaunded that the reader should sounde his wordes with so small a bowinge of his voice, that it should be liker to one that readeth than to one that singeth. But when he remembred how much profit he himselfe had receiued by singing, he enclined to the other side. Therefore vsing this moderation, there is no dout that it is a most holy & profitable ordinance. As on the other side what songs so euer are framed only to sweetenes and delite of the eares, they both become not the maiesty of the Church & can not but hiely displease God.

33 Wherby it also plainly appeareth that common praiers are to be spoken not in Greeke amonge Latine men, nor in Latine amonge Frenchmen or Englishmen (as it hath heretofore bin ech where commonly done) but in the peoples mother tongue, which commonly may be vnderstoode of the whole assembly: forasmuch as it ought to be done to the edifying of the whole Church, which receiue no frute at all of a sounde not vnderstanded. But they which haue no regarde neither of charity nor of humanity, should at least haue bin somewhat moued with the authority of Paule, whose wordes are nothing doubtful. If thou blesse (sayth he) in Spirit, how shal he that filleth the place of an vnlearned man answere Amen to thy blessing, sith he knoweth not what thou sayst? For thou in dede giuest thanks, but the other is not edified. Who therefore can sufficiently wonder at the vnbrideled

Cōfess
lib. 10.
cap. 33

1. Cor.
14. 16.

licentiousnesse of the Papistes, which, the Apostle so openly cryinge out against it, feare not to roare out in a strange tongue most babbling praiers, in which they themselves sometime vnderstand not one syllable, nor woulde haue other folkes to vnderstand it? But Paul teacheth that we ought to do otherwise. How then? I will pray (saith he) with spirit, I will pray also with minde: I wil sing with spirit: I will sing also with minde: signifying by the name of Spirite, the singular gift of tongues, which many being endued with abused it, when they seuered it from the mind, that is, from vnderstanding. But this we must altogether thinke, that it is by no meane possible, neither in publike nor in priuate praier, but that the tongue without the hart must hiely displese God. Morouer we must think that the mind ought to be kindled with feruentnesse of thought, that it may farre surmount all that the tongue may expresse with vterance. Finally that y tongue is not necessary at all for priuate praier, but so farre as the inward feelinge either is not able to suffice to enkindle it selfe, or the vehemence of enkindling violētly carrieth the worke of y tongue with it. For though very good praiers sometime be without voice, yet oftētimes betideth, that when the affectiō of the minde is feruent, both the tongue breaketh forth into voice, and the other members into gesturing without excessive shew. Hereupon came the muttering of Hanna, and such a like thinge all the holy ones alway feele in themselves, when they burst out into broken and vnperfect voices. As for the gestures of the body which are wont to be vsed in praier (as kneeling and vncovering of the head) they are exercises by which we endeouour to rise vp to a greater reuerencing of God.

1. Sam. 1

13.

Matt. 6.

9.

Luk. 11.

2.

34 Nowe we must learne not onely a more certaine rule, but also the very forme of prayinge: namely the same, which the heavenly Father hath taught vs by his beloued Sonne: wherein we may acknowledge his vnmesurable goodnesse and kindnesse. For beside this he warneth and exhorteth vs to seeke him in all our necessity, (as children are wont to flee to their fathers defence, so oft as they be troubled with any distresse) because he sawe that we did not sufficiently perceiue this, how slender our poverty was, what were meete to be asked, & what were for our profit: he provided also for this our ignorance, and what our capacity wanted, he supplied and furnished of his own. For he hath prescribed to vs a forme wherein he hath as in a Table set out whatsoeuer we may desire of him, whatsoeuer auaileth for our profit, & whatsoeuer is necessary to aske. Of which his gētlenes we receaue a great frute of comfort that we vnderstand that we aske no inconuenient thing, no vnseeminge or vnfit thing, finally nothing that

that is not acceptable to him, sith we aske in a maner after his owne mouth. Whē Plato saw the folly of men in making requestes to God, Alcib. 2 which being graunted, it many times besel much to their own hurt: vel de he pronounced that this is the best maner of prayinge taken out of vot. the olde Poete, Kinge Iuppiter giue vnto vs the best thinges both when we aske them, and when we do not aske them, but commaund euil thinges to be away from vs euen when we aske them. And verily the heathen man is wise in this, that he iudgeh howe perillous it is to aske of the Lord that which our owne desire moueth vs; & therewithal he bewraieth our vnhappy case, that we can not ones opē our mouthes before God without danger, vnlesse the Spirite do instruct Rom. 8. vs to a right rule of prayinge. And in somuch greater estimation this 6. priuilege is worthy to be had of vs, sith the onely begotten Sonne of God ministreth words into our mouth which may deliuer our minde from all douting.

35 This whither you call it forme or rule of praying is made of six petitions. For, the cause why I agree not to them that diuide it into seuen parts, is this, that by putting in this aduersatiue word (But) it seemeth that the Euangelist ment to ioine these two peces together, as if he had said: Suffer vs not to be oppressed with tentation but rather help our weakenes, & deliuer vs, that we faint not. The old writers also thinke on our side, so that now that which is in Mathew added in the seuenth place, is by way of declaratiō to be ioined to the sixt petition. But although the whole praier is such that in euery parte of it regarde is specially to be had of the glory of God, yet the three first petitions are peculiarly appoynted to Gods glory, w̄ alone we ought in them to looke vnto without any respect (as they say) of our owne profit. The other three haue care of vs, and are properly assigned to aske those thinges that are for our profite. As when we pray that the name of God be hallowed: because God wil proue whether he be loued & honored of vs freely or for hope of reward, we must thē thinke nothing of our owne cōmodity: but his glory must be set before vs, w̄ alone we must behold with fixed eies: & no otherwise ought we to be minded in the other praiers of this sort. And euen this turneth to our great profit, y when it is sanctified as we pray, it is also likewise made our sanctification. But our eyes (as it is sayd) must winke and after a certaine maner be blinde at such profit, so as they may not ones lōke at it: that if all hope of our priuat benefit were cut of, yet we shoulde not cease to wishe and pray for this sanctification and other thinges which pertaine to the glory of God. As it is seene in the examples of Moses and Paule, to whom it was not grieuous to turne away their

August. in Enchirid. ad Laurent. ca. 115. Chryl. aut o perim. pe. f.

Exo. 32. 32. Rom. 9. 3.

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mindes and eyes from themselves, and with vehement and enflamed zeale to wish their owne destruction that though it were with their owne losse they might auance the glory & kingdom of God. On the other side when we pray that our daily bread be giuen vs: although we wish y^e which is for our owne commodity, yet here also we ought chiefly to seeke the glory of God, so that we should not aske it vnlesse it might turne to his glory. Now let vs come to the declaring of the praier it self.

Our Father which art in heauen.

36 First in the very entry we mete with this which we said before that all praier ought none otherwise to be offred of vs to God than in the name of Christ, as it can by no other name be made acceptable vnto him. For since we call him Father, truely we alleage for vs the name of Christ. For by what boldnesse might any man call God, Father? who shoulde burst forth into so great rashnesse, to take to himselfe the honor of the Sonne of God, vnlesse we were adopted the children of grace in Christ: Which being the true Sonne, is giue of him to vs to be our brother: that that which he hath proper by nature, may by the benefite of adoption be made ours, if we do with sure faith embrace so great bountifulnesse. As Iohn sayth, that power is giuen to thē which beleue in the name of the only begotten Sonne of God, that they also may be made the children of God. Therefore he both calleth himselfe our Father, & will be so called of vs, by this sweetenesse of name deliuering vs from all distrust, sith there can no where be found any greater affection of loue than in a Father. Therefore he could by no surer example testifie his vnmeasurable dere loue toward vs than by this that we are named the sonnes of God. But his loue is so much greater & more excellent toward vs than all loue of our parentes, as he passeth all men in goodnesse and mercy: that if all the fathers that are in the earth, hauing shaken of al feeling of fatherly naturalnesse, would forsake their children, yet he wil neuer faile vs, because he can not deny himselfe. For we haue his promise, If you beinge euill can giue good giftes to your children, how much more can your Father which is in heauen? Againe in the Prophet, Can a mother forget her children? Though she forget them, yet I will not forget thee. If we be his children: then as a childe can not giue himselfe into the tuition of a stranger and foreine man, vnlesse he cōplaine either of the cruelty or pouerty of his father: so we can not seeke succours from else where than from him alone, vnlesse we reproch him with pouerty and want of ability, or with cruelty or to extreme rigorousnesse.

Iohn. 1.

12.

1. Ioh. 3

1.

Psal. 27

10.

Esa. 63.

16.

2. Tim. 2

13.

Matt. 7.

11.

Esa. 49.

15.

37 Neither let vs alleage that we are worthily made feareful with
 conscience of finnes, which may make a Father be he neuer so mer-
 cifull and kinde, daily to be displeased. For if among men the sonne
 can with no better aduocate pleade his cause to his father, and by no
 better meane get and recouer his fauour beinge lost, than if he him-
 selfe humbly & lowly, acknowledging his fault, do besech his fathers
 mercy (for then the fatherly bowels can not hide theselues but must
 be moued at such prayers) what shall that father of mercies do, and
 the God of all comforte? shall not he rather heare the teares and
 gronings of his children intreatinge for themselves (specially sith he
 doth call and exhort vs to do so) than any other intercessions what-
 soeuer they be: to the succour whereof they do so fearefully flee, not
 without some shew of despeire, because they distrust of the kindenes
 and mercifulnes of their father? This ouerflowing plenty of fatherly
 kindenes he depainteth and setteth out vnto vs in the parable, where
 the Father louingly embraceth the sonne that had estranged himself
 from him, that had riotously wasted his substance, that had euery way
 grievously offended against him: and he tarieth not till he do with
 words craue pardon, but he himselfe preuenteth him, knoweth him
 a farre of returning, of his owne wil goeth to meete him, comforteth
 him and receiueth him into fauour. For, setting out in a man this ex-
 ample of so great gentlenes, he minded to teach vs how much more
 plentifull kindenes we ought to looke for at his hand, who is not on-
 ly a Father, but also the best and most merciful of all Fathers, howso-
 euer we be vnkinde, rebellious, and naughty children: so that yet we
 cast our selues vpon his mercy. And that he might make it to be more
 assuredly beleued, that he is such a Father to vs, if we be Christiāns: he
 willed not onely to be called Father, but also by expresse name Our
 father: as if we might thus talke with him, O Father which hast so
 great natural kindnes toward thy children, so great easines to pardon,
 we thy children call to thee and pray to thee, being assured and fully
 perswaded, that thou bearest no other affection to vs than fatherly,
 howsoeuer we be vnworthy of such a Father. But because the small
 capacities of our hearte conceiue not so great vnmeasurablenesse of
 fauour, not only Christ is to vs a pledge and earnest of our adop-
 tion, but also he giueth vs the Spirit for witness of the same adop-
 tion, through whome we may with a free and lowde voyce crie Ab-
 ba, Father. So oft therefore as any delay shall withstande vs, lette vs
 remember to aske of him, that correctinge our fearefulnesse he will
 set before vs that Spirit of coragiousnesse to be our guide to praye
 boldely.

2. Cor. 1
3.Luc. 15
20.

Ga. 4. 6.

38 Whereas we are not so taught that euery one should feuerally call him his owne father, but rather that we should al in common together call him Our Father: thereby we are put in minde, how great affection of brotherly loue ought to be among vs, which are altogether by one same right of mercy and liberality, the children of such a

Mat. 23. Father. For we all haue one common Father, from whome commeth
9. whatsoeuer good thinge may betide vnto vs: there ought to be nothing feuerall amonge vs, which we are not ready with great cherefulnesse of minde to communicate one to an other, so much as nede requireth. Now if we be so desirous, as we ought to be, to reach our hand & help one to an other, there is nothing wherein we may more profit our brethren, than to commend them to the care and prouidence of the most good Father, who being wel pleased and fauoring, nothing at al can be wanted. And verily euē this same we owe to our Father. For as he that truly & hartily loueth any Father of household, doth also embrace his whole household, with loue and good will: likewise what loue & affection we beare to this heauēly Father, we must shew toward his people, his household and his inheritance, which he hath so honored, that he hath called it the fulnesse of his onely begotten Sonne. Lette a Christian man therefore frame his prayers by this rule, that they be common, and may comprehend all them that be brethren in Christ with him: and not onely those whom he presently seeth and knoweth to be such, but al men that liue vpon earth: of whom, what God hath determined, it is out of our knowledge: sauing that it is no lesse godly then naturall to wish the best to them, & hope the best of them. Howbeit we ought with a certaine singular affection to beare a speciall inclination to them of the householde of
Ephe. 1. faith, whom the Apostle hath in euery thing peculiarly commended
24. vnto vs. In a summe, All our praiers ought to be so made, that they haue respect to that community which our Lorde hath stablished in his kingdom and his house.

Gala. 6. 39 Yet this withstandeth not, but that we may specially praye
10. both for our selues and for certaine other: so that yet our minde depart not from hauing an eie to this community, nor ones swarue frō it, but apply all things vnto it. For though they be singularly spoken in forme, yet because they are directed to that marke, they cease not to be common. All this may be easily vnderstoode by a like example. The commaundement of God is generall, to relieue the neede of all poore: and yet they obey this commaundement which to this end do helpe their pouerty whome they knowe or see to be in neede, although they passe ouer many whom they see to be pressed with no lesse

lesse necessity: either because they can not knowe all, or be not able to helpe al. After this maner they also do not against the wil of God, which hauing regard vnto and thinkinge vpon this common fellowship of the Church, do make such particular praiers, by which they do with a common minde in particular wordes, commend to God the-
 selues or other, whose necessity God willed to be more neerely known to them. Howebeit all things are not like in praier and in bestowing of goods. For, the liberality of giuing can not be vsed but toward them whose neede we haue perceiued: but with praiers we may helpe euen them that are most strange and most vnknown to vs, by howe great a space of grounde soeuer they be distant from vs. This is done by the general forme of praier, wherein all the children of God are contained, among whom they also are. Hereto we may apply that which Paul exhorteth the faithfull of his time, that they lift vp euery
 1. Ti. 2. 8.
 where pure handes without strife: because when he warneth the that strife shutteth the gate against praiers, he willeth the with one minde to lay their petitions in common together.

40 It is added, y he is in heauen. Wherupō it is not by and by to be gathered that he is bound fast enclosed & compassed with the circle of heauen, as within certaine barres. For Salomon also confesseth that the heauens of heauens can not containe him. And he himselfe saith by the Prophet that heauen is his seate, & the earth his foote stoole. Wherby verily he signifieth y he is not limited in any certaine coast, but is spred abroade throughout all things. But because our minde (such is the grossenesse of it) coulde not otherwise conceiue his vn-
 1. Kings 8. 37.
 2. Esdr. 6. 1.
 2. Esdr. 7. 49. & 17. 24.
 speakeable glory, it is signified to vs by the heauen, than which there cā nothing come vnder our sight more ample or fuller of mai. sty. Sith therfore wher soeuer our senses comprehend any thing, there they vse to fasten it: God is set out of all place, that when we will seeke him we should be raised vp aboue all sense both of body and soule. Againe by this maner of speaking he is lifted vp aboue all chaunce of corruptiō & change: finally it is signified that he comprehendeth & containeth the whole world & gouerneth it with his power. Wherefore this is al one as if he had bin called of infinite greatnes or height, of incōprehensible substance, of vnmeasurable power, of euerlasting immortality. But while we haue this, we must lift vp our minde hier when God is spoken of, that we dreame not any earthly or fleshly thinge of him, that we measure him not by our small proportions, nor draw his will to the rule of our affections. And therewithal is to be raised vp our affiance in him, by whose prouidence and power we vnderstand heauen & earth to be gouerned. Let this be y summe, that vnder the name

of Father is sette before vs that God which hath in his owne image appeared to vs, that he may be called vpon with assured faith: & that the familiar name of Father is not onely applied to stablish affiance, but also auaieth to hold fast our mindes that they be not drawn to doubtful or fained Gods, but shoulde from the onely begotten sonne climbe vp to the onely father of Angels and of the Church: then, that because his seate is placed in heauē, we are by the gouernance of the worlde put in mind y not without cause we come to him which with present care commeth of his owne will to mete vs. Who so come to

Heb. 11. 6: God (saith the Apostle) they must first beleue that there is a God: thē, that he is a rewarder to all thē that seke him. Both these things Christ affirmeth to be proper to his Father, that our Faith may be staid in him: then, that we may be certainly perswaded that he is not careles of our safety: because he vouchsaueth euen to vs to extend his prouidence. With which introductions Paul prepareth vs to pray rightly. For before that he biddeth our petitiōs to be opened before God Phi. 4. 6 he saith thus, Be ye carefull for nothing, the Lord is at hand. Wherby appeareth that they doubtfully & with perplexity tosse their praier in their minde which haue not this well settled in them, that the eye of God is vpon the righteous.

Psa. 33. 18. 41 The first Petitiō is, That y name of God be hallowed, the nede wherof is ioined with our great shame. For what is more shamefull, than that the glory of God should be partly by our vnthankfulness, partly by our malicioufnesse, darkened: and (so much as in it lieth) by our boldnesse and furions stubbornes, vtterly blotted out? Though all the wicked would burst themselues with their wilfulnes full of sacrilege, yet the holines of the name of God gloriously shineth. And Psa. 48. 11. not without cause the Prophet crieth out, As thy name O God, so is thy praise into all y ends of the earth. For whersoever y name of God is knowen, it can not be but that his strengthes, power, goodnes, wisdom, righteousness, mercy, and trueth must shewe foorth themselues, which may drawe vs into admiration of him, and stirre vs vp to publish his praise. Sith therefore the holines of God is so shamefully taken from him in earth, if we be not able to reskue it, we be at the least commaunded to take care of it in our praier. The summe is, that we wish the honor to be giuen to God which he is worthy to haue, that men neuer speake or thinke of him without most hie reuerēce: wherunto is contrary the vnholly abusinge, which hath alway bin to commō in the world, as at this day also it rangereth abroad. And here vpon commeth the necessity of this petition, which if there liued in vs any godlineffe, though it were but litle, ought to haue bin superfluous.

But

But if the name of God haue his holinesse safe, when being seuered from all other, it breatheth out nothing but glorie, here we are commanded not only to pray that God will deliuer that holy name from all contempt and dishonor, but also that he will subdue all mankind to the reuerence of it. Nowe whereas God discloseth himselfe to vs partly by doctrine, partly by workes, he is no otherwise sanctified of vs, than if we geue to him in both behalies that which is his, and so embrace whatsoeuer shall come from him: and that his seueritie haue no lesse praise amōg vs than his mercifulnesse, forasmuch as he hath in the manifolde diuersitie of his workes emprinted markes of his glorie which may worthily drawe out of all tonges a confession of his praise. So shall it comme to passe that the Scripture shall haue full authoritie with vs, & that no successe shall hinder the blessing which God deserueth in the whole course of the gouerning of the worlde. Againe the petition also tendeth to this purpose, that all vngodlinesse which defileth this holy name, may be destroyed & taken away: that whatsoeuer things doo darken and diminish this sanctifying, as well sclaunders as mockings, may be driuen away: and when God subdueth all sacrileges, his glorie may thereby more and more shine abroad.

42 The seconde petition is, that The Kingdome of God may come: which although it containe no newe thing, is yet not without cause seuered from the first: because if we consider our owne drownesse in a thing greatest of all other, it is profitable that the thing which ought of it selfe to haue bene most well knowē, be with many wordes ofte beaten into vs. Therefore after that we haue bene commanded to pray to God to bting into subiection, & at length vtterly to destroy whatsoeuer spotteth his holie name: nowe is added a like and in a maner the same requeste, that his kingdome come. But although we haue alredy set foorth the definition of this kingdome, yet I nowe brefely rehearse, that God reigneth when men as well with forsaking of themselues as with despising of the world and of the earthly life, do so yelde themselues to his righteousness, that they aspire to the heavenly life. Therefore there are twoo partes of this kingdome: the one, that God correcte with the power of his Spirit all corrupt desires of the flesh, which do by multitudes make warre against him: the other, that he frame all our senses to the obedience of his gouernement. Therefore none do kepe right order in this prayer, but they which beginne at themselues, that is to say, that they be cleansed from all corruptions which trouble the quiet state of the kingdome of God, and infect the purenesse thereof. Nowe be-

cause the word of God is like a kingly scepter, we are here commaunded to pray that he will subdue the mindes and hartes of all men to willing obedience of it. Which is done, when with the secret instinct of his Spirit he vttereth the effectuall force of his worde, that it may be auanced in such degree as it is worthy. Afterward we must come downe to the wicked which do obstinately and with desperate rage resist his authoritie. God therefore setteth vp his kingdome by humbling the whole world: but that in diuerse maners: because he tammeth the wantonnesse of some, and of other some he breaketh the vntamed pride. This is daily to be wished that it be done, that it may please God to gather to himselfe Chirches out of all the coastes of the world, to enlarge and encrease them in number, to enrich them with his giftes, to stablish right order in them: on the other side to ouerthrowe all the enemies of pure doctrine and religion, to scatter abroad their counsells, to cast downe their enterprises. Whereby appeareth that the endeour of daily proceeding is not in vaine comaunded vs: because the matters of men are neuer in so good case, that filthinesse being shaken away and cleansed, full purenesse flourisheth and is in lively force. But the fulnesse of it is deferred vnto the last comming of Christ, when Paule teacheth that God shalbe all in all. And so this prayer ought to withdrawe vs from all the corrupt ons of the world, which do seuer vs from God that his kingdome should not flourish in vs, and also to kindle our endeour to mortifie the flesh, finally to instruct vs to the bearing of the crosse: forasmuch as God will in this wise haue his kingdome spred abroad. Neither ought we to take it miscontentedly that the outward man be destroyed, so that the inwarde man be renewed. For this is the nature of the kingdome of God, when we submit our selues to the righteousnesse thereof, to make vs partakers of his glorie. This is done when brightly setting fourth his light and truth with alway newe encreasces, whereby the darkenesse and lies of Satan and his kingdome, may vanish away, be destroyed, and perish, he defendeth them that be his, with the helpe of his Spirit directeth them to vprightnesse and strengtheneth them to continuance: but ouerthroweth the wicked conspiracies of his enemies, shaketh abroad their treasons and deceites, preuēteth their malice, and beateth downe their stubbornnesse, till at length he kill Antichrist with the Spirit of his mouth and destroy all vngodlinesse with the brightnesse of his comming.

43 The third petition is, That the will of God be done in earth as it is in heauen. Which although it hāgeth vpon his kingdome, and can not be seuered from it, is not in vaine added seuerally, for our
gross-

grossnesse, which doth not easily or by and by conceiue what it is that God reigne in the world. It shall therefore be no absurditie if this be taken by way of plainer exposition: that God shall then be king in the world when all things shall submit themselves to his will. Nowe here is not meant of his secrete will, wherby he gouerneth all things and directeth them to their ende. For though Satan & men are troublefomly caried against him, yet he can by his incōprehensible counsell not onely turne aside their violent motions, but also driue them into order that he may do by them that which he hath purposed. But here is spoken of an other will of God, namely that, whereunto aunswereth willing obedience: and therefore the heauen is by name compared with the earth: because the Angells, as it is said in the Psalme, do willingly obey God, & are diligently bent to do his commaundements. We are therefore cōmaunded to wish that as in heaue Psa. 103
20. nothing is done but by the becke of God, & the Angells are quietly framed to all vprightnesse: so the earth, all stubbornnesse & peruerfenesse being quenched, may be subiect to such gouernemēt. And when we require this, we renounce the desires of our owne flesh: because whosoever doth not resigne and yelde his affections to God, he doth as much as in him lieth set himself against him, forasmuch as nothing cometh out of vs but faulty. And we are againe by this prayer framed to the forsaking of our selues, that God may gouerne vs after his will: and not that onely, but that he may also creat in vs newe mindes and newe hartes, our olde being brought to nought: that we may fele in our selues none other motion of desire than a mere consent with his will: summarily that we may will nothing of our selues, but that his Spirit may gouerne our hartes, by whome inwardly teaching vs we may learne to loue those things that please him, and to hate those things that displease him. Whereupon this also followeth, that whatsoever affections fight against his wil, he may make them vaine and voide. Loe here be the first three thiefe pointes of this prayer, in asking whereof we ought to haue the onely glorie of God before our eyes, leauing the respect of our selues, and hauing no regarde to any of our owne profit, which although it come hereof largely vnto vs, yet we ought not here to seke it. But albeit all these things, though we neither thinke of them, nor wish them, nor aske them, must neuerthelesse come to passe in their due time, yet we must wishe them and require them. And this to do is no small profite for our trauaill, that we may so testifie and professe our selues to be the seruantes and children of God, as much as in vs lieth endeuoring and being truely and throughly geuen to set fourth his honor, which is due to him

being both a Lorde and a Father. Who so therefore do not with affection and zeale of auaucing the glorie of God, pray that the name of God be hallowed, that his kingdome come, that his will be done: they are not to be accompted among the children and seruantes of God: and as all these things shalbe done against their willes, so they shall turne to their confusion and destruction.

1. Cor.
10. 31.

44 Nowe followeth the seconde part of the prayer, in which we come downe to our owne commodities: not that bidding farewell to the glory of God (which as Paule witnesseth, is to be regarded euen in meate & drinke) we should seke onely what is profitable for our selues: but we haue already geuen warning that there is this difference, that God peculiarly claiming three petitions to himselfe doth drawe vs to himself wholly, that he may in this wise proue our godlinesse. Then he graunteth vs also to haue an eye to our owne commodities, but with this condition that we aske nothing for our selues but to this ende that whatsoeuer benefits he bestoweth vpon vs, they may set forth his glory: forasmuch as nothing is more rightful than that we liue and die to him. But in this petition we aske of God generally all things which the vse of the body nedeth vnder y elements of this world, not onely wherewith we may be fed and clothed, but also whatsoeuer he foreseeth to be profitable for vs, that we may eate our bred in peace. By which prayer brefely we yelde our selues into his care, and commit vs to his providence, that he may feede, cherish, and preserue vs. For the most good Father disdaineth not to receiue also our body into his faithfull sauegarde and keping, to exercise our Faith in these smal things, when we loke for all things at his handes euen to a crumme of bred and a droppe of water. For whereas it is come to passe I wote not howe by our iniquitie, that we be moued and vexed with greater care of the fleshe than of the soule: many which dare trust to God for their soule, are yet careful for their flesh, are yet in doute what they shall eate, and wherewith they shalbe clothed: and if they haue not plenty of wine, wheate, and oyle aforehande, they tremble for feare. So much more do we esteeme the shadowe of this life which lasteth but a momēt, than that euerlasting immortalitie. But who so trustinge to God haue ones cast away that carefulnesse for the prouision of the flesh, do also by and by loke for saluation and euerlasting life at his hand, which are greater things. It is therefore no smal exercise of Faith, to hope for those things of God, which otherwise do so much holde vs in care: & we haue not smally profited, when we haue put of this vnbeleuingnesse which sticketh fast within the bones almost of all men. As for that which some do
here

here teache of transubstantiall bred, it semeth but smally to agree with the meaninge of Christ: yea but if we did not euen in this fraile life geue to God y office of a nourishing Father, our prayer should be vnperfect. The reason which they bring is to much profane: that it is not mete that the children of God, which ought to be spirituall, should not onely cast their minde to earthly cares, but also wrappe God there in with them. As though his blessing and fatherly fauor doth not also appeare in the sustenance of our life, or as though it were written in vaine that godlinesse hath promises not onely of the life to come, but also of this present life. But although the forgene-^{1. Tim. 4}
nesse of sinnes is of much greater value than the sustenances of the
body, yet Christ hath set the inferor thing in the first place, to the
intent to lift vs vp by degrees to the other twoo petitions which do
properly belong to the heauenly life, wherein he had regarde to our
grossenesse. We are commaunded to aske Our bred, that we should
be contente with the quantitie which our heauenly Father vouches-
saueth to geue to vs, and should not seke for gaine by vnlawfull crafty
meanes. In the meane time we must learne that it is made Ours by
title of gifte, because neither our diligence, nor our trauaill, nor our
handes (as it is sayed in Moses) do by themselves gett vs any thing,^{Leu. 26.}
vnlesse the blessing of God be presente: yea y plentie of bred should
nothing at all profit vs, vnlesse it were by God turned into nourish-^{29.}
mente. And therefore this liberality of God is no lesse necessarie for
the riche than for the poore: because hauing their cellers and their
barnes full, they should yet fainte for drinesse and emptinesse, vnlesse
they did by his grace enioy their bred. The word This day, or Euery
day as it is in the other Euangelist, and also the adiectiue Daily, do
bridle the to much gredines of fraile things, wherewith we are wont
to burne out of measure, and wherunto are ioined other euells: sith
if we haue plentifull abundance, we do gloriously poure it out vpon
pleasure, delites, boasting, and other kindes of riotous excesse. Ther-
fore we are commaunded to aske onely so much as is enough for our
necessity, and as it were from day to day, with this affiance that when
our heauenly Father hath fed vs this day, he will also not faile vs to
morrowe. Therefore howe great plentie of thinges so euer do flowe
vnto vs, yea when our barnes be stuffed and our cellers full: yet we
ought alway to aske our daily bred: because we must certainly beleue
that all substance is nothing, but in somuch as the Lorde doth by
pouring out of his blessinge with continuall encrease make it frute-
full: and that the very same substance that is in our hand, is not our
owne, but insomuch as he doth euery houre geue vs a portion and

Deu.8.
3.
Matt.3.
4.
Leu.26.
26.

graunt vs the vse of it. This whereas the pride of men doth most hardly suffer it selfe to be perswaded: the Loide testifieth that he hath shewed a singular example thereof for all ages, when he fed his people with Manna in the wildernesse, to teache vs that man liueth not in bred onely, but rather in the worde that cometh out of his mouth. Whereby is declared, that it is his power alone by which our life and strengthes are susteined, although he do minister it vnto vs vnder bodily instrumentes. As he is wont also to teache vs by the contrarie example, when he so oft as he will, breaketh the strength and (as he calleth it) the staff of bred, that men eating may pine with hunger, and drinking may be dried vp with thirst. But whoso not being contented with daily bred, but with vnbrindeled gredinesse are gaping for endlesse store, or whoso being full with their aboundance, and carelesse by reason of the heape of their richesse, do neuerthelesse sue to God with this prayer, they do nothing ells but mocke him. For, y first sorte of such men aske that which they would not obtaine, yea that which they most of all abhorre, that is, to haue onely daily bred, & so much as in them lieth they dissemblingly hide from God the affection of their couetousnesse: whereas true prayer oughte to poure out before him the very whole minde it selfe, and whatsoeuer inwardly lieth hidden. But the other sort do aske that which they loke not for at his hande, namely that which they thinke that they haue with themselves. In this that it is called Oures y bountifulesse of God (as we haue said) so much more appeareth, which maketh that oures that is by no right due to vs. Yet that exposition is not to be reiected which I haue also touched, that by our bred is meante that which is earned with rightfull and harmelesse trauaill, and not goute with deceites & extorcions: because that is alway Other mens which we get to our selues with any ill doing. Whereas we pray that it be geuen vs, thereby is signified that it is the onely and fre gite of God, from whensoeuer it come to vs, yea when it shall most of all seeme to be gotten by our owne policie and trauaill, and earned with our owne handes: forasmuch as it cometh to passe by his onely blessing, that our labours prosper well.

45 Nowe followeth, Forgeue vs our dettes: in which petition and the nexte followinge, Christ hath brefely contained whatsoeuer maketh for the heavenly life: as in these twoo partes aboue standeth the spirituall couenant which GOD hath made for the saluation of his Chirch, I will write my lawes in their hartes, and I will be mercifull to their iniquitie. Here Christ beginneth the forgeuenesse of sinnes: after this, he will by and by adioine the seconde grace, that
God

Iere.31.
33. and
33.8.

God defend vs with the power of his Spirit, and sustaine vs with his helpe, that we may stande vnouercome against all tentations. And sinnes he calleth dettes, because we are detbounde to pay the penalty of them, and were by no meanes able to satisfie it, vnlesse we were acquitted by this forgeueneffe. Which pardon is of his free mercie, when he himselfe liberally wipeth out these dettes, taking no paimēt of vs, but with his owne mercie satisfying himselfe in Christ, which hath ones geuen himselfe for recompense. Therefore whoso trust that God shalbe satisfied by their owne or other mennes merites, and that with such satisfactiōs the forgeueneffe of sinnes is recompensed and redemed, they haue no parte of communicating of this free forgeueneffe: & when they call vpon G O D in this maner, they do nothing but subscribe to their owne accusation, yea & scale their owne condemnation with their own witnesse. For they confesse themselues detters, vnlesse they be acquitted by the benefite of forgeueneffe, which yet they do not receiue, but rather refuse, whē they thrust vnto God their owne merites and satisfactions. For, so they do not beseech his mercie, but do appeale to his iudgement. As for them that dreame of a perfectiō in themselues, which taketh away neede to craue pardō, let them haue such disciples whom the itching of their eares driueth to errors: so that it be certaine that so many disciples as they get, are taken away from Christ: forasmuch as he instructing all to confesse their giltineffe, receiueth none but sinners: not for that he cherisheth sinnes with flatterings, but because he knewe that the faithfull are neuer thoroughly vnclothed of the vices of their flesh, but that they alway remaine subiect to the iudgement of God. It is in deede to be wished, yea & to be earnestly endeouored, that we hauing performed all the partes of our dutie may truely reioise before God that we are cleane from all spott: but forasmuch as it pleaseth God by litle & litle to make againe his image in vs, that there alway remaineth some infection in our flesh, the remedie ought not to haue bene despised. If Christ by the authoritie geuen to him of his Father, cōmaundeth vs throughout the whole course of our life, to flee to crauing of pardō of our giltineffe: who shalbe able to suffer these newe maisters, which go about with this imagined ghost of perfect innocēcie to dasell the eyes of the simple, to make them to trust that they may be made free from all fault? Which, as Iohn witnesseth, is nothing els but to make God a lier. And withall one worke these lewde men by cācilling one article do teare in sonder & by that meane do weaken from the very foundation y whole couenāt of God, wherein we haue shewed that our saluation is cō:AINED: so as they be not only robbers of God, because

Rom. 8.

29.

1. Ioh. 1.

10.

they seuer those things so conioined, but also wicked and cruell because they ouerwhelme poore soules with despeire : and traitors to themselves & other, that be like them, because they bring themselves into a slouthfulnesse directly contrary to the mercy of God. But whereas some object, that in wishing the coming of the kingdome of God, we do also aske the putting away of sinne : that is to childsh, because in the first table of this prayer is set forth vnto vs most hie perfection, but in this part is set forth our weakenesse. So these two things do fitly agree together, that in a spring toward the marke we despise not the remedies which our necessitie requireth. Finally we pray that we may be forgeue as we our selues do forgeue our dettors, that is, as we do forgeue and pardon all of whome soeuer we haue bene in any thing offended, either vniustly handled in deede, or reprochefully vsed in word. Not that it lieth in vs to pardon the guiltinesse of the fault and offense, which pertaineth to God alone : but this is our forgeuing, of our owne willingnesse to lay away out of our minde wrath, hatred, and desire of reuengement, and with voluntary forgetfulnesse to treade vnder fote the remembrance of iniuries. Wherefore we may not aske forgettenesse of sinnes at the hande of God, if we do not also forgeue their offenses toward vs which either do or haue done vs wrong. But if we kepe any hatreds in our hartes, and purpose any reuengementes and imagine by what occasion we may hurt, yea and if we do not endeour to come into fauor againe with our enemies, & to deserue well of them with all kinde of frendly doings, and to winne them vnto vs : we do by this prayer beseeche God that he do not forgeue vs. For we require that he graunt to vs the same forgeuenesse which we graunt to other. But this is to pray that he graunt it not to vs, vnlesse we graunt it to them. Whoso therefore be such, what do they obtain by their prayer but a more greuous iudgement? Last of all it is to be noted, that this condition that he forgeue vs as we forgeue our dettors, is not herefore added for that we deserue his forgeuenesse by the forgeuenesse which we graunt to other, as if that cause of forgeuenesse to vs were there expresse: but by this worde partly the Lordes will was to comforte the weakenesse of our Faith, for he added this as a signe whereby we may be assured that he hath as surely graunted to vs forgeuenesse of our sinnes, as we surely knowe in our conscience that we haue graunted the same to other, if our minde be voide and cleansed of all hatred, enuie and reuengement, and partly by this as it were by a marke, he wipeth them out of the number of his children that they may not be bolde to call vpon him as their Father, which being hedlong hasty to reuenge, and

hardily

hardily entreated to pardon, do vse stiffly continuing enmities, and do cherish in themfelues the same displeasure towarde other which they pray to be turned from themfelues. Which is also in Luke exprefly spoken in the wordes of Christ.

46 The fixt petition (as we haue faid) aunswereith to the promise of engrauing the lawe of God in our hartes. But becaufe we do not without continuall warrefare and hard and great ftiruiings obey to God, we do here pray to be furnifhed with fuch wepons and defended with fuch fuccor, that we may be able to get the victorie: whereby we are warned that we ftande in neede not onely of the grace of the Spirit, which may foften, bowe, and direct our hartes to the obedience of God, but alfo of his helpe, whereby he may make vs vnuincible againft both all the traiterous entrappings and violent conflicts of Satan. But now of tentations there are many and diuerfe fortes. For, both the peruerfe thoughtes of minde prouoking vs to trefpaffing againft the lawe, which either our owne luft doth minifter vnto vs, or the deuell ftirreth vp, are tentatiōs: and alfo thofe things which of their owne nature are not euell, yet by the craft of the deuell are made tentations, when they are fo fet before our eyes, that by the occafion of them we be drawn away or do fwarue from God. And thefe tentations are either on the right hande or on the left. On the right hand, as richesse, power, honors, which commonly do with their gliftering and fhewe of good fo dafell the fight of men, and catche them with the baited hoke of their flatterings, that being entrapped with fuch deceites, or droonke with fuch fweteneffe, they may forget their God. On the left hande, as pouertie, reproches, defpifinges, troubles, and fuch other: that they being greued with the bitterneffe and hardneffe thereof may be vtterly discouraged, caft away faith and hope, and finally be altogether efranged from God. To thefe tentations of both fortes, which fight with vs either being kindled in vs by our owne luft, or being fet againft vs by the craft of Satan, we pray to our heauenly Father that he fuffer vs not to yelde. But rather that he vpholde vs and raife vs vp with his hande, that being ftrong by his ftrengh, we may ftande faft againft all the affaultes of the malicious enemy, whatfoeuer thoughtes he put into our minde: then, that whatfoeuer is fet before vs on either fide, we may turne it to good, that we neither be puffed vp with prosperitie, nor throwen downe with aduerfite. Neither yet do we here require that we may fele no tentatiōs at all, with which we haue great neede to be ftirred vp, pricked, & pinched, leaft by to much reffe we growe dull. For not in vaine did Dauid wifhe to be tempted: & not without

Iam 1.
2. & 14.
Matt 4.
1. and 3.

2. Thef.
3. 5.

Pfa. 26.

Cap. 20. Of the maner how to receiue

Gen. 22. caue the Lorde daily tempteth his electe, chastising them by shame,
 1. pouertie, trouble, and other kindes of crosse. But God tempteth after
 Deut. 8. one maner and Satan after an other : Satan, to destroy, damne, con-
 2. & 13. founde and throwe downe hedlong : but God, that by prouing them
 3. that be his he may haue a triall of their vnfaignednesse, and by exerci-
 sing them may confirme their strength, to mortifie purge by fier, and
 seare their flesh, which vnlesse it were in this wise restrained, would
 waxe wanton and would wildly outrage aboue measure. Moreouer
 1. Cor. Satan assaileth men vnarmed and vnredy, that he may oppresse them
 10. 13. vnware : God euen with tépting worketh the effecte, that they which
 be his may patiently beare whatsoeuer he sendeth vpon them. By
 the name of the Euell, whether we vnderstande the Deuell or sinne,
 2. Pet. 2. it maketh litle matter. Satan in deede himself is the enemy that lieth
 9. in waite for our life : but with sinne he is armed to destroy vs. This
 1. Pet. 5. therefore is our request, that we may not be ouercome or ouerwhel-
 8. med with any tentations, but may by the power of the Lorde stande
 strong against all contrary powers wherewith we are assailed : which
 is, not to yelde vs vanquished to tentations, that being receiued into
 his keeping and charge, & being safe by his protection we may endure
 vnouercome ouer sinne, death, the gates of hel, and the whole king-
 dome of the deuill : which is to be deliuered from euell. Where it is
 also to be diligently marked, that it is aboue our strength to matche
 with the deuill so great a warrier, and to beare his force and violéce.
 Otherwise we should but vainely or as it were in mockage at ke that
 which we had already in our selues. Surely, they which prepare them
 to such a battell with trust of themselves, do not sufficiently vnder-
 stande with howe fierce and well armed an enemy they haue to do.
 Nowe we pray to be deliuered from his power, as out of the mouth
 of a mad & raging Lyon, whereas we should be torne in peeces with
 Psa. 60. his teeth and pawes, and swallowed with his throte, vnlesse the Lorde
 14. do deliuer vs out of the middest of death : yet therewithall knowing
 this that if the Lorde shall stande by vs, and fight for vs when we are
 ouerthrowen, we shall in his strength shewe strength. Let other trust
 as they list to their owne abilities and strengthes of free will, which
 they thinke that they haue of themselves : but let it suffice vs that we
 stand and are strong by the onely strength of God. But this prayer
 containeth more than at the first sight it beareth in shewe. For if the
 Spirit of God be our strength to fight out our combate with Satan,
 we shall not be able to get the victorie vntill we being filled with
 that Spirit shall haue put of all the weakenesse of our flesh. When
 therfore we pray to be deliuered from Satan and the Deuell, we pray

to bee from time to time enriched with newe encreases of the grace of God, till being fully stuffed with them we may triumph ouer all euell. It semeth hard and rough to some, that we craue of God that he leade vs not into tentation, forasmuch as it is contrary to his nature to tempt, as Iames witnesseth. But this question is already partly assailed, where we said that our owne lust is properly the cause of all the tentations wherewith we are ouercome, and therefore worthily bereth the blame therof. Neither doth Iames meane any thing elis, **Iames.** but that the faultes are without cause & wrongfully layed vpon God, **1.13.** which we are driuen to impute to our selues, because we knowe our selues in our conscience guilty of them. But this withstandeth not but that God may when it pleaseth him make vs bonde to Satan, cast vs away into a reprobate sence, and to filthy lustes, and so leade vs into tentation by his iudgemēt which is righteous in detde but yet oftentimes secret: forasmuch as the cause of it is often hidde from men, which is yet certainly knowen with him. Whereupon is gathered that this is no vnfit maner of speaking, if we be perswaded that he doth not without cause so oft threaten, that when the reprobate shalbe stricken with blindnesse and hardening of harte, these shalbe sure tokens of his vengeance.

47 These three petitions, wherewith we do peculiarly cōmende vs and our things to God, do euidently shewe this which we haue before said, that the prayers of Christians ought to be common and to tend to the common edifying of the Chirch, and to the encrease of the communion of the faithfull. For there doth not euery man pray to haue any thing priuatly geuen, but all in common together do pray for Our bred, for forgeuennesse of sinnes, that we may not be led into tentation, that we may be deliuered from euill. There is furthermore adioined a cause why we haue both so great boldnesse to aske, and so great trust to obtaine: which although it be not in *ſ* latine copies, yet it agreeth more fitly in this place thā that it should seeme worthy to be omitted, namely that his is the kingdome, and the power and the glorie for euer. This is the perfect and quiet rest of our soule. For if our prayers were to be commended to God by their owne worthinesse, who should be so bolde, as ones to open his mouth before him? Nowe howsoeuer we be most miserable, howsoeuer most vnworthy of all men, howsoeuer voide of all commendation: yet we shall neuer want cause to pray, & neuer be destitute of confidence: forasmuch as our father can not haue his kingdome, power, and glorie taken away from him. At the ende is added Amen, whereby is expressed our seruentnesse of desire to obtaine those things that we haue asked of

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God, and our hope is confirmed that all such things are already obtained and shall surely be geue vs because they are promised of God, which can not deceiue. And this agreeth with that maner of prayer which we haue here before rehearsed, Do it Lorde for thy names sake, not for our sakes or our righteousnesse : whereby the holy ones do not only expresse the ende of their praiers, but also confesse that they are vnworthy to obtaine vnlesse God fetch the cause from himself, and that their trust to speede cometh of the onely nature of God.

Mat.17.
5.

48 Thus haue we whatsoeuer we ought yea or in any wise may aske of God, set foorth in this forme and as it were a rule of praying taught by the best scholemaister Christ, whome the Lorde hath set ouer vs to be our teacher, & whom alone he hath willed to be harke-

Esa.11.
2.

ned vnto. For he both alway hath bene his eternall wisdome, and being made man is geuen to men the Angell of great counsell. And this prayer is in all pointes, so fully perfect, that whatsoeuer foreyne or strange thing is added which can not be referred to it, it is vngodly and vnworthy to be allowed of God. For in this summe he hath set forth, what is mete for him, what is pleasing to him, what is necessary for vs, finally what he will graunt. Wherefore who so dare go further, and to aske any thing of God beside these, first they will adde of their owne to the wisdome of God (which can not be done without mad blasphemie) then they holde not themselves vnder the will of God, but despising it do with gredinesse wander further : finally they shall neuer obtaine any thing, forasmuch as they pray without faith, And there is no dout that all such prayers are made without faith, because here wanteth the woord of God, vpon which vnlesse faith be grounded, it can in no wise stande. But they which forsaking the maisters rule, do followe their owne desires, are not only without the word of God, but also so much as they be able with their whole endeuor, are against it. Therefore Tertullian no lesse fitly than truly hath called this a lawefull prayer, secretely signifying that all other are lawelesse and vnlawefull.

See Augustine.
Of prayer
to
Proba.

De fuga
in persecut.

49 We would not haue these things so taken as though we were so bound with this forme of prayer, that we may not change a word or a sillable. For there are echewhere red many prayers in the Scriptures, farre differing from this in woordes, yet written by the same Spirit, and which are at this day profitable to be vsed of vs. Many are continually put into the mouthes of the faithfull by the same Spirit, which in likenesse of wordes do not so much agree. This onely is our meaning in so teaching, that no man should seke, loke for, or aske any other thing at all than that which is summarily comprehended in this prayer,

prayer, and which though it most differ in wordes yet differeth not in sense. Like as it is certaine that all the prayers which are found in the Scriptures, and which do come out of godly hartes, are applied to this, so verily none can any where be found, which may match, much lesse passe, the perfectnesse of this prayer. Here is nothing left out, that might be thought vpon to the praises of God, nothing that ought to come into the minde of man for his owne profites: and the same so fully that all hope is worthily taken away from all men to attempt to make any better. In a summe, let vs remembre that this is the doctrine of the wisdome of God, which hath taught what he willed, and willed what was needefull,

so But although we haue aboue sayed, that we ought alway to breath vpwarde with minds lifted vp to God, & pray without ceassing: yet forasmuch as such is our weakenesse, as needeth to bee vpholden with many helpes: such is our dullenesse, as needeth to be pricked forward with many spurres: it is good that euery one of vs appoint to himself priuately certaine houres which may not passe away without prayer, and which may haue the whole affections of our minde thoroughly busied to that purpose: as, when we rise in the morning, before that we go to our dayes worke, when we sitt downe to meate, when we haue bene fedde by the blessing of God, when we take vs to rest. Onely let this not be a superstitious obseruing of houres, by which, as paying a taske to God, we may think our selues discharged for the other houres: but a training of our weakenes, wherby it may so be exercised and from time to time stirred vp. Specially we ought carefully to loke that so oft as either we our selues are in distresse, or we se other to be in distresse with any hardnesse of aduersitie, we runne streight way to him, not with feete but with hartes: then, that we suffer not any prosperitie of our owne or other mens, to passe but that we testifie that we acknowledge it to bee his with praise and thankesgeuing. Finally, this is diligently to bee obserued in all prayer, that we go not about to binde God to certaine circumstances, nor to appoint to him, what he shall do, at what time, in what place, and in what maner: as by this prayer we are taught to make to him no lawe, nor to appoint to him any conditon, but to leaue to his will that those things which he will do, he may do in what maner, at what time, and in what place it pleaseth him. Wherefore ere we make any prayer for our selues, we first pray that his will be done: where we do already submitt our will to his: with which when it is restrained as with a bridle put vpon it, it may not presume to bring God into rule, but make him the iudge and gouernor of all her desires.

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51 If we do with mindes framed to this obediēce, suffer our selues to be ruled with the lawes of Gods Prouidēce, we shall easily learne to continue in prayer, and with longing desires patiently to waite for the Lord: being assured that although he appeare not, yet he is alway present with vs, and will when he seeth his time declare howe not deasse eares he gaue to the prayers, which in the eyes of men seemed to be despised. And this shalbe a most present comfort, that we faint not and fall downe by despaire, if at any time God do not aunswere at our first requestes. Like as they are wont to do, which while they are caried with their sodeine heate, do so call vpon God, that if he come not to them at their first brutes & bring them present helpe, they by and by imagine him to be angry and hatefully bent against them, and casting away all hope of obtaining do cesse to call vpon him. But rather differing our hope with a well tempered euennesse of minde, let vs go forwarde in that perseuerance which is so much commended to vs in Scriptures. For in the Psalmes we may oftentimes see howe Dauid and other faithfull men, when they seeme in a maner wried with praying, did beate the aire, because they threwe away their words to God that heard them not, & yet they cesse not from praying: because the word of God hath not his full authoritie maintained, vnlesse the credite thereof bee set aboue all successes of things. Moreouer let vs not tempte God and prouoke him against vs being wried with our importunacie, which many vse to do, which doe nothing but indent with God vpon a certaine condition, and binde him to the lawes of their couenancing as though he were seruant to their desires: which if he doe not presently obey, they disdaine, they chafe, they carpe against him, they murmure, they turmoile. Therefore to such oftentimes in his furor he being angry graunteth that, which to other in his mercie he being favorable denieth: An example hereof are the children of Israell, for whome it had bene better not to haue bene heard of the Lorde, than with flesh to eate vp his wrath.

Nnm. 11
13.

52 But if yet at length after long loking for it our sense do not perceiue what we haue preuailed with praying, and feleth no fruite thereof: yet our faith shall assure vs of that, which can not be perceiued by sense, namely that we haue obtained that which was expedient for vs, forasmuch as the Lorde doth so ofte and so certainly take vpon him that he will haue care of our greues, after that they haue bene onces laide in his bosome. And so he will make vs to possesse aboundance in pouertie, comfort in affliction. For howsoeuer all other things do faile vs, yet God will neuer faile vs, which suffereth the

the waiting and patience of them that be his to be disappointed. He alone shall suffice vs in steede of all things, forasmuch as he conteineth in himselfe all good things, which he shall one day disclose vnto vs at the day of iudgement when he shall plainly shewe forth his kingdome. Beside this although God graunt to vs, yet he doth not alway aunswer according to the expresse forme of our request, but holding vs after outwarde seeminge in suspense, yet by a meane vnknowē he sheweth that our prayers were not wain. This is meant by the wordes of Iohn, If we knowe that he heareth vs when we aske any thing of him, we know that we haue the petitions which we aske of him. This seemeth a weake superfluousnesse of wordes: but it is a singularly profitable declaration, namely that God euen when he doth not follow our desires, is yet gentle & fauorable to our prayers, that the hope which resteth vpon his worde may neuer disappoint vs. But with this patience the faithfull do so farre neede to be sustained, that they should not long stand vnlesse they did stay vpon it. For the Lorde doth by not light trialles proue them that be his, and not tenderly doth exercise them: but oftentimes driueth them into the greatest extremities, and when they are driuen thether he suffreth them long to sticke fast in the mire, ere he geue them any tast of his swetenesse: and, as Hanna saith, he slayeth, and quickneth: he leadeth downe to the helles, and bringeth backe againe. What coulde they here do but be discouraged, and fall hedlonge into despaire: vnlesse when they are in distresse and desolate and already halfe dead, this thought did raise them vp, that God doth loke vpon them, and that there shall be at hande an ende of their euils? But howsoever they stande fast vpon the assurednesse of that hope, they ceasse not in the meane time to pray: because if there be not in prayer a stedfastnesse of continuance, we nothing preuaile with praying.

1. Iohn.
5. 15.

1 Sam.
2. 6.

The xxj. Chapter.

Of the eternall Election, vvhetherby God hath predestinate some to saluation, and other some to destruction.

BVt nowe whereas the couenant of life is not egally preached to all men, and with them to whome it is preached it doth not either egally or continually finde like place: in this diuersitie the wonderous deapth of the iudgement of God appeareth. For neither is it any dout but that this diuersitie also serueth the free choise of Gods eternall election. If it be euident that it is wrought by

the will of God that saluation is frely offred to some, and other some are debarred from cōming to it: here by and by arise great and hard questions which can not otherwise be discussed, than if the godly mindes haue that certainly stablished which they ought to holde concerning election and Predestination. This is (as many thinke) a comber some quethō. because they thinke nothing to be lesse reasonable thā of the cōmon multitude of men some to be foreordained to saluatiō, other some to destruction. But howe they wrongfully encombre themselues, shall afterwarde be euident by the framing of the matter together. Beside that in y very same darknesse which maketh men afraide, not onely the profitablenesse of this doctrine but also the most swete fruite sheweth forth it selfe. We shall neuer be clerely perswaded as we ought to be, that our saluation floweth out of the fountaine of the free mercy of God, till his eternall electiō be knowē to vs, which by this comparison brightly setteth forth the grace of God, that he doth not without difference adopt all into the hope of saluation, but geueth to some that which he denieth to other. How much the ignorāce of this principle diminisheth of the glory of God, how much it withdraweth from true humilitie, it is plaine to see. But Paule denieth that that which is so necessary to be knowē, is possible to be knowen, vnlesse God leauing altogether the respect of workes do chose them whom he hath determined with himself. In this time (saith he) the remnantes were saued according to free election. If by Grace, then not of workes: forasmuch as Grace should then not be

Rom. 11
5 grace. If of workes, then not of Grace: forasmuch as worke should nowe not be worke. If we must be brought backe to the beginning of election, that it may be certaine that saluation cometh to vs from no otherwhere than frō the mere liberalitie of God: they which will haue this principle quenched, do niggardly so much as in them lieth darken that which ought gloriously & with full mouth to haue bene published, and they plucke vp the very roote of humilitie. Paule, where the saluation of the remnant of the people is ascribed to free election, clerely testifieth that onely then it is knowen that God doth by his mere good pleasure saue whom he will, and not render rewarde which can not be done. They which shutt the gates, that none may be bolde to come to the tasting of this doctrine, do no lesse wrong to men than to God: because neither shall any other thing suffice to hūble vs as we ought to be, neither shall we otherwise feelee from our hart how much we are boude to God. Neither yet is there any otherwhere the vpholding stay of sounde affiāce, as Christ himselfe teacheth, which to deliuer vs from all feare, & to make vs vnuā-

quishable

quishable among so many dangers, ambushes, & deadly battels, promiset^h y^e whatsoeuer he hath receiued of his Father to keepe, shall be safe. Whereof we gather that they shal with continuall trembling be miserable, whoſoeuer they be that knowe not themselves to be the proper possession of God: and therefore that they do very ill provide both for themselves & for all the faithfull, which in beinge blinde at these three profits which we haue touched, would with y^e whole foundation of our saluation to be quite taken from among vs. Moreouer hereby the Church appeareth vnto vs, which otherwise (as Bernard rightly teacheth) were not possible to be founde, nor to be knowen among creatures: because both waies in maruelous wise it lieth hidden within the bosome of blessed predestination, and within the Masse of miserable damnation. But ere I entre into the matter it self, I must before hande in two sortes speake to two sortes of men. That the entreating of predestination, whereas of it selfe it is somewhat combersome, is made very doutfull yea and dangerous, the curiosnes of men is the cause: which can by no stoppes be restrained from wandringe into forbidden compasses, and climbing vp an hie: which, if it may, wil leaue to God no secrete which it will not searche and turne ouer. Into this boldenesse and importunacie forasmuch as we commonly see many to runne headlong, and among those some that are otherwise not euill men: here is fit occasion to warne them what is in this behalfe the due meafute of their duty. First therfore let them remember, that when they enquire vpon Predestinatiō, they pearce into the secret cloisters of the wisdom of God: wherinto if any man do carelesly and boldly breake in, he shall both not attaine wherewith to satisfie his curiosnesse, and he shall entre into a mase whereof he shall finde no way to get out againe. For neither is it meete that man should freely search those things which God hath willed to be hidden in himself, and to turne ouer from very eternity the height of wisdom, which he willed to be honored & not be conceiued, that by it also he mought be maruelous vnto vs. Those secretes of his will which he hath determined to be opened vnto vs, he hath discioſed in his word: & he hath determined, so farre as he foresaw to pertaine to vs and to be profitable for vs.

Ioh. 10.

25.

Ser. in
Cāt. 78.

2 We are come (saith Augustine) into y^e way of Faith, let vs steadfastly holde it. It bringeth into the Kinges chamber, in which all the treasures of knowledge and wisdom are hidden. For, the Lorde himselfe Christ did not enuy his excellent & most chosen disciples, when he said, I haue many thinges to be said to you, but ye can not beare them now. We must walke, we must profit, we must encrease, that our

Homil.
in Ioh.

35.
Iohn. 8.

26.

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hartes may be able to conceiue those things which now we can not conceiue. If the last day finde vs profitinge, there we shall learne that which here we could not. If this thought be of force with vs, that the word of the Lord is the only way, that may leade vs to searche whatsoever is lawfull to be learned of him: that it is the only light, which may giue vs light to see whatsoever we ought to see of him: it shall easily holde backe and restraine vs from all rashnesse. For we shall know that so soone as we be gone out of the bounds of the word, we runne out of the way, and in darkenesse, in which race we must nedes oftentimes stray, slippe, and stumble. First therefore lette this be before our eyes, that to couet any other knowledge of Predestination than that which is set forth by the word of God, is a point of no lesse madnesse than if a man haue a will to goe by an vnpassable waye, or to see in darkenesse. Neither let vs be ashamed, to be ignorant of somewhat in it wherein there is some learned ignorance. But rather let vs willingly abstaine from the searching of that knowledge, whereof the excessiue coueting is both foolish and perillous, yea & deadly. But if the wantonnes of wit prouoke vs, it shalbe profitable alway to set this against it, whereby it may be beaten backe, that as too much of honey is not good, so the searchinge of glory doth not turne vnto glory to the curious. For there is good cause why we shoulde be fraied away from that boldnes, which can do nothinge but throw vs downe headlong into ruine.

Pro. 25.
27.

3 There be other which when they haue a will to remedy this euill, do commaund all mentiō of Predestination to be in a maner buried, at the least they teach me to flee from euery maner of questioning thereof as from a rocke. Although the moderatiō of these men be herein worthily to be praised, that they iudge y^e mysteries shoulde be tasted of wth such sobriety: yet because they descend too much beneath the meane, they litle preuaile with the wit of man, which doth not lightly suffer it selfe to be restrained. Therefore, y^e in this behalfe also we may keepe a right ende, we must returne to the word of the Lord, in which we haue a sure rule of vnderstandinge. For, the Scripture is the schoole of the holy Ghost, in which as nothing is left out which is both necessary and profitable to be knowne, so nothinge is taught but that which is behouefull to learne. Whatsoever therefore is vttered in the Scripture cōcerning Predestination, we must beware that we debarre not the faithfull from it, least we should seme either enuiously to defraude them of the benefite of their God, or to blame and accuse the holy Ghost who hath published those thinges, which it is in any wise profitable to be suppressed. Let vs (I say) giue leaue to

a Christian man, to open his minde and his eares to all the sayings of God which are directed to him, so that it be done with this temperance, that so soone as the Lord hath closed his holy mouth, he may also foreclose to himself all ſy way to enquire further. This shalbe the best bound of sobriety, if not onely in learninge we alway follow the Lord going before vs, but also when he maketh an end of teaching, Pro. 23. 31. we cease to will to learne. Neither is the danger which they feare of so great importāce, that we ought therefore to turne away our mindes from the oracles God. Notable is the sayinge of Salomon, that the glory of God is to conceale a word. But sith both godlinesse and common reason teacheth that this is not generally meant of euery thing, we must seeke a difference, least brutish ignorance should please vs ynder colour of modesty and sobriety. That differēce is in few words plainly set out by Moses: To the Lord our God (sayth he) belong his secretes: but to vs and to our children he hath disclosed these things. Deu. 29. 29. For we see how he commendeth to the people the study of the doctrine of the law, only by reason of the decree of God, because it pleased God to publish it: & how he withholdeth ſy people within those boundes, by this only reason because it is not lawful for mortall men to thrust themselues into the secrets of God.

4 Prophane men (I graunt) do in the matter of Predestination sodaynly catch hold of somewhat which they may carp, or cauil, or barke, or scoffe at. But if their waiwardnes do fray vs away from it, the chief articles of the faith must be kept secret, of which there is almost none which they or such as they be do leaue vntouched with blasphemy. A froward wit will no lesse proudly outrage when he heareth that in the essence of God there are three persons, than if he heare that God foresaw what shoulde become of man when he created him. Neither will they abstaine from laughinge, when they shall vnderstande that there is lile more than fise thousand yeres passed since the creation of the world: for they will aske why the power of God was so longe idell and a slepe. Finally there can be nothinge brought forth, which they will not scoffe at. For the restraining of these sacrileges, must we holde our peace of the Godheade of the Sonne, & of the hely Ghost? or must we passe ouer in silence the creatiō of the world? Yea but the trueth of God is both in this behalfe and euery where mightier than that it neede to feare the euill speakinge of the wicked: as Augustine Cap 15 vsque ad 10. strongly maintaineth in his worke of the good of Perseuerance. For we see that the false Apostles could not by defaming and sclandering the true Doctrīne of Paule, make him to be ashamed of it. But whereas they saye that this whole disputation is perillous also for Godly

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Debo- because it maketh against exhortatiōs, because it shaketh faith
no per- because it troubleth the heart it selfe: this is vaine. Augustine sticketh
seuer. not to confesse that for these causes he was wont to be blamed, for
cap. 14. that he did to freely preach Predestination: but, as he had in readines
wherewithal, he largely confuteth the. But we, because many & diuers
absurdities are thrust into this place, had rather to reserue euery
one to be wiped away in place fit for it. Only this I desire generally to
obtaine of them, that those things which the Lorde hath layd vp in
secret, we may not search: those things which he hath brought openly
abroade, we may not neglect: least either on the one part we be con-
demned of vaine curiosity, or on the other part, of vnthankfulnesse.

Lib. 5. For, this also is very well sayd of Augustine, that we may safely fol-
de Gen. low the Scripture, which as with a motherly pace goeth stoupingely;
ad lite. least it shoulde forsake our weakenesse. But who so are so ware and so
fearefull that they woulde haue Predestination to be buried, least it
should trouble weake soules: with what colour, I beseech you, wil they
couer their arrogance, when they indirectly accuse God of foolishhe
vnaduisednesse, as though he forsaue not the danger, which they think
themselues to haue wisely met with? Whosoeuer therefore trauailerth
to bring the doctrine of Predestination into misliking, he openly saith
euill of God: as though somewhat had vnaduisedly slipped from him
which is hurtful to the Church.

¶ Predestination wherby God adopteth some into y hope of life, &
iudgeth some to eternal death, no man that would be accōpted godly
dare simply deny: But they wrap it vp with many cauillations, specia-
lly they which make foreknowledge the cause of it. We in deede do
say that they be both in God, but we say that the one is wrongfully
made subiect to the other. When we giue foreknowledge to God, we
meane that all things alway haue bin and perpetually do remaine vn-
der his eies, so that to his knowledge there is nothinge to come or
past, but all thinges are present, & so present that he doth not imagine
only by conceiued formes (as those things are present to vs, whereof
our minde holdeth fast the remembrance) but he truely beholdeth &
seeth them as set before him. And this foreknowledge extendeth to
the whole compasse of the world and to all creatures. Predestination
we call the eternal decree of God, wherby he had it determined with
himselfe what he willed to become of euery man. For al are not crea-
ted to like estate: but to some, eternall life, and to some, eternall dam-
nation is foreappointed. Therefore as euery man is created to the
one or other ende, so we say that he is predestinate either to life or to
death. But this predestination God hath not onely testified in euery
seuerall

seuerall person, but hath shewed an example therof in the whole issue of Abraham, whereby might plainly appeare that it lieth in his will what shalbe the estate of euery nation. When the Hiest diuided the nations, and seuered the children of Adam, his part was the people of Israell, the corde of his inheritance. The separation is before the eyes of all men: in the person of Abraham as in a drie stocke one people is peculiarly chosen, all other being refused: but the cause appeareth not, sauinge that Moses, to cut of all occasion of glorying from posterity, teacheth that they excell only by $\bar{y}$ fre loue of God. For he assigneth this to be the cause of their deliuerance, for that God loued the Fathers, and chose their seede after them. More plainly in another chapter: He was pleased in you to chose you, not because you passed other nations in number, but because he loued you. The same admonition is often repeated with him, Behold, to the Lord thy God belongeth the heauen, the earth, and whatsoever things are in it: and he hath pleased himselfe only in your Fathers, and hath loued them, & hath chosen you their seede. Againe in another place sanctification is commaunded them, because they are chosen to be a peculiar people. And againe in another place, Loue is affirmed to be $\bar{y}$ cause of protection. Which also the faithfull do declare with one voice, sayinge: He hath chosen for vs our inheritance, the glory of Iacob, whom he hath loued. For they do all impute to free loue al the giftes wherwith they were garnished of God: not only because they knew that they themselves had obtained the by no desertings, but also that euen the holy Patriarch was not endued with such vertue, that he coulde purchase to himselfe and his posterity so great a prerogatiue of honor. And, the more strongly to treade downe all pride, he vpbraided them that they haue deserued no such thing, forasmuch, as they are a stubborne & hard necked people. And oftentimes $\bar{y}$ Prophets do hatefully & as by way of reproch cast the Iewes in the teeth with this election, because they had fowly departed from it. Whatsoeuer it be, now let the come forth which will binde the election of God either to the worthines of men, or to the merites of works. When they see one nation to be preferred before all other, & when they heare $\bar{y}$ God was led with no respect to be more fauorably bet to a few & vnnoble, yea & froward and disobedient men: will they quarell with him, because his will was to shewe such an example of mercy? But they shall neither with their prating voices hinder his work, nor with throwing stones of tauntes into heauen shall hit or hurt his righteousness, but rather they shal fall backe vpon their owne heads. Moreouer the Israelits are called backe to this principle of the free couenant, wheither thanks

Deu. 32

8.

Deu. 4.

37-

Deut. 7.

8.

Deu. 10

14.

Deu. 23

5.

Psa. 47.

5.

Deut. 9.

6.

are to be giuē to God, or their hope to be raised vp against the time to come. He made vs, & not we our selues (saith y^e Prophet) his people and the sheepe of his pastures. The negatiue is not superfluous, which is added to exclude vs, that they may knowe y^e of all the good things wherewith they excell, God is not onely the author, but fetched the cause thereof from himselfe, because there was nothing in them worthy of so great honor. Also he biddeth them to be contented with the mere good pleasure of God, in these words, The seede of

Psa. 105
6. Abraham are his seruantes: the children of Iacob, his elect. And after that he hath rehearsed the cōtinual benefits of God as fruites of the election, at length he cōcludeth, that he dealt so liberally because he remembred his couenant. With which doctrine agreeth the song of

Psal. 44
4. the whole Church, Thy right hand and the light of thy countenance gaue the land to our Fathers, because thou wast pleased in them. But it is to be noted, that where mētion is made of the land, it is a visible signe of the secret seuering wherin the adoption is cōtained. To the same thankfulnessse Dauid in an other place exhorterth the people,

Psal. 33
12. saying, Blessed is the natiō whose God the Lord is, the people which he hath chosen for an inheritance to himselfe. And Samuēll encourageth them to good hope, saying, The Lord will not forsake you, for
1. Sa. 20
23. his owne great names sake, because it pleased him to create you for a people to himselfe. Likewise Dauid when his faith is assailed, armeth

Psal. 65
5. himselfe to fight, sayinge, Blessed is he whome thou hast chosen, he shall dwell in thy courtes. But forasmuch as the election hidden in God was stablished as well by the first deliuerance as by the second, and other meane benefites: in Esay the word of Electing is transferred to this. God shall haue mercy on Iacob, and he shall yet choose out of Israell: because he signifying the time to come, sayth that the gathering together of the remnant of the people which he seemed to haue forsaken, shalbe a signe of the stable and stedfast election, which ones seemed to haue bin fallen away. When also it is sayd in an other

Esa. 41.
9. place, I haue chosen thee & haue not cast thee away: he setteth out the continuall course of the notable liberality of his fatherly good
Zach. 1
12. will. And yet more plainely the Angell sayth in Zacharie, God shall yet choose Ierusalem: as though in hardly chastinge it, he had reiectēd it: or as though the exile were an interruptinge of the election: which yet remaineth inuiolable, although y^e signes therof do not alway appeare.

6 There is to be added a secōd degree more narrowly restrained, or in which was seene a more speciall grace of God: when of the same kinred of Abraham God refused some, & other some by nourishing

rishinge them in the Church he shewed that he reteined amonge his childrē. Ismael had at y^e beginning obtained egall degre with his brother Isaac, because the spirituall couenant had bin no lesse sealed in him by the signe of Circūcision. He is cut off; and then, Esau: at the last an innumerable multitude and almost Israell. In Isaac was the seede called: the same calling endured in Iacob. A like exāple God shewed in reiecting Saul: which thing is also gloriously set forth in the Psalm, He hath put backe the tribe of Ioseph, & y^e tribe of Ephraim he hath not chosen, but he hath chosen the tribe of Iuda. Which the holy history diuerse times repeateth, that the wonderfull secret of the grace may the better appeare in this change. Ismaell, Esau, and such other, (I graunt) fell from the adoption by their owne fault & giltines: because there was a condition adioined, that they should faithfully kepe the couenant of God, which they falsely brake. But this was yet a singular benefit of God, that he vouchsafed to preferre thē about the other Gentiles: as it is said in y^e Psalme, He hath not so done to other nations, nor hath opened his iudgements to them. But here I haue not without cause said that there be two degrees to be noted: because now in the choosinge of the whole nation God shewed that he is in his owne mere liberality bounde to no lawes: but he is free, so that egall portion of grace is not to be required at his hand: the vnequality whereof sheweth that it is truely of free gift. Therefore Malachie amplifieth the vnthankfulness of Israel, because they being not only chosen out of all mankinde, but also seuered out of a holy house to be a peculiar people, do vnfaithfully and wickedly despise God so beneficiall a Father. Was not Esau the brother of Iacob? (saith he) & yet Iacob I loued, but Esau I hated. For, God taketh it for confessed, that when either of them was borne of a holy Father, and successour of the couenaunt, finally a branch of the holy roote: now the children of Iacob were more than cōmonly bond, which were taken into that dignity. But when, Esau the first begotten being refused, their Father which was by nature inferiour was made the heire, he proueth them doublely vnthankfull, and complaineth that they were not holden with that double bound.

7 Although it be already sufficiently euident, that God doth by his secreete counsell freely choose whom he will, reiectinge other, yet his free election is hitherto but halfe shewed, till we come to all particular persones, to whome God not onely offereth saluation, but so assigneth it that the certainty of the effect therof is not in suspense or doutfull. For, these are accounted in that onely seede, whereof Paule maketh mention. For although the adoption was left in the

psa. 78.
62.

psa. 47.
20.

Mal. 1.2

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hand of Abraham, yet because many of his posterity were cut of as rotten members: that the election may be effectually and truly steadfast, we must needs ascend to the head, in whom the heavenly Father hath bound together his elect one with another, & hath knit them to himselfe with a knot impossible to be loosed. So in the adoption of the kinred of Abraham, shined the liberall fauour of God, which he denied to other men: yet in the members of Christ, appeareth a much more excellent strength of grace, because they being grafted into their head do neuer fall away from saluation. Therefore Paul doth fitly reason out of the place of Malachy which I euen now alleaged: y where God with makinge a couenant of eternall life calleth any people to himselfe, there is in part a special maner of election, that he doth not choose all effectually with common grace. Whereas it is sayd, I haue loued Iacob, this pertaineth to y whole issue of the Patriarch, which the Prophet there setteth in comparison against the posterity of Esau. Yet this withstandeth not but that in the person of one man was set forth to vs an example of the election, which can not slip away but must come to the marke that it tendeth to. These Paul doth not vainly note to be called remnantes: because experience teacheth that of a great multitude many slide and vanish away, so that oftentimes there remaineth but a small portion. But why the generall election of a people is not alway firme & steadfast, there is a reason offering it selfe in readinesse: because with whom God couenanteth he doth not by-and-by giue to them the Spirite of regeneration, by the power whereof they may continue in the couenant to the ende: but the outward changinge without the inward effectuallynesse of grace, which might be of force to holde them in, is a certaine meane thinge betwene the forsaking of whole mankind, and the election of a small number of the Godly. The whole people of Israel was called the inheritance of God, of whom yet there were many strangers. But because God had not for nothinge made couenant with them that he woulde be their Father and redeemer, he rather hath respect to his owne free fauour than to the vnfaithfull falling away of many: by whom also his truth was not abolished: because where he reserued any remnant, it appeared that his callinge was without repentance. For whereas God did from time to time choose vnto himselfe a Church rather out of the children of Abraham, than out of the prophane nations, he had regard to his couenant, which being broken of the whole multitude he restrained to a few, that it should not vtterly fall away. Finally the common adoption of the seede of Abraham was a certaine visible image of a greater benefit, which God hath vouchsafed to graunt to
few

few out of many. This is the reason why Paule so diligently putteth difference betwene the children of Abraham according to the flesh, and his spirituall children which were called after the example of Isaac. Not that it was a vaine and vnfrutesfull thinge simply to be the childe of Abraham (which might not be sayd without dishonor of the couenant) but because the vnchangeable counsell of God, whereby he hath predestinate whom he would, is by it selfe effectuall only to this later sorte vnto saluation. But I warne the readers that they bringe not a foreconceiued iudgement on either side, till it appeare by the places of Scripture brought forth what is to be thought. That therefore which the Scripture clearly sheweth, we say that God by eternall and vnchangeable counsell hath ones appointed whome in time to come he would take to saluation, and on the other side whom he would condemne to destruction. This counsell as touching the elect, we say to be grounded vpon his free mercy without any respect of the worthinesse of man: but whom he appointeth to damnation, to them by his iust in dede and irreprehensible, but also incomprehensible iudgement, the entry of life is foreclosed. Now in the elect we set vocation, to be the testimony of Election: & then iustification to be another signe of the manifest shewing of it, til they come to glory wherein is the fullfilling of it. But as by vocation and election God maketh his elect: so by shutting out the reprobate either from the knowledge of his name or from the sanctification of his Spirite, he doth as it were by these markes open what iudgement abideth for them. I will here passe ouer many fained inuentions, which foolish men haue forged to ouerthrowe predestination. For they nede no confutation, which so sone as they are brought forth do largely bewray their owne falsenesse. I will tary only vpon those, which either are in controuersie among the learned, or which may bring any hardinesse to the simple, or which vngodlinesse with faire seeming show pretendeth, to scoffe at the righteousnesse of God.

The xxij. Chapter.

A confirmation of this doctrine by testimonies of the Scripture.

AL these thinges which we haue set are not without controuersie amonge many, specially the free election of the faithfull: which yet can not be weakened. For the common sorte do thinke that God, as he foreseeth that euery mannes deseruings shalbe, so maketh difference betwene men: that therefore whome he foreknoweth that they shalbe not vnworthy of his grace,

them he adopteth into place of children : and whose natures he espieeth that they will be bent to wickednesse and vngodlinesse, them he appointeth to the damnation of death. So by clokinge it with the veile of foreknowledge they do not onely darken election, but faine that it hath beginninge from else where. And this opinion receiued of the common sorte is not the opinion of the common sorte alone: for in all ages it hath had great maintainers. Which I do plainly confesse, to the entent that no manne shoulde trust that it shall much hurt our cause if their names be objected against vs. For, the trueth of God herein is more certaine, than that it may be shaken more cleare, than that it may be darkened with the authority of menne. But some other neither exercised in the Scripture, nor worthy of any voice, do raile at this doctrine with greater malicioussnesse, than that their frowarde pride ought to be suffered. Because God choosinge some after his owne wil, leauerh other some, they picke a quarrell against him. But if the thinge it selfe be knowne for true, what shall they preuaile with brawlinge against God? We teach nothing but that which is approued by experience, that it was alway at liberty for God to bestowe his grace to whome he will. I will not enquire whereby the posterity of Abraham excelled other, but by that vouchsaunge, whereof there is founde no cause elsewhere than in God. Let them answere why they be men rather than oxen or asses. When it was in the hand of God to make them dogges, he fashioned them after his owne image. Will they giue leaue to brute beastes to quarell with God for their estate, as though the difference were vnrighteous? Truly it is no more righteous, that they shoulde enioy the prerogatiue which they haue obtained by no deseruings, than for God diuersly to deale abroade his benefites according to the measure of his owne iudgemēt. If they skippe ouer to persons, where the inequality is more hateful to the, at the least at the example of Christ they ought to be afraid to prate so boldely of so hie a mysterie. He is conceiued of the seede of Dauid, a mortall man: by what vertues wil they say that he deserued to be in the very wombe made the head of Angels, the onely begotten sonne of God, the image & glory of the Father, the light, righteousness, and saluation of the worlde? This thing Augustine wisely noted, that in the very head of the Church is a most cleare mirror of free election, least it should trouble vs in the members: and that he was not by righteously liuinge made the sonne of God, but y he had so great honor freely giuen him, that he might afterwarde make other partakers of his giftes. Here if any man aske why other were not the same that he was, or why all we are so farre distant

distant from him, why all we be corrupt and he purenes: such a man shall bewray not onely his madnesse but therewithal also his shamelesnesse. But if they go forward to labour to take from God the free power to chose and refuse, let them also take away that which is giuen to Christ. Now it is worth the trauaile to cōsider what the Scripture pronounceth of euery one. Paule verily, when he teacheth that we were chosen in Christ, taketh away all respect of our owne worthinesse. For it is all one as if he hadde sayd: because in the whole seede of Adam the heavenly father founde nothing worthy of his election, he turned his eies vnto his Christ, to choose as it were members out of his body them whom he woulde take into the felowship of life. Let this reason then be of force amonge the faithfull, that we were therefore adopted in Christ into the heavenly inheritance, because in our selues we were not able to receiue so great excellence. Which also he toucheth in an other place, when he exhorteth y Colossians to giuinge of thanks, for this that they were by God made fit to be partakers of the estate of the holy. If election go before this grace of God, that we be made fit to obtaine the glory of the life to come: what shall God himselte now finde in vs, whereby he may be moued to elect vs? My meaning shal yet be more openly expressed by an other sayinge of his. He hath chosen vs (sayth he) ere the fundatiōs of the world were laid, according to the good pleasure of his wil, that we might be holy, and vnspotted, and vnreprouable in his sight: where he setteth the good pleasure of God against all our deseruings whatsoeuer they be.

2 That the prooffe may be more stronge, it is worth the labour to note all the partes of that place, which beinge coupled together do leaue no dout. Where he nameth the elect, it is no dout that he speaketh to the faithfull, as he also by and by afterward affirmeth. Wherefore they do with too fowle a glose abuse that name, which wrest it to the age wherein the Gospell was first published. Where he sayth that they were elect before the beginninge of the worlde, he taketh away all respect of worthines. For, what reason of difference is there betwene them which yet were not, and those which after ward should in Adam be egall? Nowe if they be elect in Christ, it followeth that not only euery man is seuered without himse lfe, but also one of the from an other, forasmuch as we see that not all are the members of Christ. That which is added, that they were elect that they might be holy, plainly confuteth the error which deriueth election from foreknowledge, forasmuch as Paule crieth out against it and sayeth that whatsoeuer vertue appeareth in men, it is the effect of election.

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Now if a hier cause be sought, Paul answereth, that God hath so predestinate, yea and that according to the good pleasure of his will. In which wordes he ouerthroweth whatsoeuer meanes, of their election men do imagine in themselves. For he also teacheth that whatsoeuer thinges God giueth toward spirituall life, they flowe out of this one fountain, because God hath chosen whom he would, & ere they were borne he had seuerally layd vp for them the grace which he vouchsafed to giue them.

3 But wheresoeuer this pleasure of God reigneth, there no works come to be considered. He doth not here in deede pursue the comparison of contraries, but it is to be vnderstanded such as he himselfe declareth. He hath called vs (saith he) with a holy calling, not according to our workes, but according to his purpose & the grace which is giuen of Christ before the times of the world. And we haue already shewed that all dout is taken away in this which followeth, that we might be holy and vnspotted. For if thou say, because he foresaw that we should be holy, therefore he chose vs, thou shalt peruert the order of Paule. Thus therefore thou maist safely gather. If he chose vs that we might be holy: then he chose vs, not because he foresaw that we would be such. For these two thinges are contrary the one to the other: that the godly haue it of election that they be holy, and that they come to it by meane of workes. Neither is their cauillation here any thing worth to which they commonly flee, that the Lorde doth not render the grace of election to any workes goinge before, but yet graunteth it to workes to come. For when it is sayd that the faithfull were chosen, that they might be holy: therewithal is signified that the holinesse which was to come in them tooke beginninge at election. And how shall this saying agree together, that those thinges which are deriued from election gaue cause to election? The same thing which he sayd he seemeth afterwarde to confirme more strongly, where he saith, Accordinge to the purpose of his will which he had purposed in himselfe. For, to say that God purposed in himselfe, is as much in effect as if it had bin sayd, y without himselfe he considered nothing wherof he had any regard in decreing. Therefore he by and by addeth, that the whole summe of our election tendeth to this ende, that we should be to the praise of the grace of God. Truly the grace of God deserueth not to be praised alone in our electiō, vnlesse our election be free. But free it shall not be, if God in electing his, do cōsider what shalbe the workes of euery one. Therefore we finde that that which Christ said to his disciples, hath place vniuersally among all the faithful, Ye haue not chosen me, but I haue chose you. Where he not only excludeth

2.Tim.

9.

Eph. 1.

5.

Ioh. 15.

16.

excludeth deseruings past, but also signifieth that they had nothing in themselves why they shoulde be chosen, if he had not preuented them with his mercy. Like as this saying of Paule is also to be vnder-
 stood: Who first gaue to him, & shall receiue recompense? For he mea-
 neth to shewe that the goodnesse of God so preuenteth men, that it
 findeth nothing in them neither past nor to come, whereby he may be
 wonne to be fauorable to them. Rom. 11
35.

4 Now to the Romaines, where he fetcheth this questiō further
 of, & followeth it more largely, he denieth that all they are Israelites, Ro. 9. 6.
 which are issued of Israell: because although by right of inheritance
 they were all blessed, yet the succession did not egally passe to the al.
 The beginning of this disputation proceeded of the pride & deceitful
 glorying of the Iewish people. For when they claimed to themselves
 the name of the Church, they would haue y^e credit of the Gospell to
 hang vpon their will: as the Papistes at this day would gladly with this
 fained colour thrust themselves into the place of God. Paule, although
 he graunt that the offspring of Abraham is holy by reason of the co-
 uenant, yet affirmeth that the most part of them are strangers in it: &
 that not onely because they swarue out of kinde, so that of lawefull
 children they become bastardes, but because the especiall election of
 God standeth aboue & reigneth in the hiest top; which alone maketh
 the adoption thereof sure. If their owne godlines stablished some in
 the hope of saluation, & their owne falling away alone disherited o-
 ther some: Paul verily should both fondly and vnconueniently lift vpon
 the readers euen to the secret election. Nowe if the will of God (the
 cause wherof neither appeareth nor is to be sought without himselfe)
 maketh the one sort differing from the other, so that not all the chil-
 dren of Israell be true Israelites, it is vainly fained that euery mans e-
 state hath beginning in himselfe. Then he further followeth the mat-
 ter vnder the example of Iacob & Esau. For when they both were the
 sonnes of Abraham, both together enclosed in one mothers wombe,
 it was a mosterlike change that the honor of first birth was remoued
 to Iacob, by which change Paul affirmeth that there was testified the
 election of the one & the reprobation of the other. The originall &
 cause of it is enquired, which the teachers of foreknowledge will
 haue to be set out in the vertues, and vices of men. For this is an ea-
 sie short way with them, that God shewed in the person of Iacob, that
 he chooseth the worthy of his grace: and in the person of Esau, he re-
 fuseth them whom he foreseeeth to be vnworthy. Thus they say bold-
 ly. But what sayth Paule? when they were not yet borne, and hadde
 not done any good or euill, that according to election the purpose of

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Rom. 9. 11. God might abide, not of works, but of him that calleth, it is sayd, The elder shall serue the yonger: as it is wrytten, Iacob I haue loued, but Esau I haue hated. If foreknowledge were of any force in this difference of the brethren, then verily mention were vnfitly made of the time. Let vs graunt that Iacob was chosen, because he had worthines gotten by workes to come: to what purpose should Paule say that he was not yet borne? And this now should be vnaduisedly added, that he had yet done no good: because this shalbe a ready answer, that nothing is hidden from God, and that so the godlines of Iacob was present before him. If workes do win grace, they should then worthily haue had their price before that Iacob was borne as if he had bin growen to full age. But the Apostle goeth forward in vndoinge this knot, and teacheth that the adoption of Iacob was not made of workes, but of the calling of God. In workes he enterlaceth not the time to come or time past; & then he directly setteth them against the calling of God, meaning by stablishinge of the one expressly to overthrow the other: as if he had said that it is to be considered what hath pleased God, not what men haue brought of themselues. Last of all it is certaine that by the words of Election & Purpose, all causes whatsoever men are wont to saie elswhere than in the secret counsel of God, are quite remoued from this matter.

§ What colour wil they bring to darken these things, who in election assigne some place to workes either past or to come? For this is utterly to mocke out that which the Apostle affirmeth, that the difference of the brethren hangeth not vpon any consideration of workes, but vpon the mere calling of God: because it was put betwene them when they were not yet borne. Neither had he bin ignorant of this their fittelty, if it had had any soundnes in it: but because he very well knew, that God can foresee no goodnesse in man, but that which he hath first determined by his benefit of his election to giue him: he steeth not to that vnorderly order, to set good workes before the cause of themselues. Thus haue we by the words of the Apostle that the saluation of the faithful is founded vpon the will of the only election of God: & that the same fauour is not gotten by workes, but commeth of free calling. We haue also as it were an image of that thing set before vs. Esau & Iacob are brethren, issuing both of one the same parents, enclosed yet both in one wombe, not yet brought out into the world. In them all things are egall, yet of the judgement of God is diuerse. For he taketh the one & forsaketh the other. There was nothing but the only first birth, by right wherof the one excelled the other. But this also being passed ouer, that thing is giuen to the yonger which is denied

nied to the elder. Yea and in other also God seemeth alway as of set purpose to haue despised first birth, to cut of from the flesh all matter of glorying. Refusinge Ismaell, he cast his minde to Isaac. Pluckinge backe Manasse, he more honored Ephraim.

6 If any man interrupt me with saying that we must not by these inferiour & smal benefits determine of the summe of y life to come, that he which hath bin aduanced to the honor of first birth, shoulde therfore be reckened to be adopted into the inheritance of heauen: (for there be some which spare not Paul himselfe, as though in alleaging these testimonies he had wrested y Scripture to a strange sense:) I answer as I haue done herebefore, that y Apostle neither slipped by vnadvisednes, nor wilfully abused y testimonies of the Scripture. But he saw (which they can not abide to consider) that God minded by an earthly signe to declare the spiritual election of Iacob, which otherwise was hidden in his inaccessible throne. For vnles we refer the first birth graunted to him vnto the worlde to come, it shoulde be a vaine & fonde forme of blessing whereby he obtained nothinge but manifolde miseries, discommodities, grifefull banishment, and many bitternesse of sorrow and cares. Therefore when Paule sawe without douringe, that God by outward blessing testified the blessing which he had in his kingdom prepared spirituall and neuer decayinge for his seruant: he doubted not for prooffe of this spiritual blessing, to fetch an argument from that outward blessing. This also we must remember that to the land of Canaan was adioyned the pledge of the heauenly dwelling: so that it ought not at al to be doubted that Iacob was grafted with the Angels into y body of Christ that he might be partaker of the same life. Iacob therfore is chosen, whē Esau is reiectēd: Rom. 9. and by the Predestination of God is made different from him from 15. whom he differed not in any deseruings. If you aske a cause, the Apostle rendreth this, because it is sayd to Moses, I wil haue mercy vpon whom I will haue mercie: and I will vouchsaue to graunt mercy to whom soeuer I will vouchsaue to graunt mercy. And what, I beseech you, meaneth this? Verily, the Lord himselfe most plainely pronounceth that men haue in themselves no cause why he should do good to them, but he fetcheth the cause from his own mercy only: & therfore that the saluation of his is his owne worke. When God setteth thy saluatiō in himselfe alone, why wilt thou descend to thy self? Whē he appointeth to thee his mercy alone, why wilt thou runne to thine own deseruings? When he holdeth thy thought wholly in his mercifulnes alone, why wilt thou turne part to the beholding of thine own workes? Therefore we must nedes come to that lesser people, which

Rom. 11 Paul in an other place sayth to haue bin foreknowen to God: not in
2. such sort as these men imagine, to foreknow out of an idle watchtoure
the thinges that he worketh not: but in such sense as it is oft reade.
Ag. 2. For truely when Peter saith in Luke, that Christ was by the determin-
23. ed counsell and foreknowledge of God appointed to death, he doth
not bring God as a looker on but the author of our saluation. So the
1. Pet. 1. same Peter also, where he sayth that the faithfull to whom he wrote
2. were chosen accordinge to the foreknowledge of God, properly exp-
presseth that secrete Predestination whereby God hath marked for
his children whom he would. And the word Purpose, which he ioyn-
eth for a diuers word, expressing all one thing, forasmuch as it doth
euery where signifie a stedfast determination as they commonly call
it, vndoubtedly teacheth that God when he is author of our saluation
goeth not out of himselfe. In which sense he saith in the same Chap-
ter that Christ was the lambe foreknowen before the creation of the
worlde. For what is more sonde or trifling, than to say that God from
on hie did stand looking when se saluation should come to mankind?
Therefore in Paul the foreknowen people is as much as a small por-
2. Ti. 2. tion mingled with the multitude which falsely pretendeth the name
19. of God. In an other place also Paule to beate downe their boasting
which beinge but couered with a visor, do take vpon themselues the
chiefe preeminence amōg the godly before the world, saith that God
knoweth who be his. Finally by that sayinge Paule pointeth vnto vs
two sortes of people: the one, of the whole kinred of Abraham: the
other, seuerally chosen out of it, and which beinge laid vp vnder the
eyes of God is hidden from the sight of men. And it is no dout that
he tooke this out of Moses, which affirmeth that God will be mer-
ciful to whom he will (although he there spake of the elect people,
whose estate in outward seeming was egall) as if he shoulde haue
sayd, that in the common adoption is included with him a speciall
grace toward some, as it were a more holy treasure: and that the cō-
mon couenaunt withstandeth not but that the same small number
may be exempt in degree: and he willinge to make himselfe the free
disposer and ruler of this thing, precisely denieth that he wil be mer-
ciful to one rather than to an other, for any other reson, but for that
it so pleaseth him: because when mercy commeth to him that seeketh
it, though he in deede suffer not a deniall, yet he either preuenteth or
partly getteth to himselfe the fauour whereof God claimeth to him-
selfe the praise.

7 Now let the soueraigne Iudge & maister pronounce of y whole
matter. Whē he saw so great hardnesse in his hearers, that he did in a
maner

maner waste his wordes without fruite among the multitude : to remedie this offence, he crieth out, Whatsoeuer my Father geueth me, it shall come to me. For this is the will of my Father, that whatsoeuer my Father hath geuen me, I shal not lose any thing of it. Note that the beginning is taken at the Fathers gifte, that we may be deliuered into the faithfull keping and defence of Christ. Here some man peradventure will turne a circle about, and will take exception, saying that they onely are accópted in the propre possession of the Father, whose yeeldinge hath bene voluntarie by faith. But Christ standeth onely vpon that pointe, that although the fallings away of great multitudes do shake the whole world, yet the counsell of God shalbe stedfast and stande faster than the heauens themselues, that his election may neuer faile. They are saide to haue bene the elect of the Father, before that he gaue to them his onely begotten Sonne. They aske whether it were by nature: yea rather, them which were straungers he made his owne by drawing them to him. There is a greater clearenesse in the wordes of Christ, than can by shifring be couered with any darknesse. No man (saith he) can come to me, vnlesse my Father drawe him. But who so hath hearde & learned of my Father, he commeth to me. if all generally without difference should bowe their knee before Christ, then the election were common: but now in the fewnesse of the beleuers appeareth a manifest diuersitie. Therefore after that Christ had affirmed that y^e disciples which were giue him, were the peculiar possession of God the Father, within a litle after he added, I pray not for the worlde, but for those whom thou hast geuen me, because they are thine. Whereby is proued that the whole world belongeth not to the Creator of it, sauing that grace delivereth a fewe from the wrath of God, and from eternall death, which otherwise should haue perished: but the world it selfe is lefte in his owne destructiō to which it was appointed. In the meane time although Christ putte himselfe meane betweene, yet he claimeth to himselfe the power of choosing in common with the Father. I speake not (saith he) of all: I knowe whom I haue chosen. If any man aske frō whence he hath chosen thē, he answereth in an other place, Out of the world, which he excludeth out of his prayers when he commendeth his disciples to his Father, This is to be holden, that when he affirmeth that he knoweth whome he hath chosen, there is signified some speciall sort in the generall kinde of men: then, that the same speciall sort is made to differ not by the qualitie of their owne vertues, but by the heavenly decree. Whereupon followeth that many excell by their owne force or diligence, when Christ maketh

Iohn. 6.

37.

Iohn. 6.

44.

Ioh. 17.

Ioh. 13.

18.

Ioh. 15.

19.

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himselfe the author of electiō. For when in an other place he reckeneth Iudas among the elect, whereas he was a deuell, this is referred onely to the office of Apostleship which although it be a cleere mirror of the fauor of God (as Paule so oftentimes acknowledgeth in his owne person,) yet it containeth not in it selfe the hope of eternall saluation. Iudas therefore, when he did vnfaithfully beare the office of an Apostle, might be worse than the deuell: but of those whom Christ hath ones grafted into his body, he will suffre none to perishe: because in preserving their saluation he will performe that which he hath promised, that is, he will stretch forth the power of God which is greater than all. For whereas he saith in an other place, Father, of those whom thou haste geuen me, I haue lost none but the sonne of perdition: although it be an abusie speche by figure, yet it hath no doutefull meaning. The summe is, that God maketh them his children by free adoption whom he will haue to be his children: and that the inwarde cause thereof is in himselfe: because he is content with his owne secrete good pleasure.

8 But Ambrose Origene, and Hierome thought that God distributeth his grace among men, as he forseeth that euery man will vse it well: Yea and Augustine was ones in the same opinion. But when he had better profited in knowledge of the Scripture, he not onely reuoked it as evidently false, but also strongly confuted it: yea and after his reuoking of it, in reprobuing the Pelagians for that they continued in the same error, sayeth: Who can not meruail that the Apostle knewe not this most futtle sense? For when he hadde sette out a thing to be wondred at of these brethren, while they were not yet borne, and afterwarde obiected a question against himselfe, saying: what then? Is there vniustice with God? Here was fitte place for him to aunswere, that God foresawe the merites of them both: yet he sayeth not this, but fleeth to the iudgements and mercy of God. And in an other place, when he had taken away all merites before electiō, Here (saith he) is confuted their vaine reasoning which defende the foreknowledge of God against the grace of GOD, and therefore say that we are chosen before the making of the world, because God foreknewe that we would be good, not that he himselfe would make vs good. He sayeth not this, which saith, Ye haue not chosen me, But I haue chosen you. For if he hadde therefore chosen vs, because he foreknewe that we would be good: he should therewithall also haue foreknownen that we would choose him: and so forth as followeth to that effect. Let the testimonie of Augustine be of force among them that willingly rest in y authority of the Fathers. Howe be it Augustine suffreth

Ioh. 10.
28.

Retrac.
libr. 1.
cap. 1.
Episto.
ad Sixt.
106.

Homil.
in Ioh.
8.

Ioh. 15.
16.

suffreth not himselie to be seuered from the rest: but by cleere testimonies sheweth that this disagreement is false with y^e malice wherof the Pelagians burdened him. For in the. xix. chapter of his booke of the Predestination of Sainctes, he allegeth out of Ambrose, Christ calleth whom he hath mercie on. Againe, If he had willed, of the vndeououte he might haue made deuoute. But God calleth whom he vouchsaueth: & whom he will he maketh religious, If I listed to knitte together a whole volume out of Augustine, I could readily shewe to the readers that I neede no other words but his: but I will not loade them with tediousnesse. But go to, let vs imagine that they speake not at all: but let vs geue hede to the matter it selfe. A harde questiō was moued, whether God didde righteously in this that he vouchesaues to graunte his grace but to some: Of which questiō Paul might haue vncombred himselve with one word if he had alleged the respect of workes. Why therfore doth he it not, but rather continueth on a discourse which abideth in the same hardenesse? Why, but because he ought not? For the Holy ghost which spake by his mouth, had not the disease of forgetfulnes. Therfore without any circūstances he answereth, that God therefore fauoreth his elect, because he will: herefore hath mercy, because he wil. For this Oracle of God, I wil haue mercy vpon whom I will haue mercy, & I wil shewe mercie to whom I will shewe mercie, is as much in effect as if it had bene said, that God is moued to mercy by no other reason but because he will haue mercy. Therefore this saying of Augustine remaineth true, that the grace of God doth not find men fitt to be chosen, but maketh them.

9 Neither do we any thing passe vpon that sutteltie of Thomas, that the foreknowing of deseruings, is not in deede the cause of predestination on the behalfe of the act of him that doth predestinate, but on our behalfe it may after a certaine maner be so called, that is, according to the particular weyeng of Predestination: as when it is said that God predestinateth glorie to man by deseruings, because he hath decreed to geue to him grace by which he may deserue glorie. For sith the Lorde will in election haue vs to loke vnto nothing but his meere goodnesse, if any man shall couet here to see any more, it shalbe a wrongfull gredinesse. If we lusted to strue in sutteltie, we want not wherewith to beat backe this silly sutteltie of Thomas. He affirmeth that to the elect glorie is after a certaine maner predestinate by deseruings, because the Lord doth after a certain maner predestinate to the grace, by which they may deserue glory. What if I aunswer on the contrary side and say that predestination vnto grace, serueth election vnto life, and is as it were a waiting maide after it? that grace

De pre
destin.
sancto.
ca. 19.

Ex. 33.
15.

In. 1.
Deut.
Tra&. 25. que-
stio. 23.

is predestinate to them, to whom the possession of glorie hath bene long ago apointed : because it pleaseth the Lorde to bring his children from election into iustification : For thereupon it shall followe that the predestination of glorie was rather the cause of the Predestination of grace , than contrariwise , But away with these strivings , as things superfluous for such as shall thinke that there is wisdom enough for them in the worde of God. For this was in olde time truly written of an Ecclesiasticall writer, that they which assigne the electiō of God to merites are more wise than they ought to be.

Ambr.
de vo-
cat gēt.
Libr.1.
cap 1.

to Some do obiekt that God should be contrary to himselfe , if he should vniuersally call all men to him, & receiue but a fewe elect. So by their opinion the vniuersalnes of the promise taketh away the difference of speciall grace. And thus certaine sobre men speake, not so much to oppresse the truth, as to debarre crabbed questions , and to bridle the curiositie of many. Their will is praise worthy, but their counsell is not to be allowed : because dallying by shifts is neuer excusable. But their obiekt of it which do more railingly inuey against it, is verily to fonde a cauillation, or to shamefull an error. Howe the Scripture maketh theie two to agree together, that by outward preaching all men are called to Repentance and faith , and yet not to all men is geuen the Spirit of Repentance and faith , I haue in an other place already declared , and by and by somewhat of it must be repeated againe. Nowe that which they require I denie to them , sith it is two wayes false. For, he that thretneth that while it raineth vppon

Amos.
4.7. and
8.11.
Act. 16.
6.

one citie, there shall be drought vppon an other : He that pronounceth that there shall in an other place be famine of doctrine, bindeth not himself with a certaine lawe to call all men egally. And he which forbidding Paule to speake in Asia , and turning him from Bithinia draweth him into Macedonia, sheweth that it is in his own power to distribute this treasure to whome soeuer it shall please him. Yet more plainly he sheweth by Esaie , howe he peculiarly directeth to the electe the promises of saluation : for he sayeth of them onely , and not of all makeinde indifferently , that they shall be his disciples.

Esa. 8.
16.

Whereby it is certaine that the doctrine of saluation is wrongfully sette open in common to all men to profite effectually , which is said to be seuerally laide vp onely for the children of the Chirch. Let this suffice at this presente, that although the voice of the Gospell speake generally to all , yet the giste of faith is rare . Esaie assigneth a cause, for that the arme of the Lorde is not open to all men. If he had said that the Gospell is maliciously and frowardly despised , because many do stubbornly refuse to heare : peraduenture this color touch-

Esa 53.
1.

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ching vniuersall callinge should preuaile. Neither is it the purpose of the Prophet to diminish the faulte of men, when he teacheth that the fountaine of blindnesse is, that God vouchsafeth not to open his arme to them: onely he geueth warning, that because faith is a singular gift, the eares are beaten in vaine with outwarde doctrine. But I would faine knowe of these doctors, whether onely preaching, or faith, make the children of God. Certainly when it is said in the first chapter of Iohn, Whosoever beleue in the onely begotten Sonne of God, are themselves also made the children of God, there is not in that place a confused heape iumbled vp together: but a speciall order is geuen to the faithfull, which are borne not of blood, not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. But (say they) there is a mutuall consent of faith with the word. Namely where-soeuer is faith. But it is no newe thing that seede fall among thornes or in stonie places: not onely because the greater part appeareth in deede obstinate against God, but also because not all men haue eyes & eares. How then shal it agree that God calleth to him thē who he knoweth will not come? Let Augustine aunswere for me. Wilt thou dispute with me? Meruaile with me, and crie out, O depth. Let vs both agree in feare, least we perish in error? Moreouer if election (as Paule witnesseth) be the mother of faith, I turne backe the argument vpon their owne head, that faith is therefore not generall, because election is speciall. For by the orderly hanging together of causes & effectes, it is easily gathered that where Paule saith, that we are full of all spirituall blessing, as God had chosen vs before the creatiō of the world: therefore these richesse are not common to all, because God hath chosen onely whom he would. This is the reason why in an other place he cōmendeth the faith of the electe, least it should be thought that any man doth by his owne motion get faith to himself: but that this glorie may remaine with God, that they are freely enlightned of him, whome he had chosen before. For Bernarde saith rightly, Fren-des do seuerally heare, to whom he also saith, Feare not thou small flocke: for to you it is geuen to knowe the misterie of the kingdome of heauen. Who be these? euen they whom he hath foreknownen and predestinate to be fashioned like to the image of his Sonne. A great and secrete counsell is made knowen. The Lorde knewe who be his: but that which was knowē to God, is made manifest to men: neither doth he vouchsafe to make any other partakers of so great a mystery, but those selfe same men whome he hath forknowen & predestinate to be his. A little after he concludeth. The mercie of God is from eternitie euen to eternitie vpon them that feare him: from eternitie,

Iohn. 1.
11.

De
verb. A-
post. ser
mo. 11.

Eph. 1
3.

Tit. 1. 1.

Ad the.
prepos.
Beuerk.
Episto.
107.

by reason of predestinatiō: to eternitie, by reason of blessed making: the one without beginning, & other without ending. But what neede I to cite Bernarde for witnesse, when we heare of the masters owne mouth, that none doe see but they which are of God? By which wordes he signifieth, that all they which are not begotten againe of God, do dasell at the brightnesse of his countenance. And to election faith in deede is fitly ioined, so that it kepe the second degree. Which order the wordes of Christ do clerely expresse in an other place, This is the will of my Father, that I lose not that which he hath giue. For this is his will, that whosoever beleueth in the Sonne shall not perish. If he would haue all saued, he would appoint ouer them his Sonne to be their keper, and would graffe them all into his body with the holy bond of faith. Nowe it is certain that faith is a singular pledge of his fatherly loue, layed vp for his children whom he hath adopted. Therefore Christ in an other place saith, that the shepe followe the shepherd, because they know his voice: but they followe not a stranger, because they knowe not the voice of strangers. Whence commeth this difference, but because their eares are boared by God? For no man maketh himselfe a shepe: but he is made one by the heavenly grace. For which cause also the Lorde teacheth that our safetie shall alway be certaine and free from danger, because it is kepte by the inuincible power of God. Wherefore he concludeth that y vnbeleuers are not of his shepe: namely because they are not of the number of them, whome God hath promised by Esau that they shalbe his disciples. Nowe because in the testimonies which I haue alleged is expressed perseuerance, they do therewithall testifie the vnmouable stedfastnesse of election.

11 Nowe let vs speake of the reprobate, whom the Apostle
 Rom 9. ioineth there together. For as Iacob, hauing yet with good workes
 13. deserued nothing, is taken into grace: so Esau, being yet defiled with
 no wicked doinge, is hated. If we turne our eyes to workes, we do
 wrong to the Apostle, as though he sawe not the same thing which
 we clerely see. It is proued that he sawe it not, forasmuch as he exp-
 resselly enforceth this point, that when they had not yet done any
 good or euell, the one was chosen, and the other refused, to proue
 that the foundation of the predestination of God is not in workes.
 Again when he moued the obiection, whether God be vnrighteous,
 he allegeth not that which had bene the most certaine and plaine de-
 fence of his righteousness, namely that God reduced to Esau accord-
 ing to his euellnesse: but he was content with an other solution,
 that the reprobate are stirred vp to this ende, that the glorie of God
 may

may be set forth by them. Last of all he adioineth a concluding sentence, that God hath mercie vpon whome he will, and hardeneth whom he will. See you not howe he imputeth both to the onely will of God? Therefore if we can not declare a reason why he vouchsa- ueth to graunt mercie to them that be his, but because it so pleaseth him: neither also shall we haue any other cause in reiecting of other, than his own will. For when it is said that God hardeneth, or sheweth mercie to whome he will, men are thereby warned to seke no cause ells where than in his will.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

A Consolation of the scandaunders wherewith this doctrine hath alway bene wrongfully burdened.

BVt when the witt of man heareth these things, the froward- nesse thereof can not be restrained, but that by & by as at the bloody blast of a trumpet, sounding to battaile, it diuersly and excessiue- ly turmoyleth. And many in deede, as though they would driue away the malice from God, do so graunte election, that they denie that any man is reprobate: but they do so ignorantly and childishely: forasmuch as election it selfe could not stande vnlesse it were set contrary to reprobation: God is said to seuer them whom he adopteth vnto saluation: it should be more than foolishly said that other do either by chaunce or by their owne endeuor obtaine that which onely election geueth to a fewe. Therefore whom God passeth ouer, he reiecteth: and for none other cause, but for that he will ex- clude them from the inheritance which he doth predestinate to his children. Neither is the waiwardnes of men tolerable, if it suffre not it selfe to be bridled with the word of God, where the incōprehensible counsell of God is entreated of, which the Angels themselues do worship. But we haue already heard, that hardening is no lesse in the hand and will of God than mercie. Neither doth Paul (as these men Rom. 9. do that I haue spoken of.) busily labour to excuse God with a lying 20. defence: but onely he teacheth that it is not lawfull for the thing for- med to quarell with him that formed it. Now who sodo not admit that any are reiectēd of God, howe will they vncombre themselues from that saying of Christ, Euery tree which my father hath not planted, Mat. 13. shalbe plucked vp by the roote? They plainly heare that all they are 13. adiudged and auowed to destruction, whome the heavenly Father hath not vouchsaued to plāt as holy trees in his ground. If they denie this to be a signe of reprobatiō, then is there nothing so clere that it may be proued to them. But if they cesse not to wrangle, let y sobriety

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Rom. 9. 21. of faith be contented with this admonition of Paule, that there is **no** cause to quarell with God, if he willing on the one side to shewe his wrath and to make his power knowen do with dumme sufferance, and lenitie beare with the vessels of wrath prepared to destruction: and on the other side he make knowen the riches of his glorie toward the vessels of mercy which he hath prepared to glory. Let the Readers marke, howe Paul to cutte of occasion from whisperinges & backbitings, geueth the chiefe rule to the wrath & power of God: bycause it is vniust that those depe iudgemēts which swallowe vp all our senses, should be made subiect to our determination. Our aduersaries answere is very trifling, that God doth not vterly reiect them whom he suffreth in lenitie, but abideth with a minde hanginge in suspence toward them, if peraduenure they may repent. As though Paule geueth to God a patience, to loke for their turning, whome he sayeth to be made to destruction. For, Augustine saith rightly where he expoundeth this place, where power is ioined to sufferance, God doth not suffer, but gouerne with his power. They further say also that it is not for nothing said that the vessels of wrath are prepared to destruction: but, that God hath prepared the vessels of mercie: because by this meane he ascribeth and chalengeth the praise of saluation to God, but the blame of destruction he casteth vpon them which by their owne will do bring it vpon themselves. But although I graunt to them that Paul by the diuerse maner of speakinge didde soften the roughnesse of the first part of the sentence, yet it is not meete to assigne the preparing vnto destruction to any other thing than to the secret counsell of God: which also is affirmed a little before in the rest of the texte, That God stirred vp Pharaο: Thē, that he hardneth whom he will. Wherupon followeth that the hidden counsell of God is the cause of hardning. This at the lest I get which Augustine saith, that when God of wolues maketh shepe, he doth with a mightier grace reforme them, that their hardnes may be tamed: and therefore God for this cause doth not conuert the obstinate, because he doth not shewe forth in them the mightier grace, which he wanteth not if he would shewe it forth.

2 These sayinges in deede should be sufficient for the godly and sobre, & them which remembre themselves to be men. But forasmuch as these venomous dogges do cast vp not onely one sort of venime against God, we will as the matter shall serue, aunswer to euery one particularly. Foolishe men do diuers wayes quarell with God, as though they had him subiect to their accusations. First therefore they aske, by what right the Lorde is angry with his creatures, of whome he

he hath not bene first prouoked by any offence: for to condemne to destruction whom he will, agreeth rather with the wilfulnesse of a tyrant, than the lawefull sentence of a iudge. Therefore they say that there is cause why men should charge God, if by his bare will, without their owne deseruing, they be predestinate to eternall death. If such thoughts do at any time come into the minde of the godly, to breake their violent assaultes they shalbe sufficiently armed with this although they had no more, if they consider how great wickednesse it is, euen so much as to enquire of the causes of the will of God: sith of all things that are, it is the cause, and worthily so ought to be. For if it haue any cause, then somewhat must go before it, wherto it must be as it were bound: which it is vnlawfull ones to imagine. For, the will of God is so the highest rule of righteousnes, that whatsoeuer he willeth, euen for this that he willeth it, it ought to be takē for righteous. When therefore it is asked, why the Lorde did it: it is to be answered, because he willed it. But if thou go further in asking why he willed it, thou askest some greater and hier thing than the will of God: which can not be found. Let therefore the rashnesse of man restraîne it selfe, and not seke that which is not, least peradventure it may not finde that which is. With this bridle (I say) he shalbe well withholden whosoever he be that will dispute of the secrets of God with reuerence. As for the boldenesse of the wicked, which drede not openly to speake euell of God: against it the Lorde with his owne righteousnesse, without any our defense shall sufficiently defend himselfe, when he shall take all shifing from their consciences, and hold them fast conuincēd, and condemne them. Neither do we yet thrust in the fained denise of absolute power, which as it is prophane, so worthily ought to be abhorred of vs. We faine not God lawelesse, who is a lawe to himselfe: because (as Plato saith) men stand in neede of lawes, who are troubled with vnlawfull lustes: but the will of God is not onely pure from all fault, but also is the hiest rule of perfectiō, yea and the lawe of all lawes. But we denie that he is subiect to yelde accompt. We denie also that we are mēte iudges, which would pronounce of this cause after our owne sense. Wherefore if we attempt further than we lawefully may, let that threatening of the Psalme *psa. 51.* bring vs in feare, that God shall ouercome so oft as he is iudged of 6. any mortall man.

This is taken out of Augu-
st. n. li. i.
de Gen.
cont
manic.
cap. 3.

3 So can God in keeping silence, put his enemies to silence. But, that we may not suffer them freely to scorne his holy name, he deliuereth to vs out of his word weapons against them. Wherefore if any man assaile vs with such wordes: why God hath from the begin-

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ning predestinate some to death, which when they were not, could not yet deserue the iudgement of death: we in steede of aunswer may againe on our side aske of them, what they thinke that God oweth to man, if he will iudge him by his owne nature. In such sort as we be all corrupted with sinne, we can not but be hatefull to God: & that not by tirannous crueltie, but by most vpright reason of iustice. If all they whom the Lord doth predestinate to death, are by the estate of nature subiect to the iudgement of death: of what vniustice against themselves, I beseeche you, may they complaine? Let all the sonnes of Adam come: Let them strue and dispute with their creator, for that by his eterhall prouidence they were before their generation condemned to euerlasting miserie. What shall they be able ones to murter against this defense, whē God on the other side shall call them to reknowledging of themselves? If they be all takē out of a corrupt masse, it is no maruell if they be subiect to damnation. Let them not therefore accuse God of vniustice, if by his eternall iudgement they be apointed to death, to which they themselves do fele whether they will or no, that they are willingly led of their owne nature. Whereby appereth howe wrongfull is the desire of their murmuring, because they do of set purpose hide the cause of damnation which they are cōpelled to acknowledge in themselves, that the laying of the blame vpon God may acquite them. But though I do a hundred times confesse, as it is most true, that God is the author of it, yet they do not by and by wipe away the guiltinesse which being engrauen in their cōsciēces from time with oft recourse, presenteth it selfe to their eyes.

4 Againe they except and say, were they not before predestinate by the ordinance of God to the same corruption which is now alleaged for the cause of damnation? When therefore they perish in their corruption, they do nothing but suffer the punishment of that miserie into which by his predestination Adam fell and drewe his posteritie hedlong with him. Is not he therefore vniust, which doth so cruelly mocke his creatures. I graunt in deede that all the children of Adam fell by the will of God into that miserie of state wherein they be now bound: and this is it that I said at the beginning, that at length we must alway returne to the determination of the will of God, the cause whereof is hidden in himselfe. But it followeth not by and by that God is subiect to this sleaunder. For we will with Paule aunswer them in this maner, O man, what art thou that contendest with God? doth the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou formed me so? Hath not the potter power to make of the same lumpe one vessel to honor, and an other to dishonor? They will

say

say that the righteousnesse of God is so not truly defended, but that we seke a shift, such as they are wont to haue that want a iust excuse. For what els seemeth here to be said, than that God hath a power which can not be hindered from doing any thing whatsoever it be as he will himselfe? But it is farre otherwise. For, what stronger reason can be brought than when we are commaunded to thinke what a one God is? For howe should he commit any vniustice, which is iudge of the world? If it properly pertaine to the nature of God to do iudgement, then he naturally loueth righteousnesse, and abhorreth vnrighteousnesse. Wherefore the Apostle did not, as though he were ouertaken, loke about for holes to hide him: but shewed that the reason of the righteousnesse of God is hier than that it either is to be measured by the measure of man, or may be comprehended by the slender capacitie of the wit of man. The Apostle in deede confesseth that there is such depth in the iudgements of God, wherewith the mindes of men should be swallowed, if they endeouored to pearce into it. But he teacheth also howe hainous wrong it is, to binde the workes of God to such a lawe, that so sone as we vnderstand not the reason of them, we may be bold to disallowe them. It is a known saying of Salomon (which yet fewe do rightly vnderstand) The great creator of all rendreth reward to the foole, and reward to transgressors. For he crieth out concerninge the greatnesse of God: in whose will it is to punish fooles & transgressors, although he do not vouchesauue to let them haue his Spirit. And monstrous is the madnesse of men, whē they so couet to make that which is vnmeasurable, subiect to the smal measure of their reason. The Angels which stood stil in their vprightness, Paule calleth elect. If their stedfastnes was grounded vpon the good pleasure of God, the falling away of the other proueth that they were forsaken: Of which thing there can no other cause be alleged than reprobation, which is hidden in the secret counsell of God. Pro. 26.
10.

5 Go to: let there now be present some Manichee, or Celestine, a sclaunderer of the prouidence of God: I say with Paule that there ought no reason to be rendred thereof: because with the greatnesse of it, it farre surmounteth our vnderstanding. What maruell? or what absurditie is it? Would he haue the power of God so limited, that it may be able to worke no more, than his minde is able to conceiue? I say with Augustine, that they are created of y^e Lord, whom he without douting foreknewe that they should go into destruction: and that it was so done, because he so willed: but why he willed, it is not our part to aske a reason of it, who can not comprehend it: neither is it

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mete that the will of God should come downe into controuersie among vs, of which so oft as mention is made, vnder the name of it is named the hiest rule of righteousnesse. Why therefore is any question moued of vnrighteousnesse where righteousnesse clerely appereth? Neither let vs be ashamed, after the example of Paule, so to stoppe the mouthes of the wicked, and from time to time so oft as they shalbe bold to barke against it, to repete this, Who be ye miserable men, that lay an accusation to Gods charge, and do therefore lay it to his charge because he doth not temper the greatnesse of his workes to your dulnesse? As though they were therefore wrongfull, because they are hidden from flesh. The vnmeasurablenesse of the iudgements of God is by cleare experiences knowne vnto you. Ye

Psa. 36. knowe that they are called the depe bottomlesse depth. Nowe aske of the narrowe capacities of your wit, whether they comprehend that which God hath decreed with himselfe. What good doth it you therefore with mad searching to plunge your selues into the bottomlesse depth, which reason it selfe teacheth you that it shalbe to your destruction? Why are ye not at the least restrained with some feare of that which both the historie of Iob and the bookes of the Prophets do report of the incomprehensible wisdome, and terrible power of God. If thy minde be vnquieted, let it not greue thee to embrace the counsell of Augustine. Thou being a man lokest for an answer at my hand: and I also am a man. Therefore let vs both heare him that saith: O man, what art thou? Better is a faithfull ignorance than rash knowledge, Seke merites: thou shalt finde nothing but peine. O depth. Peter denieth: the These beleueth. O depth. Sekest thou a reason? I will treble at the depth. Reason thou, I will wonder: dispute thou, I will beleue: I see depth, but I reache not the bottome. Paul rested, because he found wondering. He calleth the iudgements of God vnsearchable: and art thou come to searche them? He saith that his wayes are impossible to be traced out: and doest thou trace them? with proceeding further we shall nothing profit: For neither we shall satisfie their way wanton curiousnesse, neither doth the Lord neede any other defense, than which he hath vsed by his Spirit, which spake by the mouth of Paule; and we forget to speake well, when we cesse to speake with God.

6. Their other obiection also ariseth out of vngodlinesse, which yet tedeth not so directly to the accusing of God as to the excusing of the sinner. Howebeit the sinner which is condemned of God can not be iustified without dishonor of the iudge. Thus therefore prophane tongs do barke against God, saying: why should God impute those

August.
de verb.
aposto.
sermo.
20.

those things for sinne to men, whereof he hath by his predestination layed necessitie vpon men? For, what should they do? Should they wrastle with his decrees? But so should they do it in vaine, sith they can not do it at all. Therefore they are not rightfully punished for those things, whereof the chiefe cause is in Gods predestination. Here I will abstaine from that defense, wherunto the Ecclesiastical writers do commonly flee, namely that the foreknowledge of God withstandeth not but that man may be accompted the sinner: because God foreseeeth the euels of man, not his owne. For so the cauillatiō would not stay here, but will rather presse vs further with saying that God might if he had would, haue provided remedie for those euels which he foresaw: and that sith he hath not so done, he hath of determined purpose created men to that ende that he should so behaue himself in earth: and if by the prouidence of God, man was created to this condition, that he should do all those things that he doth: then he is not to be blamed for that which he can not auoide, & which he enterprised by the will of God. Therefore let vs see how this knot ought to be well loosed. First of all this ought to be holden certaine among all men which Salomon saith, that God hath created all things for himself, & the wicked man to an euell day. Behold, when the disposing of all things is in the hand of God, when in his power remaineth the rule of safetie and death: he so ordereth them by his counsell and becke, that among men there are borne some adiudged euen from their mothers wombe to death, which with their destruction may glorifie his name. If any man answer, that there is no necessitie layed vpon them by the prouidence of God, but rather that he created them in such estate, because he foresawe their peruersnesse to come: he neither saith nothing at all, nor altogether. The old writers are wont in deede somtimes to vse this solution: but as it were doubtingly. But the Scholemen rest vpon it, as though nothing could be objected against it. In dede I wil willingly graunt, y^e foreknowledge alone bringeth no necessitie to creatures, although all men do not so agree: for there be some that will haue it also to be the cause of things. But it seemeth to me that Valla, a man otherwise not much practised in holy writings, saw both more depely & more wisely, which shewed that this contention is superfluous: because both life and death are rather the doings of Gods will than of his foreknowledge. If God did but foresee the successes of men, & did not also dispose and order them by his will, then this question should not without cause be moued, whether his foreseeing any thing auailed to the necessitie of them, But sith he doth none otherwise foresee the things y^e shall come

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to passe, than because he hath decreed that they should so come to passe: it is vaine to moue controuersie about foreknowledge, where it is certaine that all things do happen rather by ordinance and commandement.

7 They say that this is not written in expresse words, that it was decreed of God, that Adam should perish by his falling away. As though the same God, whome the Scripture reporteth to do whatsoever he will, created the noblest of all his creatures to an vncertaine ende. They say he had freewill, that he might shape to himselfe his owne fortune: and that God decreed nothing, but to handle him according to his deseruing. If so could a deuise be receiued, where shalbe that almightines of God, wherby he gouerneth all things according to his secret counsell, which hangeth vpon none other thing than it selfe? But predestination, whether they will or no, sheweth himselfe in Adams posteritie. For it came not to passe naturally that all men should lose saluation by the fault of one pa:ēt. What hindereth them to confesse of one man, that which against their willes they confesse of all mankind? For why should they lose their labour with dallying shifts? The Scripture crieth out that all men were in the persone of one man made bonde to eternall death. Sith this can not be imputed to nature, it is plaine that it proceeded from the wonderous counsell of God. But it is to much absurditie that these good Patrones of the righteousness of God do so stumble at a strawe, and leape ouer great beames. Again I aske: howe came it to passe, that the fall of Adam did wrappe vp in eternall death so many natiōs with their children being infantes, without remedie, but because it so pleased God? Here their tongues which are otherwise so prating, must of necessitie be dumme. It is a terrible decree, I graunt: yet no man shalbe able to denie, but that God foreknewe what ende man should haue, ere he created him, and therefore foreknewe it bycause he had so ordeined by his decree. If any man here inuey against the foreknowledge of God, he rashly and vndiscretely stumbleth. For, what matter is there, I beseech you, why the heavenly iudge should be accused for that he was not ignorant of that which was to come? Therefore if there be any either iuste or colorable complaint, it toucheth predestination. Neither ought it to serue an absurdity which I say, that God foresaw not onely the fall of the first man, and in him the ruine of his posterity, but also disposed it after his owne wil. For as it belongeth to his wisdom, to foreknowe all things that shalbe: so it belongeth to his

Enchir. power, to rule and gouerne all things with his hand. And this ques-
ad Lau. tion Augustine very well discusseth, as he doth other, saying: We
most

most holsofely confesse that which we most rightly beleue, that the God and Lorde of all things, which created all things very good, and foreknewe that euell things should spring out of good, and knewe that it more pertained to his almighty goodnesse euen of euell things do well, than not to suffer them to be euell: that he so ordered the life of Angels and men, that in it he might first shewe what free will could do, and then what the benefit of his grace and iudgement of iustice could do.

8 Here they runne to the distinction of will and permission, by which they will haue it graunted that the wicked do perish, God onely permitting but not willing it. But why should we say that he permitteth it, but because he so willeth. Howebeit it is not likely, that man by himselfe, by the onely permission of God, without any his ordinance, brought destruction to himselfe: as though God appointed not, of what condition he would haue the chiefe of his creatures to be. I therefore will not dout to cōfesse simply with Augustine, that the wil of God is a necessitie of things and that what he willeth, it must of necessitie come to passe: as those things shall truely come to passe which he hath foreseen. Nowe if for excuse of themselves and of the vngodly, either the Pelagiās, or Manichees, or Anabaptistes, or Epicureans (for with these fower sectes we haue to do in this question) shall object against vs necessitie wherewith they be bound by the predestination of God: they bring nothing fit to the purpose. For if predestination be nothing els but a dispensation of righteousness of God, which is hidden in deede, but yet without faulte: For asmuch as it is certaine that they were not vnworthy to be predestinate to that estate, it is also as certaine that the destruction is most righteous which they entre into by predestination. Moreouer their destruction so hangeth vpon the predestination of God, that both cause and matter thereof is founde in themselves. For the first man fell, because the Lorde so iudged it to be expedient: why he so iudged, is vnknownen to vs: yet it is certaine that he so iudged for no other reason but because he sawe that thereby the glorie of his name should be worthily set forth. When thou hearest mention of the glorie of God, there thinke of his righteousness: For it must be righteous that deserueth praise. Man therefore falleth, the prouidence of God so ordeining it: but he falleth by his owne fault. The Lorde had a litle before pronouced, that all the things which he had made were very good. Whense therefore commeth that peruersnesse to man, to fall away from his God? Least it should be thought to be of creation, the Lorde with his commendation allowed that which

de Gen.
ad. lere.
libr. 6.
cap. 15.

Gen. 2.
11.

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came from himselfe. Therefore by his owne euellnesse he corrupted the nature which he had receiued pure of the Lorde, and by his fall he drew e his whole posteritie with him into destruction. Wherefore let vs rather beholde an euident cause of damnation in the corrupted nature of mankinde, which is nerer to vs, than search for a hidden and vtterly incomprehensible cause thereof in the predestination of God. Neither let it greue vs so farre to submit our wit to the vnmeasurable wisdome of God, that it may yeld in many secrets of his. For, of those things which it is neither graunted nor lawefull to knowe, the ignorance is well learned: the coueting of knowledge, is a kinde of madnesse.

9 Some man parhappes will say, that I haue not yet brought enough to subdue that wicked excuse. But I verily confesse that it can neuer be brought to passe, but that vngodlinesse will alway grudge and murmure against it: yet I thinke that I haue spoken so much as might suffice to take away not onely all reason but also all colour of gainesaying. The reprobate would be thought excusable in sinning, because they can not escape the necessitie of sinning: specially sith such necessitie is cast vpon them by the ordinance of God. But we denie that they are thereby well excused, because the ordinance of God, by which they complaine that they are destinate to destruction, hath his righteousness, vnknown in deede to vs, but yet most certaine. Whereupon we conclude, that they beare no euell which is not layed vpon them by the most righteous iudgement of God. Then, we teach that they do ouerthwartly, which to seke out the beginning of their damnation, do bend their eyes to the secret closetts to the counsell of God, and winke at the corruption of nature, from whence their damnation springeth. And this withstandeth that they can not impute it to God, for that he witnesseth of his owne creation. For although man is creat by the eternall prouidence of God to that calamitie, whereunto he is subiect: yet the matter thereof he tooke of himselfe, not of God: forasmuch as he is by no other meane so lost, but because he wente out of kinde from the pure creation of God into a corrupt and vnpure peruersnesse.

10 Nowe the aduersaries of Gods predestination do sclander it also with a third absurditie. For when we impute it to nothing els but to the choise of the will of God, y they are made free from the vniuersall destruction, whom he maketh heires of his kingdome, thereby they gather that there is with him accepting of persones, which the Scripture euery where denieth: & therefore, that either the Scripture disagreeth with it self, or that in the electio of God there is respect of deser-

deseruings. First, the Scripture in an other sense denieth, that God is an acceptor of persones, than as they iudge it. For by the name of Person, it signifieth not a man, but those things which beinge seene with eyes in man are wont to procure either fauour, grace, and dignity, or hatred, contempt, and shame: as, riches, wealth, power, nobility, office, countrey, excellency of beauty, and such other: on the other side pouerty, neede, basenesse, vilenesse, contempt, and such other. So Peter and Paul do teach that the Lord is not an acceptor of persones, because he putteth not difference betwene the Iew & the Grecian, to refuse the one and embrace the other for only respect of nation. So Iames vseth the same words when he mindeth to affirme, that God in his iudgement nothing regardeth riches. But Paule in an other place speaketh thus of God, that in iudging he hath no consideration of freedome or bondage. Wherefore there shalbe no contrariety if we shall say that God accordinge to the will of his good pleasure without any deseruinge chooseth to his sonnes whome he will, reiectinge and refusinge other. But the matter may thus be opened, that men may be more fully satisfied. They aske howe it cometh to passe, that of two betwene whom no deseruinge putteth any difference, God in his electinge passeth ouer the one and taketh the other. I on the other side do aske them, whether they thinke that in him that is taken there is any thinge that may make the minde of God to encline toward him. If they confesse (as they nedes must) that there is nothing, it shall follow that God looketh not vpon man, but from his owne goodnesse fetcheth a cause why to do good to him. Whereas therfore God chooseth one man, refusinge an other, this cometh not of respect of man, but of his mercy alone, which ought to haue liberty to shew forth and vtter it selfe where and when it pleaseth him. For we haue in an other place also shewed, that there were not frō the beginnunge many called noble, or wise, or honorable, that God might humble the pride of flesh: so farre is it of, that his fauour was bound to persones.

11 Wherefore many do falsely and wickedly accuse God of partiall vnrighteousnesse, for that he doth not in his predestination kepe one selfe course toward all men. If (say they) he finde all guilty, let him egally punish all: if he finde them vngilty, let him withhold the rigor of his iudgemēt from all. But so they deale with him, as if either mercy were forbidden him, or whē he would haue mercy he be compelled altogether to giue ouer his iudgemēt. What is it that they require: if all be guilty, that all may together suffer al one paine. We graunt the guiltinesse to be common, but we say that the mercy of God helpeth

Ag. 10.

34

Rom. 2.

10.

Gala. 3.

28

Iam. 2.5

Colo 3.

25.

Eph. 6.

9.

Aug. ad

Romf.

li. 1. ca.

7.

1. Cor. 1

26.

Cap. 23.

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some. Let it help all, say they. But we answere, that it is rightfull that he should also in punishinge shewe himselfe a rightfull iudge. When they suffer not this : what do they else but either go about to spoyle God of his power to haue mercy, or at least to graunt it him vppon this condition, that he vtterly giue ouer his iudgement. Wherefore these sayings of Augustine do very well agree together. Sith in the first man the whole masse of mankind fell into condemnation, these vessels that are made of it to honor, are not the vessels of their owne righteousnesse, but of the mercy of God: & whereas other are made to dishonor, the same is not to be imputed to vnrightfulnesse but to iudgement &c : That to those whom he refuseth, God rendereth due paine : to those whom he calleth, he giueth vnderferued grace : that they are deliuered from all accusation, after the manner of a creditor, in whose power it is, to forgiue to the one, and aske of the other. Therefore the Lord also may giue grace to whom he will, because he is mercifull : & giue it not to all, because he is a iust iudge. He may by giuing to some, that which they do not deserue, shew his free grace : and by not giuinge to all, declare what all deserue. For wheras Paul writeth that God enclosed all vnder sinne, that he might haue mercy vpon all, it is therewithall to be added that he is dettor to no man : because no man first gaue to him, that he may require like of him.

12 This also they often say, to ouerthrowe predestination, that while it standeth, all carefulnesse and endeouour of well doing falleth away. For who (say they) shall heare that either life or death is certainly appointed for him by the eternall decree of God, but that it will by and by come into his minde that it maketh no matter how he behaue himselfe, sith the predestination of God can by his worke be nothinge hindered or furthered ? So shall all men dissolutely throw foorth themselues, and after a desperate manner runne headlonge whether their lust shal cary them. And verily they say not altogether falsely, for there be many swine, which with filthy blasphemies defile the doctrine of predestination, and by this pretense also do mocke out all admonishmentes and rebukinges, sayinge, God knoweth what he hath ones determined to do with vs: if he haue decreed our saluatiō, he will bring vs to it at the time appointed : if he haue predestinate our death, we shoulde trauaile in vaine to the contrary. But the Scripture, when it teacheth with how much greater reuerence and religiousnesse we ought to thinke of so great a mystery, doth both instruct the godly to farre other sense, and well confute these mens outrage. For it doth not speake of predestinatiō to this end, that we should be

encouraged

Epist
106. de
prædest
& grat.

De bo
perfen.
cap. 12.

Rom 11
31.

encouraged to boldnesse, and with vnlawfull rashnesse attempt to search the vnattained secretes of God: but rather that being humbled and abaced we should learne to tremble at his iudgement, & reuerently to looke vp to his mercy. To this make the faithfull wil leuell themselves. As for that filthy groning of swine, it is well confuted of Paule. They say that they go carelessly forward in vices: because if they be of the number of the elect, their vices shall nothinge hinder them, but that they shall at length be brought to life. But Paul ^{Eph. 1.4} telleth that we be to this end, that we should lead a holy & faultlesse life. If the marke that election is directed vnto be holinesse of life, it ought more to awake & sturre vs vp cherefully to practise that holinesse, than to serue for a clokinge of slothfulnesse. For howe greatly do these thinges differ the one from the other: to cease from well doing, because election sufficeth to saluation: and that the appointed ende of election is that we shoulde apply our selues to the endeouour of good doings. Away therfore with such sacrileges which do wrongfully misturne the whole order of election. Where they stretch their blasphemies further, when they say that he which is reprobate of God, shall loose his labour if he go about to make himselfe allowable to him with innocency & honesty of life: therein they are taken with a most shamelesse lye. For, whense coulde such endeouour come but of election? For whosoever be of the number of the reprobate, as they are vessels made to dishonor, so they cease not with continuall wicked doings to prouoke the wrath of God against themselves, and by euident tokens to confirme the iudgement of God which is already pronounced vpon them: so farre be they from struinge with him in vaine.

13 But other do maliciously & shamefully sclaunder this doctrine as though it did ouerthrowe all exhortations to godly liuinge. For which matter in olde time Augustine was burdened with a great malice. Which he wiped away with his booke of correption and Grace wrytten to Valentine, the readinge whereof will appease all Godly and tractable men: yet I will touch a fewe thinges, which (as I trust) shall satisfie them that be honest and not contentious. We haue already seene how open and loude a preacher of the free election Paul was: was he therefore cold in admonishing and exhorting? Let these good zealous men compare their earnestnesse with his, and it shalbe found in them ise in comparison of his incredible heate. And truly this principle taketh away all douts, that we are not called to vnclesnesse, but that euery man should possesse his vessell in honor, &c. ^{1. Thes. 4.7.} Againe, that we are the handy worke of God created to good workes.

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Ephe. 2. which he hath prepared that we shoulde walke in them. Summarily,
10. they that are euen but meanly exercised in Paul, shall without longe
 declaration easily perceiue how fitly he maketh these things to agree,
 which they saine to disagree. Christ commaundeth that men beleue
 in him : Yet is his definitiue sentence neither false nor contrary to
John. 6. this commaundement, where he sayth. No man can come to me, but
61. he to whom it is giuen of my father. Let preaching therefore haue
 his course, which may bringe men to faith, and with continuall profi-
 ting holde them fast in perseuerance. Neither yet let the knowledge
 of predestination be hindered, y they which obey may not be proud
 as of their owne, but may glory in the Lord. Christ not for nothing
Mat. 13. sayth, Who so hath eares of hearinge, let him heare. Therefore when
9. we exhorte and preach, they that haue eares do willingly obey : but
Esa. 6. 9 who so lacke eares, in them is fulfilled that which is wrytten, That
Lib. de hearing they heare not. But why (saith Augustine) should some haue,
bono and other not haue ? Who hath knowe the minde of the Lord ? Must
perfe. that therefore be denied which is open, because that can not be co-
cap. 15. prehended which is hidden ? These sayinges I haue faithfully repor-
 ted out of Augustine : but because peraduenture his wordes shal haue
 more authority than mine, go to, let vs bringe forth the very wordes
 that are read in him selfe. If when this is heard, many are turned into
 dulnesse & sluggishnesse, and beinge enclined from labour to lust do
 go after their desires : ought that therefore to be accompted false
 which is spoken of the foreknowledge of God ? If God haue forekno-
 wen that they shalbe good, shall they not be good, in how great euil-
 nesse soeuer they now liue ? and if he haue foreknownen that they will
 be euill, shall they not be euill, in how great goodnesse soeuer they be
 now seene ? Shall therefore those thinges which are truly spoken of
 the foreknowledge of God, be for such causes either to be denied
 or to be leste vnspoken of ? namely then when if they be not spo-
Cap. 16 ken of, men go into errours ? The rule (sayth he) to keepe trueth vn-
 spoken of, is one thinge, & the necessity to speake trueth is an other.
 As for the causes of leauinge trueth vnspoken, it were longe to
 search them out all : of which yet this is one, that they be not made
 worse which vnderstande it not, while we meane to make them more
 learned that vnderstand it, who when we speake any such thing are in
 dede not made more learned, nor yet are made worse. But when a true
 thing is in such case, that whē we speake it, he is made worse that can
 not conceiue it : and when we speake it not, he is made worse that can
 conceiue it : what thinke we now to be done ? is not the trueth rather
 to be spokē, that he may conceiue it, that can cōceiue it : than to kepe

it vnspoken, that not only neither of them may conceiue it, but also he that more vnderstādeth may be the worse? whereas if he did heare and conceiue it, by him also many shoulde learne? And we will not say that which, as the Scripture witnesseth, we lawfully might haue spoken. For we feare forsooth least when we speake, he be offended that can not conceiue it: but we feare not least while we holde our peace, he that can conceiue trueth be deceiued with falshode. Which sentence he at the last shortly knitting vp, more plainly also confirmeth. Wherefore if the Apostles, and they which followed them, the doctors of the church did both, namely both godlyly preach of the eternall election of God, and hold the faithfull in awe vnder the discipline of Godly life: why do these our aduersaries being confuted with inuincible violence of trueth, thinke that they say well in saying that that which is spoken of predestination is not to be preached to the people although it be true. Yea it must in any wise be preached, y he which hath eares to heare may heare. But who hath eares if he haue not receiued thē from him y promisseth that he wil giue them? Truly let him that receiueith not, refuse it: so that yet he which receiueith it, do take & drinke, do drinke and liue. For as godlines is to be preached, that God may be rightly worshipped: so is also predestination, that he which hath eares to heare of the grace of God, may glory in God and not in himselfe.

14 And yet that holy man, as he had a singular desire to edifie, so tempereth the maner of teaching the trueth, that offense be wisely auoided so far as it lawfully may be. For he sheweth that those thinges which are truly sayd, may also be conueniently sayd. If any man do thus preach to the people. If ye beleue not, y cause is for that ye are already predestinate of God to destruction: such a man doth not only cherish slothfulnesse, but also maintaine wickednesse. If any man also stretch his saying to the time to come, and say that they which heare shall not beleue, because they are reprobate: this shalbe rather a cursing than a teaching. Such therefore Augustine not vnworthily biddeth to depart from the Church, as foolish teachers, and vnlucky and ill prophesying Prophetes. In an other place he truly affirmeth that it is to be holden that a man then profreth with rebukinge, when he hath mercy and helpeth which maketh to profit whom he will, euen without rebukinge. But why some thus, and some otherwise? God forbid that, that we should say that the power of iudging belōgeth rather to the clay than to the potter. Againe afterward. When men by rebukinge either come or returne into the way of righteousness, who worketh saluation in their hearts but he, which when any who-

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soeuer he be planteth and watereth, giueth the encrease, whom when he will saue, no freewill of man resisteth? It is therefore not to be doubted that the wils of men can not resist the will of God (which both in heauen and earth hath done whatsoeuer he woulde, and which hath also done those things that are to come) but that he may do what he will, forasmuch as euen of the very wils of men he doth what he will. Againe, when he will leade me to him, doth he binde them with corporall bondes? He inwardly worketh, inwardly holdeth heartes, inwardly moueth hearts, & draweth the with their wils which he himselfe hath made in them. But, that which he by and by addeth ought in no wise to be omitted: that because we know not who belongeth or not belongeth to the number of the predestinate, we ought so to be affectioned that we woulde all men to be saued. So shall it come to passe, that whomsoeuer we finde, we shall trauaile to make him partaker of peace. But our peace shall rest vpon the children of peace. Therefore for our part, we must apply holosome & sharp rebuking to all men like a medecine, that they perishe not, nor destroy other, but it shalbe the worke of God to make it profitable to the whom he hath foreknownen and predestinate.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

That election is stablished by the callinge of God: but that the reprobate do bring upon themselves the iust destruction, whereunto they are appointed.

BUt, that the matter may more plainly appeare, we must entreate both of the callinge of the elect, and of the blinding and hardeninge of the wicked. Of the first of these I haue already spoken somewhat, when I confuted their errour, which think that the generalnes of the promises extēdeth egally to all mankind. But this election which otherwise God hath hidden with himselfe he doth not without choise at length disclose by his calling, which a man may therefore call the testifyinge of it. For, whom he hath foreknownen, them he hath also foreappointed to be fashioned like the image of his sonne: whom he hath foreappointed, them he hath also called: whom he hath called, them he hath also iustified, that in time to come he may glorifie them. When the Lorde hath by electing already adopted his into the number of his children: yet we see how they entre not into possession of so great a benefit, but when they be called: on the other side, how being called they do now enioy a certaine communicatinge of his election. For which reason Paule calleth the Spirite which they receiue, both the Spirite of adoption, and

Rom. 8.
29.

Rom. 8.
15.

and the seale, & earnest of the inheritance to come: namely because it doth with the testimony thereof stablish and seale to their heartes the assurednesse of the adoptiō to come. For though the preaching of the Gospell spring out of the fountaine of electiō: yet because it is also common to the reprobate, therefore it could not by it selfe be a sure prooffe thereof. But God effectually teacheth his elect, that he may bring them to faith: as we haue before alleaged out of the wordes of Christ, Who so is of God, he & none other seeth the Father. Againe, I haue shewed thy name to the men whom thou hast giuen me: Where as he saith in an other place, No man can come to me, vnlesse my Father drawe him. Which place Augustine wisely weiet, whose words are these. If (as Trueth sayth) euery one that hath learned, commeth: who soeuer commeth not, certainly neither hath he learned. It doth not therefore followe that he which can come, also commeth, vnlesse he haue both willed & done it. But euery one that hath learned of the Father, not only can come, but also commeth, when nowe there is present both the profit of comming, and the affection of willinge, and the effect of doinge. Also in an other place more plainly. What is this else, Euery one that hath hearde of the father, and hath learned, commeth to me, but there is none that heareth and learneth of the father and commeth not to me? For if euery one which hath hearde of the father and learned, commeth: truly euery one that commeth not, hath not heard of the father, nor learned: for if he had heard and learned, he woulde come. This schoole is farre from the senses of the fleshe, in which schoole the father is heard and teacheth, that men may come to the sonne. And a litle after. This grace which is secretly giuen to the heartes of men, is receiued of no hard heart: for it is therefore giuen, that the hardnesse of the heart may first be taken away. When therefore the father is heard within, he taketh away the stony heart, and giueth a fleshy heart. For so he maketh the children of promise and vessels of mercy, which he hath prepared to glory. Why therefore doth he not teach all, that they may come to Christ, but because all whome he teacheth, by mercy he teacheth: whom he doth not teach, by iudgement he doth not teach: because he hath mercy vpon whom he will, and hardeneth whome he will. Therefore God assigneth them for children to himselfe, and appointeth himselfe father to them, whom he hath chosen. Now by calling he bringeth them into his household, and vniteth himselfe to them, that they may be one together. But, when Calling is ioyned to election, in that manner the Scripture sufficiently signifieth that in it nothinge is to be required but the mercy of God. For if we aske,

Eph. 1.
'3.
Iohn 6.
46.
Ioh. 17.
6.
Iohn. 6.
44.
Lib. de
Graz.
Christi
contra
Pelag.
& Cz.
lest. ca.
14. & 32
De pre
dest.
sanct.
cap. 8.

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whom he calleth and for what reason: he answereth, whom he had elected. But when we come once to election, there the onely mercy of God appeareth on euery side. And here that saying of Paul truly hath place, It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy: Neither yet that same so as they commonly take it, which part it betwene the grace of God, & the willing and running of man. For they expound it, that the desire & endeouour of man haue in deede no force of themselues, vnlesse they be prospered by the grace of God: but when they are holpen by his blessing, then they affirme that they haue also their partes in obtaininge saluation. Whose cauillation I had rather confute with Augustines wordes thā mine owne: If the Apostle meant nothinge else but that it is not of him only that willeth or runneth, vnlesse the Lorde be there present mercifull: we may contrariwise turne it against them and say that it is not of only mercy, vnlesse there be present willing and runninge. But if this be openly wicked, let vs not dout that the Apostle giueth all to the mercy of the Lord, & leaueth nothinge to our willes or endeouours. To this effect speaketh that holy man. And I set not a straw by that nice suttelty, that they say that Paule would not haue so said vnlesse there had bin some endeouor & some wil in vs. For he did not consider what was in man: but when he saw that some did assigne part of saluation to the endeouour of men, he simply condemned their errour in the first parte of the sentence, and in the second he chalenged the whole summe of saluation of y^e mercy of God. And what other thinge do the Prophetes trauaile about, but continually to preach the free calling of God?

2 Morouer the very nature also and dispensation of Calling doth clearly shewe it, which consisteth not in the only preachinge of the word, but also in the enlightning of the Spirit. To whom God offreth his word, is shewed vs in the prophet: I am found of them that sought me not: I haue openly appeared to them that did not aske for me. To a people which hath not called vpon my name I haue sayd, Loe I am present. And least the Iewes should thinke that this kindenes belonged only to the Gentiles, he doth also put them in remembrance from whence he tooke their father Abraham, when he vouchsafed to ioine him to himselfe, namely from mere idolatry, in which he was drowned with all his. When he first shineth with the light of his worde to men not deseruinge it, he therein sheweth an example plaine enough of his free goodnesse. Here therefore the vnmeasurable goodnes of God sheweth forth it self, but not vnto saluatiō to all: because for the reprobate there abideth a more grieuous iudgement, for that they refuse

Rom 9.
16.

Enchir.
ad Lau-
rent. ca.
31.

Esai. 65.
2.

Iho. 24.
3.

refuse the testimony of the wil of God. And God also, to set forth his glory, withdraweth from them the effectuall force of his Spirit. Therefore this inward calling is a pledge of saluation, which can not deceiue vs. For which purpose maketh that saying of Iohn, Thereby we know that we are his children, by the Spirit which he hath giuen vs. And least flesh should glory, that it did at the least answer to him when he called & of his owne will offered himselfe, he affirmeth that it hath no eares to heare, no eies to see, but which he hath made: and that he maketh them, not accordinge to euery mans thankfulnessse, but according to his owne election. Of which thinge you haue a notable example in Luke, where both Iewes and Gentiles in common together heard the preaching of Paule and Barnabas. Whereas they were at that time all taught with one selfe same worde, it is sayd that they beleued which were ordained to cuerlastinge life. With what face may we deny that the Callinge is free, in which euen to the very last part election reigneth alone.

3 But here we must beware of two errors: because many make man a worker together with God, that he by his consent may make the election to be of force: so by their opinion, the wil of man is aboue the counsell of God. As though the Scripture did teach, that it is only giuen vs that we may beleue, and not rather saith it selfe. Other some, although they do not so weaken the grace of the holy Ghost: yet being led by I wote not what reason, hang election vpon faith as though it were doubtful, yea & vneffectuall vntill it be confirmed by faith. It is in deede certaine that it is confirmed, as toward vs: and we haue already shewed that the secret counsel of God beginneth to shine out, which was before hidden: so that by this word you vnderstande nothinge else, than that it is approued which was vnknownen, and is as it were sealed with a seale. But it is falsely sayd, that election is then and not till then effectuall, when we haue embraced the Gospell, and that thereof it taketh liuely strength. We must in deede from thence fetch the certainty of it: Because if we attempt to reach vnto the eternall ordinance of God, that deepe bottomlesse depth wil swallow vs vp. But when God hath opened it vnto vs, we must climbe vp hier, least the effect should drowne the cause. For what greater absurdity or shamefull vniustice is there, than that when the Scripture teacheth that we are enlightened as God hath chosen vs, our eyes shoulde be so daseled with this light, that they shoulde refuse to looke vpon election? Yet in the meane time I deny not, that to the ende we may be certaine of our saluation, we must beginne at the word, and that our assurance ought therewith to be contented, that we may call vpon God

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by the name of Father. For some quite contrary to right order, that they may be certified of the counsell of God (which is neere vnto vs, in our mouth & in our heart) do couet to flie aboue the cloudes. Therefore that rashnes is to be restrained with sobriety of faith, that it may suffice vs that God in his outwarde worde is a witnesse of his hidden grace: to that the conduit pipe out of which there floweth water largely for vs to drinke, do not hinder but that the springhead may haue his due honor.

Deu. 30
14

4 Therefore as they do wrongfully, which hang the strength of election vpon the faith of the gospel, by which faith we feele that election pertaineth to vs: so we shall kepe the best order, if in seeking the certainty of our election, we sticke fast in these later signes, which are sure witnessings of it. Satan doth with no tentation either more grievously, or more dangerously astonish the faithfull, thā when disquieting them with dout of their election, he doth also moue them with a peruerse desire to seeke it out of the way. I cal it seeking out of the way, when a wretched man enterpriseth to breake into the hidden secretes of the wisdom of God, and to pearce euen to the hiest eternity to vnderstand what is determined of himselfe at the iudgement seate of God. For then he throweth himselfe headlong to be swallowed vp into the depth of the vnmeasurable deuouringe pit: then he wrappeth himselfe with innumerable snares and such as he can not winde out of: then he ouerwhelmeth himselfe with the bottomlesse depth of blinde darkenesse. For so is it rightful that the foolishnesse of the wit of man be punished with so horrible ruine, when he attēp- zeth of his owne force to rise vp to the height of the wisdom of God. And so much more deadly is this tentation, as there is none to which we are commonly all more bent. For there is most rarely any man to be founde, whose minde is not sometime stricken with this thought. Whence hast thou saluation, but of the election of God? And of Election what reuelation hast thou? which thought, if it haue ones taken place in any man, either perpetually vexeth the miserable man with terrible tormentes, or vtterly dismayeth him. Truly I would haue no surer argument than this experience to proue, howe wrongefully such men imagine of predestination. For the munde can be infected with no error more pestilent, than that which plucketh downe and thrusteth the conscience from her peace and quietnesse towarde God. Therefore if we feare shipwrecke, we must diligently beware of this rocke, which is neuer stricken vpon without destruction. And though the disputinge of predestination be esteemed like a dangerous Sea, yet in passinge through it there is found a safe and quiet

quiet yea and pleasant saylinge, vnlesse a man do wilfully couet to be in danger. For as they do drowne themselues in the deadly bottomlesse depth, which to be certified of their election do enquire of the secret Counsell of God without his word: so they which do rightly and orderly searche it in such sorte as it is contained in the worde, receiue thereof a singular frute of comfort. Let this therefore be our way to search it, that we beginne at the callinge of God, and ende in the same. Howebeit this withstandeth not, but that the faithfull may thinke that the benefites which they daily receiue at the hande of God, do descend from that secret adoption: as they say in Esay, Thou hast done maruels, thy thoughtes are olde, true, and faithfull: forasmuch as by that adoption as by a token, the Lordes wil is to cōfirme so much as is lawfull to be knowne of his counsell. But least any man shoulde thinke this a weake testimony, let vs cōsider how much both clearenesse and certainty it bringeth vs. Of which thinge Bernarde speaketh fitly. For after that he had spokē of the reprobate, he saith: The purpose of God standeth, the sentence of peace standeth vpon them that feare him, both couering their euils, and rewardinge their good thinges: so as to them after a maruelous maner not onely good thinges, but also euil do worke together vnto good. Who shal accuse the elect of God? It sufficeth me to all righteousness, to haue him alone merciful, to whom alone I haue sinned. Al that he hath decreed not to impute to me, is so as if it neuer had bin. And a litle after: O place of true rest, and to which not vnworthily I may giue the name of a bedchamber, in which God is seene not as troubled with wrath, not as withholden with care, but his will is proued in him good, and well pleasinge, and perfect. This sight doth not make afrayd, but calmeth: doth not stirre vp vnquiet curiousnesse, but appeaseth it: doth not weary the senses, but quieteth them. Here is quiet truely taken. God being appeased, appeaseth all things: and to behold him quiet, is to be quiet.

Esa. 25.

5 First if we seeke a fatherly kindenesse and fauorable minde of God, we must turne our eies to Christ, in whom alone the soule of the father resteth. If we seeke saluation, life, & the immortality of the heauenly kingdome, we must then also flee to no other: forasmuch as he alone is both the fountayne of life, and author of saluation, and heire of the kingdome of Heauen. Now whereto serueth election, but that being adopted of the heauenly Father into the degre of children, we may by his fauour obtaine saluation and immortality? Howsoever in seekinge thouASSE it and shake it, yet thou shalt finde that the vttermost marke of it extendeth no further. Therefore

Matt. 3.
17.

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whom God hath taken to his childrē, it is not said that he hath chosen them in themselves, but in his Christ: because he could not loue them but in him, nor giue them the honor of the inheritance of his kingdom, vnlesse they had first bin made partakers of him. If we be chosen in him, we shall not finde in our selues the certainty of our election: no, nor yet in God the Father, if we imagine him naked without the Sonne. Christ therefore is the mirrour, in whome we both must, and without deceite may beholde our election. For sith it is he into whose body the Father hath appointed to graffe all them whom from eternity he hath willed to be his, that he may take for his children so many as he reknowledgeth among his members: we haue a witnesse plaine and sure enough, that we are wrytten in the booke of life, if we communicate with Christ. And that sure communion of himselfe he gaue vs, when by the preaching of the Gospell he testified that he was giuen to vs of the father, that he with all his good things should be ours. We are sayd to put on him, and to grow together into him, that we may liue: because he liueth. So oft is this doctrine repeated, The Father spared not his only begotten sonne, that whosoeuer beleueth in him, may not perishe. But he that beleueth in him, is sayd to haue passed from death into life. In which sense he calleth himselfe the bread of life, which who so eateth, he shal not die for euer. He (I say) hath bin a witnesse to vs, that they shal be receiued of the heavenly Father in place of his children, of whom he hath bin receiued by faith. If we couet any more than to be accompted among the children & heires of God, then we may climbe aboute Christ. If this be our vttermost marke: howe much be we mad in seeking without him that which we haue already obtained in him, and which may be founde in him alone? Moreouer sith he is the eternall wisdom, the vnchangeable trueth, and fast settled counsell of the Father: it is not to be feared least that which he declareth to vs in his word, shoulde vary any thinge be it neuer so litle from that will of the father which we seeke: but rather he faithfully openeth it vnto vs, such as it was from the beginninge, and euer shalbe. The practise of this doctrine ought also to be in vre in prayers. For though the faith of election doth encourage vs to call vppon God: yet when we make our praiers, it were vnorderly done to thrust it into the presence of God, or to couenant with this conditiō. Lord, if I be elected, heare me: forasmuch as he willeth vs to be content with his promises, and no where else to seeke whether he will be entreateable to vs or no. This wisdom shall deliuer vs from many snares, if we can skill to apply that to a right vse which hath bin rightly-wrytten: but let vs not

vndiscret-

vn discretely drawe hither and thither that which ought to haue bin restrained.

6 There is also for stablishing of our affiance an other stay of election, which we haue sayd to be ioyned with our calling. For, whom Christ taketh beinge enlightened with the knowledge of his name into the bosome of his Church, them he is sayd to receiue into his faith & protection. And whom soeuer he receiueth, they are sayd to be committed to him of the father & deliuered to his trust, that they may be kept into eternall life. What meane we? Christ crieth out with a loude voice, that so many as the Father willeth to be saued, he hath deliuered them into his protection. Therefore if we list to know whether God haue care of our safety, let vs seeke whether he hath committed vs to Christ, whom he hath made the onely Sauour of all his. Now if we dout whether we be receiued of Christ into his faith and keping, he preuenteth our douting, when he voluntarily offereth himselfe to be our shepeheard, and pronounceth that we shalbe in the number of his shepe if we heare his voice. Let vs therefore embrace Christ, being liberally set open for vs, and comming to meete vs: he shall number vs in his flocke, and shall kepe vs enclosed within his folde. But there entreth into vs a carefulnesse of our state to come. For as Paule teacheth that they are called, which were before chosen: so Christ sheweth that many are called, but fewe are chosen. Yea and also Paule himselfe in an other place disshorteth vs from carefulnesse: Let him that standeth (sayth he) looke that he fall not. Againe, Art thou grafted into the people of God? Be not proude, but feare: for God is able to cut thee of againe that he may graffe other. Finally we are sufficiently taught by experience it selfe, that calling & faith are of smal value, vnlesse there be adioyned continuance which happeneth not to al men. But Christ hath deliuered vs frō this care: for verily these promises haue respect to the time to come. All that my Father giueth me, shall come to me: and him that shall come to me, I will not cast him out of doers. Againe, This is the will of him that sent me, the Father, that I loose nothinge of all thinges that he hath giuen me, but may raise them vp againe in the last day. Againe, My shepe heare my voice and they followe me: I knowe them, and I giue them eternall life, and they shall not perishe for euer, neither shall any man take the out of my hand. The Father which gaue them to me, is greater then all: and no man can take them out of the hande of my Father. Now when he pronounceth, Euery tree which my Father hath not planted, shalbe plucked vp by the roote: he signifieth on the contrary side, that they can neuer be plucked from saluation,

Iohn. 6.
37. and
17. 6.

Ioh. 10.
3.

Rom. 8.
30.
Mat 23
14.
1. Cor.
10. 12.

Iohn 6.
37. and
40.

Ioh. 10.
17.

Mat. 15
13.

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which haue roote in God. Wherewith agreeth that saying of Iohn,

1. Ioh. 2. If they had bin of vs, they had not at all gone out from vs. Hereupon
 19. also commeth that noble glorying of Paule against life and death,
 Rom. 8 present thinges and thinges to come: which gloryinge must needes
 38. be grounded vpon the gift of continuāce. Neither is it any dout that
 he directeth this saying to all the faithfull. In an other place the same
 Phil. 1. Paule sayth. He that hath begonne in you a good worke, shall ende it
 16. euē vntill the day of Christ. As also Dauid, when his faith fainted,
 Psa 138 leaned vpon this stay: Thou shalt not forsake the worke of thy hands.
 8. And now neither is this doutfull, that Christ when he prayeth for all
 the faithfull, asketh the same thinge for them which he asketh for
 Luk. 22 Peter, that their faith may neuer faint. Whereby we gather, that
 32. they are out of daunger of fallinge away, because the sonne of God,
 askinge stedfast continuance for their godlinesse, suffered no deniall.
 What woulde Christ haue vs to learne hereby, but that we shoulde
 trust that we shall perpetually be safe, because we are ones made
 his?

7 But it daily happeneth, that they which seemed to be Christes,
 do againe reuolt from him & fal. Yea & in the very same place where
 he affirmeth that none had perished of them which were giuen him
 Ioh. 16 of the Father, yet he excepteth the sonne of perdition. That is true in
 12. deede: but this is also as certaine, that such did neuer cleaue to Christ
 with that affiance of heart with which I say that the assurednes of our
 1. Ioh. 2 election is stablished. They went out from vs (sayth Iohn) but they
 19. were not of vs. For if they had bin of vs, they had still taried with vs.
 Neither do I deny that they haue like signes of callinge as the elect
 haue: but I do not graunt that they haue that sure stablishment of e-
 lection which I bid the faithfull to fetch out of the worde of the Go-
 spell. Wherefore let not such examples moue vs but that we quietly
 Iohn. 3. rest vpon the promise of the Lorde, where he pronounceth, that all
 16. & 6 they are giue to him of the Father, which receiue him with true faith,
 39. of whom sith he is their keper and Pastor, none shall perish. Of Iudas
 we shall speake hereafter. Paule doth not counsell Christians from as-
 surednesse altogether, but from carelesse and loose assurednesse of the
 flesh, which draweth with it, pride, presumption, & disdaine of other,
 and quenchereth humility and the reuerence of God, & bringeth for-
 getfulnes of grace receiued. For he speaketh to the Gentiles, whom
 he teacheth, that they ought not proudly & vngently to reproch the
 Iewes for this, that the Iewes beinge disherited, they were set in their
 stede. Feare also he requireth, not wherwith they should be dismaied
 and stagger, but which framing vs to the hūbler receiuing of the grace
 of

of God, should abate nothing of the affiance thereof, as we haue sayd in an other place. Beside that, he doth not there speake to euery man particularly, but to the sectes theselues generally. For when y^e Church was diuided into two parts, & enuy bred dissension. Paule putteth the Gentiles in minde that their being supplied into the place of y^e peculiar & holy people, ought to be to them a cause of feare & modesty. And among them there were many puffed vp with glory, whose vain boasting it was profitable to beat down. But we haue in an other place shewed, that our hope is extended to the time to come euen beyond death, and that nothing is more contrary to the nature of it, than to dout what shall become of vs.

8 That saying of Christ, of many beinge called but few chosen, is very ill taken after that maner. There shalbe nothinge doutfull if we hold fast that which ought to be cleare by the things aboue spoken, that there are two sorts of calling. For there is an vniuersall callinge wherby through the outward preaching of the word, God calleth altogether to him, euen them also to whom he setteth it forth vnto the sauer of death, & vnto matter of more grieuous condemnation. The other is a speciall calling which for the most parte he vouchsaueth to giue only to the faithfull, when by the inward enlightning of his spirit he maketh y^e word preached is settled in their hearts. Yet sometime he maketh them also partakers of it whome he enlighteneth but for a time, & afterward by the deseruing of their vnthankfulnes forsaketh them, & striketh them with greater blindenes. Now when the Lorde saw the Gospell to be published farre and wide, and to be despised of many, but to be had in due price of fewe: he describeth to vs God vnder the person of a king, which preparinge a solemne feast sendeth his messengers rounde about to bidde a great multitude to be his gastes, and yet can get but a fewe, because euery one alleageth lettes for his excuse, so that at length he is compelled vpon their refusal, to call out of the hie wayes euery one that he meeteth. Hitherto euery man seeth that the parable must be vnderstande of the outward callinge. He addeth afterward that God doth like a good maker of a feast, which goeth about the tables, to cheere his gastes. If he finde any not clothed with a wedding garment, he will not suffer him with his vncleanlinesse to dishonour the solemnity of the feast. This parte of the parable, I graunt, is to be vnderstande of them which enter into the Church by the profession of faith, but are not clothed with the sanctification of Christ. Such dishonors and as it were botches of his Church, the Lord will not suffer for euer: but, as their filthinesse deserueth he will cast them out. Therefore fewe are

Mat. 22.

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choſen out of a great number of them that are called, but yet not with that callinge by which we ſay that the faithfull ought to iudge their election. For, that generall callinge is alſo common to the wicked: but this ſpeciall Callinge bringeth with it the ſpirite of regeneration, which is the earneſt & ſeale of the inheritance to come, where with our hearts are ſealed vp againſt the day of the Lord. In a ſumme ſith hypocrites boaſt of godlineſſe as well as the true worſhippers of God, Chriſt pronounceth y^e at length they ſhalbe caſt out of the place which they wrongfully poſſeſſe: as it is ſayd in the Pſalme, Lord, who ſhall dwell in thy tabernacle? The innocent in handes, & the man of a pure heart. Again in an other place. This is the generation of them that ſecke God, of them that ſecke the face of the God of Iacob. And ſo doth the Spirit exhorte the faithfull to ſufferance, that they take it not grieuouſly that the Iſraelites be mingled with the in the Church: for at length their viſor ſhalbe plucked from them & they ſhalbe caſt out without ſhame.

8 The ſame reſon is of y^e exceptiō euē now allcaged, where Chriſt ſayth that none periſhed but the ſonne of perdition. It is in deede an vnproper ſpeeche, but yet not darke. For he was not accompted amonge the ſhepe of Chriſt, for that he was one in deede, but becauſe he kept the place of one. And where in an other place the Lord affirmeth that he was choſen with the Apoſtles, that is ſpoken onely in reſpect of the miniſtery. Twelue (ſayth he) haue I choſen, and one of them is a Deuill: that is, he had choſen him to the office of an Apoſtle. But when he ſpeaketh of chooſing to ſaluation, he denieth him farre away from the number of the choſen ſayinge: I ſpeake not of all: I knowe whome I haue choſen. If a man do in both places confounde the worde of Chooſinge he ſhall miſerably entangle himſelfe: if he make difference, nothinge is more plaine. Therefore Gregory teacheth very ill and peſtilently when he ſayth that we knowe onely our callinge, but are vncertaine of our election: whereby he moueth all men to feare and tremblinge: vſinge alſo this reaſon, but becauſe we know what we be to day, but what we ſhalbe we know not. But in that place he ſufficiently declareth, how he ſtumbled at this blocke. For, becauſe he hanged election vppon the merites of workes, he had matter enough and more to diſcourage the mindes of men: but he could not ſtrengthen them, which did not remoue them from themſelues to the aſſiſtance of the goodnes of God. Hereof y^e faithful haue ſome taſt of that which we haue determined at the beginninge y^e predeſtination if it be rightly thought vpon, bringeth not a ſhaking of faith, but rather the beſt ſtrengthening of it. And yet I deny not, that y^e holy Ghoſt frameth
his

Eph. 1.

13.

Pſa. 15.

1.

Pſa. 23

2.

Ioh. 17.

13.

Iohn 6.

70.

on. 13.

Ioh. 13.

18.

Homil.

38.

his talke to the smale mesure of our sense. As when he saith. In the secret of my people they shall not be, and in the rowle of my seruants they shall not be written. As though God did beginne to write in the booke of life, them whom he reckoneth in the numbre of his: whereas yet we knowe, euen by the witnesse of Christ, that the names of the children of God are from the beginning written in the booke of life. Phil. 4. But in these words is only expressed the casting away of them which seemed the chiefe among the elect: as it is said in the Psalme. Let them be blotted out of the booke of life, & let them not be written with the righteous. 3. Psal. 69. 29.

9 But the elect are neither immediatly from the wombe, nor all at one time, by calling gathered together into the flocke of Christ, but as it pleaseth God to distribute his grace to them. But ere they be gathered together to that chiefe shepheard, they are scattered abroad and stray in the common deserte, and differ nothing from other, sauing that they be defended by the singular mercie of God, from falling into the extreme heddlonge downefall of death. Therefore if you looke vpon them selues, you shal see the offspring of Adam, which sauoreth of the common corruption of the whole masse. That they be not carried into extreme and despaired vngodlynesse, this cometh not to passe by any goodnesse naturally planted in them but because the eye of God watcheth, and his hand is stretched out to their saluation. For they that dreame that from their very natiuitie there is plated in their heartes I wote not what seede of election, by the vertue whereof they are alway enclined to godlynes and to the feare of God, they both are not holpen to proue it by the authoritie of Scripture, and also are confuted by experience it selfe. They do in deede bring forth a fewe examples to proue that the elect euen before their enlightning, were not vterly strangers from religion: that Paule in his being a Pharisee liued vnreprouable, that Cornelius was by almes and prayers accepted of God: and such other. Of Paule, we graunt to them: of Cornelius, we say that they are deceiued. For it appeareth that he was then already enlightned and regenerate, so that he wanted nothing but the clere reueling of the Gospell. But what will they wring out by these fewe examples? that all the elect are alway endued with the spirit of goodlinesse? No more than if a man by shewing the vprightnesse of Aristides, Socrates, Xenocrates, Scipio, Curius, Camillius, and other, should thereof gather that all they that are left in blindnesse of idolatrie, were desirous followers of holines & honestie. Yea and the Scripture in more places than one, openly crieth out against them. For, the state which Paul describeth Phil. 3. 5. Act. 10. 2.

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Ephe. 2. of the Ephesians before their regeneration, sheweth not one grain
 2 of this seede. Ye were (saith he) deade with defaultes and sinnes, in
 which ye walked according to the time of this worlde, according to
 the prince of the aire, which nowe worketh in the obstinate children:
 among whom we all also were sometime conuersant in the lustes of
 our flesh, doing those things that liked our flesh and minde. And we
Ephe. 5. were by nature the children of wrath, as other also were. Againe, Re-
 8. membre that ye were sometime without hope, and lacked God in the
Ephe. 4. world. Againe. Ye were sometime darkenesse: but nowe ye are light in
 23. the Lorde: walke as the children of light. But parduerture they will
 haue these things to be referred to the ignorance of the true God,
 wherewith they denie not that the elect are holden before that they
 be called. Albeit this were a shamelesse cauilling, sith he thereof con-
 cludeth, that they ought nowe no more either to lie or to steale: yet
1. Cor. what will they aunswer to other places? as is that place to the Corin-
 6. 9. thians, where when he had pronounced that neither whoremongers,
 nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor weakelings, nor buggers, nor
 theues, nor couetous men, shalbe heires of the kingdome of God: he
 by & by addeth that they were wrapped in the same hainous offenses
 before that they knewe Christ: but nowe that they are both washed
 by his bloode and made free by his Spirit. Againe an other place to
Rom. 6. the Romaines. As ye haue geuen your membres bond to vnclean-
 19. nesse, and to iniquitie vnto iniquitie, nowe yeld them in bondage to
 righteousnesse. For what frute had you of those things, in which ye
 are nowe worthily ashamed. &c.

11 What maner of seede of election, I pray you, did then budde
 in the, which being manifoldly defiled in all their life, as it were with
 desperate wickednes, wallowed in the most abhominable & accursed
 sinne of all? If he would haue spoken after their opinion, he should
 haue shewed howe much they were bond to the bountifullnesse of
 God, by which they had bene preserued from sliding into so great
 filthinesse. So Peter also should haue exhorted his to thankfulnessse
2. Pet. 4. for the perpetuall seede of election. But he contrary wise putteth
 3. them in minde that y^e time past sufficed to make an ende of the lustes
 of the Gētiles. What if we come to examples? what budde of righte-
Ios 2. 1. ousnesse was there in Rahab the harlot, before faith? in Manasse,
2. Kin. when Hierusalem was dipped and in a maner drowned in the bloode
2. 17. of the Prophetes? in the These, which among his last gaspings be-
Luc. 23. ganne to thinke of repentance? Away therefore with these argumētis,
 16. which silly curious men do rashely deuise to themselues without the
 Scripture. But let that abide certaine with vs, which the Scripture
 hath,

hath, that all haue strayed like lost shepe, euery one hath swarued into his owne way, that is, perdition. Out of this goulfe of perdition, whom the Lorde hath determined ones to plucke forth, them he differreth til his fit time: onely he preserueth them, that they fall not vnto vnardonable blasphemy. Esa 53. 6.

12 As the Lorde by the effectualnesse of his calling toward the elect, maketh perfect the saluation, where vnto he hadde by eternall counsell appointed them: so he hath his iudgements against the reprobate, whereby he executeth his counsell of them. Whom therefore he hath created vnto the shame of life, and destruction of death, that they should be instrumentes of his wrath, and examples of his seueritie: from them, that they may come to their ende, sometime he taketh away the power to heare his word, and sometime by the preaching of it he more blindeth and amaseth them. Of the first maner, whereas there be innumerable examples, let vs choose out one more cleare and notable than all the rest. There passed away about fower thousande yeares afore Christ, in which he hidde from all the Gentiles the light of his health bringing doctrine. If any man answer that he therefore made them not to enioy so great a benefit bycause he iudged them vnworthy, they which come after shall not be proued any more worthy. Of which thing, beside the experience, Malachie is a substantiall witnes, which reprobuing infidelitie mingled with grosse blasphemies, yet declareth that there shall come a redeemer. Why therefore is he rather geuen to these than to those? He shall trouble himselfe in vaine, that shall here search for a cause hier than the secret and vnsearchable counsell of God. Neither is it to be feared least any scholet of Porphyrie, should freely gnawe at the righteousnesse of God while we aunswer nothing in defense of it. For when we say that none perish vnderdeserving, and that it is of the free bountifullnesse of God that some be deliuered, there is largely enough said for the setting forth of his glorie, so that it needeth not our shifting. The soueraigne iudge therefore maketh a way for his predestination, when whome he hath ones reiected, them being deprived of the communicating of his light he leaueth in blindenesse. Of the other maner there are both daily examples, and also many cōteined in the Scripture. One selfe same preaching is cōmonly made to a hundred, twenty receiue it with ready obedience of faith: the rest do either set naught by it, or scorne it, or hisse it out, or abhorre it. If any man aunswer that this diuersitie proceedeth of their malice and peruerfnesse, he shall not yet satisfie vs: bycause the others witt also should be possessed with the same malice, vnlesse God did amende it with

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his goodnesse. Therefore we shall still be encombred, vnlesse we call to mind that which Paul saith, Who maketh thee to differ? Whereby he signifieth that some excell other some, not by their owne vertue, but by the onely grace of God.

13 Why therfore doth he in graunting grace to those passe ouer

these? Of those Luke sheweth a cause, Becaue they are ordeined to life. Of these, what shall we think, but because they are the vessels of wrath vnto dishonor? Wherefore let it not greue vs to say with Augustine. God (saith he) might turne the will of the euell into good, because he is almighty. He might in deede. Why therfore doth he it not? because he would not. Why he would not, is in himself. For we ought to be no more wise than we ought to be. And that is much better, than to shift with Chrysostome, and say that he draweth him that is willing and reacheth his hand, that the difference may not seeme to stand in the iudgemēt of God, but in the onely will of men.

Truely it so standeth not in the propre motion of man, that euen the godly and they that feare God haue neede of a singular instruction of the Spirit. Lidia the purpleseller feared God, and yet it behoued that her heart should be opened, that she might harken to the doctrine of Paule, and profit in it. This is not spoken of one woman alone, but that we should knowe that the profiting of euery man in godlinesse is the secrete worke of the Spirit. This verily can not be brought in question, that the Lord sendeth his word to many, whose blindness he will haue to be more enforced. For, to what purpose doth he bidde so many commaundements to be carried to Pharao? was it because he hoped that with often repeted messages he would be appeased? No, but before he beganne, he foreknewe and foretolde the ende. Go (said he to Moses) and declare to him my will: but I will harden his heart, that he obey not. So when he stirreth vp Ezechiel, he warneth him aforehande that he sendeth him to a rebellious and stubborne people: to the ende that he should not be afrayde if he perceiue himself to singe to deaf men. So he foretelleth

to Ieremie, that his doctrine should become a fier, to destroy and wast the people like stuble. But the prophecie of Esaie yet more enforceth it. For he is thus sent of the Lorde: Go and say to the children of Israell: With hearing heare ye, and vnderstande not: With seeing see ye, and knowe not. Make obstinate the heart of this people, and make heauy their eares, and ouer plaister their eyes: least paraduerture they may see with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and vnderstand with their heart, that being turned they may be healed. Behold he directeth his voice to them, but that they may waxe more

desse,

desse, he lighteth a light, but that they may be made more blinde: he sheweth forth doctrine, but that they may be made more dull: he laieth to them a remedy, but not that they may be healed. And Iohn ^{Ioh. 12.} alleging this prophetic, affirmeth that the Iewes could not beleue ^{39.} the doctrine of Christ, because this curse of God lay vpon them. Neither can this also be in controuersie, that whom God will not haue to be enlightened, to them he deliuered his doctrine wrapped vp in darke speches, that they may nothing profit thereby but to be thrust into greater dulnesse. Christ also testifieth, that he doth therefore expound onely to the Apostles the parables in which he had ^{Mat. 13.} spoken to the multitude, bycause to them it was geuen to knowe the ^{11.} misteries of the kingdome of God, but to the common people not so. What meaneth the Lorde (wilt thou say) in teaching them, of whome he provideth that he may not be vnderstanded? Consider whense is the fault, and thou wilt cesse to aske. For in the word howe great darknesse soeuer there be, yet there is alway light enough to conuince the conscience of the wicked.

14 Nowe remaineth for vs to see, why the Lord doth that which it is plaine that he doth. If it be aunswered that it is so done because men haue so deserued by their vngodlinesse, wickednes, & vnthankfulness: the same shall in dede be well & truely said: but because there appeareth not yet the reason of this diuersitie, why when some are bowed to obedience, other some continue hardened, in searching it we must needes go to that which Paule hath noted out of Moses, ^{Rom. 9.} namely that God hath raised them vp from the beginning, that he ^{17.} might shewe his name in the whole earth. Whereas therefore the reprobate do not obey the word of God opened vnto them, that shalbe well imputed to the malice and peruersenesse of their heart, so that this be therewithall added that they are therefore geuen into this peruersnesse, because by the righteous but yet vnsearcheable iudgemēt of God they are railed vp to set forth his glorie with their damnation. Likewise when it is said of the sonnes of Hely, that they ^{1. Sam.} harkened not to holosome warnings, because the Lorde willed to kill ^{2. 5.} them: it is not denied that the stubbornesse proceded of their owne naughtinesse: but it is therewithall touched why they were lesse in stubbornesse, when the Lorde might haue softened their heartes, namely because his vnchāgeable decree hadde ones appointed them to destruction. To the same purpose serueth that saying of Iohn, ^{Ioh. 12.} When he had done so great signes, no man beleued in him: that the ^{38.} word of Esaie might be fulfilled, Lorde, who hath beleued our saying? For though he do not excuse the stifnecked from blame, yet he

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is cōtent with that reason, that the grace of God is vnfauoric to merit, till the holy Ghost bring tast. And Christ alleging the prophetic of
Iohn.6. Esaie, They shall all be taught of God, tenderth to no other ende but
45. to proue that the Iewes are reprobate and strangers frō the Church, because they are vnapt to learne: and he bringeth no other cause thereof, but for that the promise of God doth not pertain to them.
1. Cor.1 Which thing this saying of Paule confirmeth, that Christ which to
23. the Iewes is an offense, and to the gentiles foolishnes, is to the called the strength and wisdome of God. For when he hath tolde what commonly happeneth so oft as the Gospell is preached, namely that some it maketh more obstinate, and of some it is despised, he saith that it is had in price of them onely which are called. He had in deede a little before named them beleuers, but he meant not to take away the due degree from the grace of God which goeth before faith, but rather he added this seconde saying by way of Correction, that they which had embraced the Gospell should geue the praise of their faith to the calling of God. As also a litle after he teacheth that they are chosen of God. When the vngodly heare these things, they crie out that God with inordinate power abuseth his poore creatures for a sporte to his crueltie. But we which knowe that all men are so many wayes endangered to the iudgement seate of God, that being asked of a thousand things they can not satisfie in one, do confesse that the reprobate suffer nothing which agreeth not with the most iust iudgement of God. Whereas we do not clerely attaine the reason thereof, let vs not be discontent to be ignorant of somewhat, where the wisdome of God listeth vp it selfe into so great heighth.

15 But forasmuch as there are a fewe places of scripture wont to be obiected, in which God seemeth to denie that it is done by his ordinance that the wicked do perish, but by this that, he crieng out against it, they wilfully bring death vpon themselves: let vs by brefely declaring these places, shewe that they make nothing against the sentence aboue set. There is brought forth a place of Ezechiel, that God
Eze.34 will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may be turned and
11. liue. If they will extende this to all mankind: why doth he not moue many to repentance, whose mindes are more pliable to obedience, than theirs which at his daily allurements waxe harder and harder?
Mat.13 With the Sodomites (as Christ witnesseth) the preaching of the
23. Gospell and miracles would haue brought forth more frute than in Iurie. Howe commeth it to passe therefore, if God will all to be saued, that he openeth not the gate of repentance to those miserable men that would haue bene more ready to receiue grace? Hereby we see
that

that the place is violently wrested, if the will of God, whereof the Prophet maketh mention, be set against his eternall counsell, whereby he hath seuered the elect from the reprobate. Now if we seke for the true naturall meaning of the Prophet: his purpose is to bring hope of pardon to y^e penitent. And this is the summe, that it is not to be doubted but that God is ready to forgeue so sone as the sinner turneth. Therefore he willeth not his death, in so much as he willeth his repentance. But experience teacheth that he so willeth them to repent whome he generally calleth to him, that yet he toucheth not all their heartes. Yet is it therefore to be said that he dealeth deceitfully, because although the outward voice do but make them vnexcusable which heare & do not obey it, yet it is truly accompted the testimonie of the grace of God, by which testimonie he reconcileth men to himselfe. Therefore let vs holde this for the meaning of the Prophet, that the death of a sinner pleaseth not God: that the godly may haue affiance, that so sone as they shalbe touched with repentance, there is pardon ready for them with God: and the wicked may fele that their fault is doubled, because they aunswer not to so great mercifull kindenesse and gentlenesse of God. The mercie of God therefore wil alway mete repentance, but to whom repentance is geuen, both all the Prophets, and Apostles, and Ezechiell himselfe do plainely teach. Secondly there is alleged a place of Paule, ^{1 Tim.} where he saith that God willeth all men to be saued, which although ^{2. 4.} it haue a diuerse meaning from the other, yet in somthing they agree together. I aunswer, first that by the rest of the texte it is made plaine howe he willeth. For Paule coupleth together, that he willeth them to be saued, and to come to the acknowledging of the trueth. If they will haue this to be determined by the eternall counsell of God, that they receiue the doctrine of saluation: what meaneth that saying of Moses, What nation is so noble, that God commeth ^{Deut. 4} neare to it as he doth to thee? How came it to passe that God restrained from many peoples the light of the Gospell, which other ^{7.} enioyed? Howe came it to passe that the pure knowledge of godlynesse neuer came to some, and some scarcely tasted so much as any darke principles of it? Hereof it shall now be easy to gather, whereto Paule tendeth. He hadde commaunded Timothee to make solemne prayers in the Church for kinges and princes. But when it seemed somewhat an absurditie that prayers shoulde be made to God for a kinde of menne in a manner despeired (because they were not onely strangers from the body of Christ, but also endeouored with all their forces to oppresse his kingdome) he added, that

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the same is acceptable to God which willeth all men to be saved. Whereby verily he signifieth nothing els but that he hath stopped vp the way vnto saluation to no degree of men: but rather that he hath so powred out his mercie that he willeth no man to be voide of it. The other sentēces do not declare what God hath by his secret iudgemēt determined of all men: but do shewe that there is pardon redy for all sinners which do onely turne themselues to require it. For if they more stiffly stande vpon this that it is said that he will haue mercie vpon all, I will on the contrarie side aunswer them with that

Psa. 115. which is written in an other place, That our God is in heauen where he doth whatsoever he will. This word therfore must so be expounded
3. Exo. 33. that it may agree with the other, I will haue mercie vpon whome I
19. will haue mercy, and I will shewe mercie to whom I will shew mercy. He that chooseth out them whom he will haue mercie on, doth not geue it to all. But sith it clearely appereth that in that place is spoken not of all particular men, but of degrees of men, we wil make no longer disputing about it. Howebeit it is also to be noted, that Paul doth not affirme what God doth alway and euery where and in all men: but leaueth it to him at his libertie at length to make kings and magistrats partakers of the heauenly doctrine, although by reason of their blindenesse they do nowe rage against it. They seeme to presse vs more strongly with obiecting the place of Peter, that God willeth none to perish, but receiue all to repentance. But the vndoing of this knot doth by and by offer it selfe in the second worde, bycause the will to receiue can not be vnderstāded to be any other than that

Eze 36. which is euery where taught. Truly the turning is in the hand of
26. God: whether he will turne all or no, let himselfe be asked, when he promisseth that he will geue to a certaine fewe men a fleshly heart, leauing to other some a stony heart. It is true in deede, that vlesse he were ready to receiue them which call vpon his mercie, this saying
Zach. 1. should be false, Turne to me, and I will turne to you. But I say that
3. none of all mortall men doth come to God but he that is preuented
2. Tim. of God. And if repentance were in the will of man, Paule would not
2. 25. say, If peraduenture he geue them repentance. Yea vlesse the same God which with word exhorteth all men to repentance, did with secret mouing of his spirit bring the chosen to it: Ieremie would
Iere. 31. not say, Turne me, Lorde, and I shalbe turned: for when thou hast
18. turned me, I haue repented.

16 But (thou wilt say) if it be so, there shalbe smal truth in the promises of the Gospell, which when they testifie of the will of God, affirme that he willeth that which is against his inuiolable decree.

Not

Not so. For howe so euer the promises of saluation be vniuersall, yet they nothing disagree with the predestination of the reprobate, so that we direct our mindes to the effect of them. We knowe that then and not till then the promises are effectuell to vs, when we receiue them by faith, on the other side when faith is made voide, the promise is therewithall abolished. If this be the nature of them, let vs then see whether these things disagree together: that it is said that God hath from eternitie ordeined whome he will embrace with loue, and vpon whom he will exercise wrath: and that he promiseth saluation to all without difference. Truely I say that they agree very well. For in so promising he meaneth nothing els than that his mercy is set open for all which do couet and craue it: which thing none do but they whom he hath enlightned. And them he enlightneth, whom he hath predestinate to saluation. They (I say) haue the truth of the promises sure and vnshaken, so as it can not be said that there is any disagreement betwene the eternall election of God, and the testimonie of his grace which he offereth to the faithfull. But why nameth he All? verily that the consciences of the godly may the more safely rest, when they vnderstand that there is no difference of sinners, so that faith be present: and that the wicked may not cauilt for their excuse, that they want a sanctuary wherunto they may withdrawe themselues from the bondage of sinne, when with their owne vnthankfulnesse they refuse it being offred them. Therefore when the mercie of God is by the Gospell offred to both sortes, it is faith, that is to say the enlightning of God, which maketh difference betwene the godly and vngodly, so as the one sort feleth the effectualnesse of the Gospell, and the other sort obtaine no frute therof. The enlightning it self also hath the eternall election of God for the rule therof. The cōplaint of Christ, which they allege, Ierusalem, Ierusalem, how oft haue I willed to gather together thy chickens, but thou wouldest not? maketh nothing for them. I graunt that Christ there speket not onely in the person of man, but also reprocheth them that in all ages they haue refused his grace. But we must define y will of God which is entreated of. For neither is it vnknown, howe diligently God endeouored to kepe still that people, and with how great stiffenesse they euen from the first to the last being geuen to their wandering desires refused to be gathered together: but it followeth not thereof that the counsell of God was made voide by the malice of men. They aunswer and say that nothing lesse agreeth with the nature of God than to haue a double will in him. Which I graunt to the, so that they fitly expound it. But why do they not consider so many testimonies,

Mat. 23.

37.

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- where God putting vpon him the affections of man descendeth beneath his owne maiesty? He saith that he hath with stretched out armes called the rebellious people, that he hath early & late trauailed to bring them backe to him. If they wil apply all these things to God, and not consider the figure, there shall arise many superfluous contentions, which this one solution bringeth to agreement, that the proprietie of man is figuratiuely applied to God. Howebeit the solution which we haue brought in an other place largely sufficeth, that although the will of God be, as to our sense manifold: yet he doth not in him selfe diuersly will this and that, but according to his wisdom, which is diuersly manifold (as Paule calleth it) he amaseth our senses, till it shall be geue vs to know that he marueilously willeth that which now seemeth to be against his will. They also mocke with caullations, that sith God is the father of all, it is vnrighteous that he should disherit any that hath not before with his own fault deserued this punishmēt. As though the liberalitie of God stretcheth not euen to hogges & dogges. But if they speake only of mankind, let the answer be why God bound himself to one people, to be the father thereof: and why also out of the same people he picked a smal numbrell as it were a floure. But their owne lust of euell speaking hindereth these railers that they consider not that God so bringeth forth his sunne to shine vpon the good and euell, that the inheritance is layed vp for a few, to whome it shall one day be said, Come ye blessed of my Father, possesse the kingdome. &c. They obiekt also that God hateth none of these things that he hath made. Which although I graunte them, yet this remaineth safe which I teache, that the reprobate are hatefull to God, and that very rightfully, because they being destitute of his Spirit can bring forth nothing but cause of curse. They say further, that there is no difference of the Iewe and the Gentile, and therefore that the grace of God is without difference set before all men: namely if they graunt (as Paul determineth) that God calleth as well out of the Iewes as out of the Gentiles, according to his good pleasure, so that he is bound to no man. After this maner also is that wiped away which they obiekt in an other place, that God hath enclosed all things vnder sinne, that he may haue mercy vpon all: namely because he will that the saluation of all them that are saued be ascribed to his mercie, although this benefite be not common to all. Nowe when many things are alleaged on both parts, let this be our conclusion, to tremble with Paule at so great depth, and if wanton tongues shall be busie, that we be not ashamed of this his crieng out,
- O man, what arte thou that striest with God? For Augustine truly

affir-

affirmeth that they do peruerfly which measure the righteousness of God by the measure of the righteousness of man.

De pre-
dest. &
gratia.
cap. 2.

The xxv. Chapter.

Of the last Resurrection.

Although Christ the sonne of righteousness, hauing overcome death, shining by the Gospel, geueth vs the light of life (as Paule witnesseth) whereby also it is said that by be-
 uing we haue passed from death into life, being nowe not
 foreners and strangers, but citizens with the saintes, and of the
 houle of God, which hath made vs to sit with the onely be-
 gotten sonne himselfe in heauenly places, that nothing may be wan-
 ting to perfect felicitie: yet least it should be greuous vnto vs to be
 exercised vnder this hard warfare, as though we had no frute of the
 victorie which Christ hath gotten, we must holde fast that which is in
 an other place taught of the nature of hope. For, because we hope
 for those things which appeare not, & (as it is said in an other place)
 faith is a demonstration of things inuisible: so long as we are en-
 closed in the prison of the flesh, we are wayfaring from the Lorde.
 For which reason the same Paule saith in an other place that we are
 deade, and that our life is hidden with Christ in God, and that when
 he which is our life, shall appeare, then shall we also appeare with
 him in glorie. This therefore is our condition, that with liuing so-
 berly and iustly and godly in this worlde, we loke for the blessed
 hope, and the comming of the glorie of the great God, and of our
 sauiour Iesus Christ. Here we neede a singular patience, that we be
 not wearied and either tourne backe our course, or forsake our stan-
 ding. Therefore whatsoeuer hath bene hetherto set out concerning
 our saluation, requireth mindes lifted vp to heauen, that we may loue
 Christ whome we haue not seen, and beleeuing in him may reioise
 with vnspeakeable and glorious ioyfulnesse, till we receiue the ende
 of our faith, as Peter telleth vs. After which maner, Paule saith that
 the faith and charitie of the godly hath respect to the hope which is
 layed vp in heauē. When we thus with our eyes fastened vpon Christ
 do hang of heauen, and nothing withholdeth them in earth, from
 carrieng vs to the promised blessednesse: then is that truely fulfilled,
 Our heart is where our treasure is. Hereupon commeth that faith is
 so rare in the world, because nothing is more hard to our dulnesse
 then through innumerable steppes to climbe vp aboue them with
 endeuoring forward to the price of our heauenly calling: To the
 great heape of miseries wherewith we be almost overwhelmed, are

2. Tim.
1. 10.
Iohn. 5.
24.
Ephc. 2.
19.

Rom. 8.
28.
Heb. 11.
1.
2. Cor.
5. 6.
Colo. 3.
3.
Tit. 2.
12.

1 Pet. 1.
8.
Colo. 1.
5.
Mat. 7.
21.

added the mockings of vngodly men, wherewith our simplicitie is railed at, when volutarily forsaking the allurements of present good things, we seeme to followe the blessednes hidden from vs, as it were a fleeing shadow. Finally aboue and beneth vs, before vs and behinde vs, violent tentations besege vs, to the sustaining of the feare whereof our courages should be farre to weake, vnlesse beinge vncumbred of earthly things they were fast bound to the heauenly life, which in seming is farre from vs. Wherefore onely it hath soundly profited in the Gospell, which is enured to a cōtinuall meditation of the blessed resurrection.

2 Of the soueraigne ende of good things, the philosophers haue in olde time curiously disputed, and also strued among themselues: yet none except Plato, acknowledged the soueraigne good of man to be his conioining with God. But what maner of conioining that was, he could not perceiue so much as with any smale tast, and no maruel, sith he had neuer learned of the holy bonde thereof. To vs the only and perfect felicitie is knowē euen in this earthly wayfaring: but, such as daily more and more enkindleth our heartes with desire of it, till the full enjoyinge may satisfie vs. Therefore I said that none receiue frute of the benefites of Christ, but they that lift vp their mindes to the resurrectiō. For, Paul setteth vp this marke to the faithfull, toward which he saith that he endeuoreth, and forgetteth all things till he come to it. And so much the more cherfully ought we to trauaill towarde it, least if this world withhold vs, we suffer greuous punishment for our slothfulnesse. Wherefore in an other place he marketh the faithfull with this marke, that their conuersation is in heauen, from whence also they looke for their sauiour. And y their courages should not faint in this race, he ioineth all creatures companiōs with them. For, because euery where are seen deformed ruines, he saith that all things in heauen & earth do endeuour to the renewing. For

Phil. 3.
8. sith Adam by his fall dissolued the perfect ordre of nature to the creatures, their bondage is peinesfull and greuous, wherunto they are subiect by reason of the sinne of man, not for that they are endued with any feling, but for that they naturally couet the perfect estate from which they are fallen. Therefore Paul saith that they grone, and are as in peine of childe bearing, that we to whom are geuen the first frutes of the Spirit, may be ashamed to pine away in our corruption, and not at the least to followe the dead elements, which beare paine of an others sinne. And the more to pricke vs forward, he calleth the last comming of Christ our redemption. It is true in deede that all the partes of our resurrectiō are already fulfilled: but because Christ hath

Rom. 8.
19.

hath ones bene offered for sinnes , he shall be seene againe without sinne vnto saluation . With what miseries soeuer we be pressed , let this redemption susteine vs euen vntill the performance of it. Heb.10.

3 The very weight of the thing it selfe shall whet our endeour. For neither doth Paul without cause affirme that the whole Gospel is void and deceitfull, vnlesse the dead do rise againe : because our state should be more miserable than the state of all men , namely sith we lieng open to the hatredes and reproches of many, are euery houre in danger, yea & are as shepe appointed to the slaughter : and therefore the authority thereof should fall away not only in one part, but also in the whole summe which both our adoption and the effect of our saluation cōteineth. And so let vs be hedelessly bent to this most earnest thing of all, that no continuance of time may make vs wery. For which purpose I haue differred to this place that which I hadde breesely to entreate of it, that the readers may learne, when they haue receiued Christ the author of their saluation, to rise vp hier, and may knowe that he is clothed with heauenly immortality and glorie, that the whole body may be made like fashioned to the heade: as also the holy Ghost ofentimes setteth forth in his person an example of the resurrection. It is a thing harde to be beleued, that bodies when they haue bene consumed with rottenesse, shall at their appointed time rise vp againe. Therefore where many of the Philosophers haue affirmed soules to be immortall: the resurrection of the flesh hath bene allowed of fewe : wherein although there was no excuse, yet we are thereby put in minde, that it is to harde thing to drawe mans senses to beleue it. That faith may overcome so great a stoppe, the scripture ministreth two helpes: the one is in the likenes of Christ, the other is the almightines of God. Nowe so oft as the resurrection is thought of, let the image of Christ come into our mindes: which in y nature that he tooke of vs, so ranne out the race of mortall life, that nowe hauing obtained immortalitie, he is to vs a pledge of the resurrection to come. For in y miseries wherewith we are beseged, we carie about his mortifying in our flesh, that his life may be openly shewed in vs. 2 Cor. 4.10. And we may not seuer him from vs, neither can we possibly, but that he must be torne in sunder. Wherupon commeth that argumēt of Paul, If the deade do not rise againe, then neither is Christ risen againe: because verily he taketh y principle for confessed, that Christ was not made subiect to death, nor obtained victorie of death by risinge againe, priuately for him selfe : but, that that was begon in the heade which must needes be fulfilled in all the membres, accordinge to the degree and ordre of euery one. For it were not right that they

1. Cor. 15.13.

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Psal. 16. should in all points be made egall with him. It is said in the Psalme.
 10. Thou shalt not suffer they meke one to see corruption. Although a
 portion of this trust pertaineth to vs according to the measure of gift,
 yet the full effect hath not appeared but in Christ, which being free
 from all rotting hath receiued againe his body whole. Nowe least the
 Phil. 3. fellowship of blessed resurrection with Christ should be doubtfull to
 21. vs, that we may be contented with this pledge, Paule expressly affir-
 meth that he therefore sitteth in heauen, and shall come at the last
 day a iudge, that he may make our base and vile body likefashioned
 to his glorious body. In an other place also he teacheth, that God
 raised not vp his sonne from death to the intent to shewe a token of
 his power: but to stretch out the same effectuall force of the Spirit
 toward vs which are faithfull: whom he therefore calleth life, while
 he liueth in vs, because he was geuen to this ende that he should make
 aliuie that which is mortall in vs. I knit vp in a breife: bridgemēt those
 things which might both be more largely handled and are worthy
 to be more gorgeously set out: and yet I trust that the godly readers
 shall in fewe words finde matter enough which may suffice to edifie
 their faith. Christ therefore is risen againe, that he might haue vs com-
 paniōs of the life to come. He was raised vp of the father, in so much
 as he was y head of the Church, from which he doth in no wise suffer
 himselfe to be plucked away. He was raised vp by the power of the
 Spirit, which is common to vs vnto the office of quickening. Finally
 he was raised vp, that he should be resurrectiō and life. But as we haue
 said that in this mirrour, there is to be seene of vs a liuely image of
 the resurrection, to let it be to vs a sure substance to stay our minde, so
 that yet we be not lothfull or wery of long tarieng: bycause it is not
 our part to measure the seasons of times by our will, but patiently to
 rest, till God at his own fit time repaire his kingdome. To which pur-
 1. Cor. pose seemeth that exhortation of Paule. The first frutes is Christ, and
 15. then they that are Christs, euery one in his ordre. But y no question
 should be moued of the resurrection of Christ, vpon which the re-
 surrection of vs all is founded, we see by howe many and how diuerse
 meanes he hath made it approued by witnesse to vs. Fine nosed men
 wil laugh at y history which the Euangelistes rehearse, as at a childish
 mockerie. For of what importāce shall the message be which fearefull
 silly women bring, and afterward the disciples confirme being in a
 maner astonished? Why did not Christ rather set vp the triumphinge
 ensignes of his victorie in the midst of the temple and the market
 place? Why came he not forth terrible into the sight of Pilate? Why
 doth he not also proue himselfe to the priests, and to whole Hierusalem
 that

that he is risen vp alieue againe? As for the witnesses which he chose, prophane men will scarcely graunt them to be sufficient. I answer that although in these beginnings the weakenesse thereof was contemptible, yet all this was gouerned by the wonderful prouidence of God: that partly the loue of Christ and zeale of godlinesse, and partly their owne hardnesse of beleefe should carry them in hast to the sepulchre which had lately bene dismaied for feare, that they might not only be seing witnesses of y^e thing, but also should heare of y^e Angels that which they sawe with their eyes. How shall we suspect their credit, who thought it to be a fable which they had heard of the womē, till they were brought to the present sight of the thing it selfe? As for all the people and the Ruler himself, after that they had bene largely couinced, it is no maruell if as well the sight of Christ, as other signes, was not graunted thē. The sepulchre was sealed vp, the watchemen watched it, the third day the body was not found, The soldiours corrupted with mony scattered a rumor y^e his Disciples had stolen him away. As though they had had power to gather a band together, or had armure, or were practised men to enterpriſe any such feate. If the soldiars had not courage enough to driue them away, why did they not pursue them, that with the helpe of the people they might haue taken some of them? Pilate therefore with his ring truly sealed the resurrection of Christ: and the watchemen which were set at the sepulchre both in their holding their peace and in their lieng, were made publishers of the same resurrection. In the meane time the voice of Angels sounded, He is risen, he is not here. The heavenly glistering plainly shewed that they were not men but Angels. Afterward, if there remained any douting, Christ himselfe tooke it away. The disciples sawe him oſter than ones, and also felt his feete and his handes, and their hardnesse of beleuing not a litle profited to the strengthening of our faith. He disputeth among them of the mysteries of the kingdome of God, and at the last in their sightes beholding him, he ascended into heauen. And not onely this sight was shewed to the xj. Apostles, but also he was seen at ones of mo than siue hundred brethren. Nowe when he sent the holy Ghost, he shewed a sure prooſe not onely of life, but also of the souereigne power: as he had said before, It is profitable for you that I go: otherwise the holy Ghost shall not come. But nowe Paule was ouerthrowen by the way not by the strength of a dead man, but he felt him whom he persecuted to haue most hye power. To Stephan he appeared for an other ende, namely that with assurednes of life he might overcome the feare of death. To discredit so many authentike

Mat. 27.
66. and
28. 11.

Luc. 24.
6.

Act. 1.

1. Cor.
15. 6.

Ioh. 16.

Act 9 4

Act. 7.

55.

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witnesſes is, not onely a parte of diſtruſtfulneſſe, but alſo of frowarde and furious ſtubbourneſſe.

4 This which we haue ſaid, that in prouing the reſurreſtion our ſenſes muſt be directed to the infinite power of God, Paule breſely teacheth, that he may make (ſaith he) our vile body likefaſhioned to the body of his brightnes, according to the working of his power, by which he may ſubdue all things to himſelfe. Wherefore nothing is more vnmete, than here to haue reſpect what may naturally be done, where an ineſtimable miracle is ſet before vs, which with y^e greatnes thereof ſwalloweth vp our ſenſes. Yet Paul by ſetting forth an example of nature, reſproueth their dulnes which deny the reſurreſtion. Thou ſoole (ſaith he) that which thou ſoweſt is not quickened vnleſſe it firſt dy. &c. He ſaith that in ſeede is ſene a forme of the reſurreſtiō, becauſe out of rottennes groweth corne. Neither were it ſo harde a thing to beleue, if we were as heedefull as we ought to be to the miracles which throughout all the coſtes of the world do offer themſelues to our eyes. But let vs remembre that none is truly perſwaded of the reſurreſtion to come, but he which being rauished into admiration, geueth to the power of God his glory. Eſaie liſted vp with this affiance, crieth out, I hy deade ſhall liue, my carcaſe ſhall riſe againe. Awake ye, & praiſe, ye dwellers of the duſt. In deſpeired caſe he liſteth vp himſelfe to God the author of life, in whole hande are the endes of death, as it is ſaid in the Pſalme. Iob alſo being liker to a carrion than to a man, truſting vpō the power of God ſticketh not as though he were whole and ſounde to liſte vp himſelfe to that day ſaying, I knowe that my redeemer liueth: and in the laſt day he ſhall riſe vpon the duſt (namely to ſhewe forth his power therein) and I ſhall againe be compaſſed with my ſkinne, and in my fleſh I ſhall ſee God, I ſhall ſee him, and none other. For albeit that ſome do ſuttely wreſte theſe places, as though they ought not to bee vnderſtande of the reſurreſtion, yet they ſtrengthen that which they couet to ouerthrowe: by- cauſe the holy menne in their euels ſeeke comforte from no where els, than from the likeneſſe of the reſurreſtion. Which better appeareth by the place of Ezechiell. For when the Iewes beleued not the promiſe of their returne, and objected that it was no more likely that a way ſhould be made open for them, than that deade menne ſhould come out of their graue: there was a viſion ſhewed to the Prophet, a ſielde full of dry bones: thoſe the Lorde commaunded to take againe fleſh and ſinewes. Although vnder that figure he raiſeth vp the people to hope of returne: yet the matter of hoping he gathereth of the reſurreſtion: as it is to vs an examplar of the deliuerances which

Phil. 3.
20.

Eſa. 26.
19.

Pſa. 68.
Iob. 19.
25.

Eze. 37.
8.

which the faithfull do feele in this world. So Christ, when he hadde taught that the voyce of the Gospell giueth life: because the Iewes receiued not this, he by and by sayd further: Maruell not at this, because the houre commeth in which all that are in the graues shall heare the voyce of the sonne of God, and shall come forth. Therefore after this example of Paule, let vs already cherefully triumphe in the midst of battels, because he which hath promised life to come, is mighty to keepe that which is left with him: and so let vs glory that a crowne of righteousnesse is layd vp for vs, which the iust iudge shall deliuer vs. So shall it come to passe, that whatsoeuer grieues we suffer, they shalbe to vs a shewing of the life to come, because it agreeth with the nature of God to render affliction to the wicked which afflict vs: but to vs which are vniustly afflicted, rest at the appearing of Christ with the Angels of his power, in a flame of fire. But that is to be holden which he addeth by and by afterwarde, that he shall come that he may be glorified in his saintes, and be made wonderfull in all them that haue beleued, because the Gospell hath bin beleued.

5 But although the minds of men ought to haue bin continually occupied in this study: yet as though they would of set purpose destroy all remembrance of the resurrection, they haue called death the vertermost bound of all things & the destruction of man. For verily Salomon speaketh of the common and receiued opinion, when he sayth that a liuing dogge is better than a dead Liō. And in an other place: Who knoweth whether the soule of a man go vpward, & the soule of a beast go downward? But in all ages this brutish sensles error hath bin common in the world, yea & hath broken into the Church it self: for, the Sadduces haue presumed to professe openly that there is no resurrection, yea and that soules are mortall. But that this grosse ignorance should not help to excuse any man, the infidels euen by very instinct of nature haue alway had an image of the resurrection before their eies. For to what purpose serued that holy and inuolable maner of burying, but to be an earnest of new life? Neither may it be answered that this spring of error: because the religiousnesse of buriall was alway in vre amonge the holy Fathers, and God willed the same maner to remaine among the Gentiles, that an image of the resurrection set before them might awake their drowlines. But although that ceremony wanted his vse of profiting, yet it is profitable for vs if we wisely marke the end of it, because it is no slender confutation of vnbeliefe, that altogether professed that which no man beleued. But Satan hath not only astonished the senses of men, so that they haue

John. 5.

27.

1. Ti. 4.

3.

Eccle. 9

4.

Eccle. 3

31.

Mar. 12.

18.

Luk. 20

27.

Act. 2. 8

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buried with the bodies the remembrance of the resurrection, but also hath practised to corrupt this part of doctrine with diuerse fained inuentions, that at length it might vterly die. I passe ouer howe in Paules time Satan began to pinch at it: but in a litle after there followed the Millenaries, which limited y^e reigne of Christ to a thousande yeres. This error is so childish, that it needeth not or is not worthy of any confutation. Neither doth the Reuelation make on their side, by which it is certaine that they coloured their error: forasmuch as in the place where he mentioneth the number of a thousand, he entreateth not of the eternal blessednesse of the Church, but only of the diuers troubles which were to come vppon the Church, while it yet trauiled in earth. But the whole Scripture crieth out that there shalbe no end of the blessednesse of the elect, nor of the punishment of the reprobate. Now of all thinges which both are hidden from our sight and do farre passe the capacity of our minde, either we must fetch the credit out of y^e certaine oracles of God, or we must vterly cast it away. They which assigne to the children of God a thousande yeres to enioy the inheritaunce of the life to come, do not marke how great a dishonor they do both to Christ and his kingdom. For if they shall not be clothed with immortality: then neither is Christ himself, to whose glory they shalbe newly fashioned, receiued into the immortall glory. If their blessednesse shall haue any end: then the kingdom of Christ, vpon the stedfastnes whereof it standeth, endureth but for a time. Finally either they are most vnskillfull of all matter concerning God, or they go about with crooked maliciousnesse to overthrow the whole grace of God and power of Christ, the fulfillingge wherof is no otherwise perfect, but when sinne being blotted out & death swallowed vp, eternal life is fully restored. But very blinde men may see how fondly they play the fooles, which feare that they shold ascribe to God to great cruelty if the reprobate be condemned to euerlasting paines. The Lord forsooth shall do wronge, if he deny his kingdom to them which haue by their vnthankfulnesse made themselves vnworthy of it. But (say they) their sinnes endure but for a time I graunt: but the maiesty, yea and the righteousness of God, which they haue offended by sinning, is eternall. Worthily therefore the remembrance of iniquity dieth not: But so the paine exceedeth the measure of the fault. This is a blasphemy not to be suffred, when the maiesty of God is so litle set by, when the despiling thereof is esteemed at no greater value than the destruction of one soule. But let vs leaue these trifles, least contrary to that which we haue before sayd, we may seeme to iudge their dotages worthy of confutation.

6 Beside these, there haue bin two other doring errors brought in by men puerly curious. The one sorte thought, as though the whole man died, that the soules shall rise againe with the bodies. The other forasmuch as they graunt that the soules be immortall spirites, say that they shalbe clothed with new bodies: whereby they deny the resurrection of the flesh. Of the first sort, because I haue touched somewhat in speaking of the creation of man, it shalbe enough for me to warne the readers againe, how beastly an error it is to make of a spirit fashioned after the image of God, a vanishing blast which doth nothing but quicke the body in this fraile life: & to bring the temple of the holy Ghost to nothing: Finally to spoyle that part of vs wherein diuinenesse chiefly shineth and marks of immortality appeare, to spoyle it (I say) of this gift: so that the estate of the body shoulde be better & more excellent than the estate of the soule. The Scripture teacheth farre otherwise, which compareth the body to a cotage, out of which it sayeth that we remoue when we die, because it esteemeth vs by that part which maketh vs differinge from brute beastes. So Peter beinge nie to death, sayth that the tyme is come, when he must lay away his tent. And Paule speakinge of the faithfull, after that he hath sayd: That when our earthly house shalbe dissolued, there is a buildinge for vs in heauen: adioyneth that we are wayfaringe from the Lord so long as we abide in the body, but do desire the presence of God in the absence of the body. If the soules do not ouerliue the bodies, what is it that hath God present when it is scuered from the body? But the Apostle taketh away all doutinge, when he teacheth that we are ioined in fellowship to the spirites of the righteous. By which words he sheweth, that we are ioined in fellowship to the holy fathers, which euen being dead do kepe the same godlinesse with vs, so that we can not be the members of Christ vnlesse we grow together with them. Vnlesse also the soules being vncloded of the bodies, did keepe still their substance and were able to receiue blessed glory, Christ would not haue sayd to the thiefe: This day thou shalt be with me in paradise. Hauinge so cleare testimonies, let vs not dout after the example of Christ when we are dyinge, to commende our soules to God, or after the example of Stephen to commit them to Christ to keepe, which not vnworthily is called a faithfull shepheard and Bishop of them. To enquire of their meane state, is neither lawfull nor expedient. Many do much comber themselues with disputing what place they kepe, and whether they do now enioy the heauenly glory or no. But it is folly and rashnesse, to search deepe licke of vnknown things, than God doth giue vs leaue to knowe. When the

1. Pe. 1.

14.

2. Cor. 5

1.

Heb. 12.

23.

Luk. 13

43.

Aa 7.

59.

1. Pe. 2.

25.

Mat. 5.8 Scripture hath sayd that Christ is present with them, and receiue-
and 26. them into paradise that they may enioy comfort, on y^e other side that
Ioh. 1. 2. the soules of the reprobate do suffer such paines as they haue deser-
32. ued: it goeth no further. What teacher or maister shall now open to
 vs that which God hath hidden? Of the place, the question is no lesse
 sonde and vaine: forasmuch as we know that there is not the same
 dimension of the soule which is of the body. Whereas the blessed
 gathering together of holy spirits is called the bosome of Abraham,
 it is enough for vs after this wayfaringe to be receiued of the com-
 mon father of the faithfull, that he may communicate with vs the
 frute of his faith. In the meane time sith the Scripture euery where
 biddeth vs to hang vpon the expectation of Christes comminge, and
 differreth the crowne of glorie till then: let vs be content with these
 bondes appointed vs of God: namely, that the soules of the godly ha-
 uing ended the labor of their warfare do go into a blessed rest, where
 with happy ioyfulness they looke for the enioyinge of the promised
 glory: and that so all things are holden in suspense till Christ the re-
 deemer appeare. As for the reprobate, it is no dout that they haue the
Iud. 1. 6 same estate which Iude assigneth to the Devils, to be holden bounde
 with cheines, till they be drawen to the punishment whereunto they
 are condemned.

7 No lesse monstrous is their errour, which imagine that soules
 shall not receiue againe the same bodies wherwith they are now clo-
 shed, but shal haue new and other bodies. And the reason of the Ma-
 nichees was very triflinge, that is, that it is not meete that flesh which
 is vncleane should rise againe. As though there were no vncleannes
 of soules, which yet they debarred not from the hope of euerlastinge
 life. It was therefore all one as if they should say that that which is in-
 fected with the filth of sinne can not be cleansed by God. For I nowe
 passe ouer that dotage, y^e flesh was naturally vncleane, because it was
 create of the Deuill: Onely I shew that whatsoeuer is nowe in vs vn-
 worthy of heauen, it hindereth not the resurrection. And first wheras
2. Cor. 7 Paule biddeth the faithfull to cleanse themselues from all defilinge of
1. the fleshe and of the Spirite, thereupon followeth the iudgement
2. Cor. 5 which he in an other place pronouceth, that euery man shal receiue
10. by his body either good or euill. Wherewith agreeth that which he
2. Cor. 4 wryteth to the Corinthians, That the life of Iesus Christ may be o-
10. penly shewed in our mortall flesh. For which reason in an other place
1. The. 5 he doth no lesse pray that God preserue the bodies whole vnto the
23. day of Christ, than the soules and spirites. And no maruell, because it
 were a most great absurdity that the bodies which God hath dedicate

to be temples to himselfe, shoulde fall away into rottenesse without hope of rising againe. What say we to this, that they are also the members of Christ? that God commaundeth all the partes of them to be sanctified to himselfe? that he willeth his name to be praised with tongues, pure handes to be lifted vp to him, sacrifices to be offered? What madnesse is it therefore that that part to which the heauenly iudge hath vouchesaued to graunt so great honor, shoulde be brought from a mortal man into dust without any hope of restoring? Likewise when Paule exhorteth vs to suffer the Lord as well in body as in soule, because both belong to God, verily he suffereth not that which he chalengeth to God as holy, to be adiudged to eternall rottenesse. Neither is there a plainer determination of the Scripture for any thing, than for the rising againe of this flesh which we beare. This corruptible (sayth Paule) must put on vncorruption, and this mortall must put on immortality. If God did make new bodies, where is this changing of quality? If it had bin sayd that we must be renewed, the doubtful spech peradventure mought haue giuen occasion to their cauillation. But nowe when poyntinge with his finger to the bodies wherewith we are clothed, he promiseth to them vncorruption, he plainly enough denieth any new bodies to be made. Yea he could not (sayth Tertullian) speake more plainly, vnlesse he had holden his owne skinne in his hande. And they can by no cauillation escape fro this, that where in an other place he sayth that Christ shalbe y^e iudge of the worlde, he alleageth this testimony of Esay, I liue (sayth the Lord) euery knee shal bow to me: for as much as he plainly pronounceth y^e they to whom he speaketh shalbe subiect to yeeld an accompt of their life: which could not agree, if new bodies shoulde be brought before the iudgement seate. Now in the words of Daniell there is no doubtfulnesse: And many of them that slepe in the earth of dust, shall awake, some to eternall life, and some to reproches and to euerlasting contempt: sith he fetcheth not new matter out of the foure elementes to make men, but calleth dead men out of their graues. And this very plaine reson teacheth. For if mortality which tooke beginning at the fall of man, be accidentall: then the repaying, which Christ brought, pertaineth to the same body which beganne to be mortall. And truly, whereas the Athenians laughed when Paule affirmed the resurrection, thereupon we may gather what maner of resurrection he preached: and that same laughinge not smally auaieth to strengthen our faith. The saying of Christ also is worthy to be noted: Feare not them which kill the body, and can not kill the soule: but feare him which can throwe both the soule and the body into hell of fire. For there

1. Cor. 6

15.
2. Tim. 2
8.1. Cor. 6
20.1. Cor.
15. 53.Ro. 14.
11.Esa. 49.
18.

Dan. 12

Mat. 10.
28.

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John. 5.
28.

is no cause to feare, vnlesse the body which we nowe beare be subiect to punishment. And no lesse plaine is an other sayinge of the same Christ, The houre commeth, when all they that are in graues, shal heare the voice of the sonne of God, & shal come forth: they that haue done good, into the resurrection of life: but they that haue done euill, into the resurrection of iudgement. Shall we say that soules rest in the graues, that they lying there may heare Christ? and not rather that at his commaundement the bodies shall returne into the liuelines which they had lost? Moreouer if we shall haue new bodies giue vs, where is the like fashioning of the head and the members? Christ rose againe: was it with forging to himselfe a new body? No, but as

John. 2.
19.

he had said before, Destroy this temple, and in three dayes I wil build it vp: he tooke againe the same body which he hadde before borne mortall, For he had not much profited vs, if a new body being put in place, y old body had bin destioied which was offred vp for a sacrifice of satisfactory cleansinge. We must also holde fast that fellowship

1. Cor.

15. 1. 2.

which the Apostle preacheth? That we rise againe, because Christ hath risen againe: for nothing is lesse probable than that our flesh in which we beare about the mortifyinge of Christ, should be depriued of the resurrectiō of Christ. Which verily appeared by a notable ex-

Mat. 17.

52.

Candi-

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Colo. 2.

12.

ample, when at y rising againe of Christ, many bodies of the Saintes came out of the graues. For it can not be denied that this was a foreshewing, or rather an earnest of the last resurrection which we hope for: such as was before in Enoch and Elias, whome Tertullian calleth New possessors of the resurrection: because they being in body & soule deliuered from corruption, were receiued into the keeping of God.

8 I am ashamed in so cleare a matter to spende so many wordes: but the readers shall contentedly beare this trouble with me, that no hole may be open for frowarde and bolde wittes to deceiue the simple. The steinge spirites with whom I now dispute, bring forth a fained inuention of their owne braine, that at y resurrection there shal be a creation of new bodies. What reason moueth them to thinke so, but because it seemeth to them incredible, that a carion consumed with so long rottennes should returne into his aunciēt state? Therefore only vnbeliefe is the mother of this opinion. But vs on y other side the Spirit of God ech where in the Scripture exhorteth to hope for the resurrection of our flesh. For this reason baptisme (as Paul witnesseth) is to vs a seale of the resurrection to come: and likewise the holy Supper allureth vs to the trust thereof, when we receiue with our mouth the Signes of spirituall grace. And truly the whole exhorta-

tion

tion of Paule, that we giue our members to be weapons vnto the obedience of righteousness, shoulde be colde vnlesse that were ioy-
 ned which he addeth afterwarde, He that hath raised vp Christ from the deade, shall quicken also your mortall bodies. For, what shoulde it profite to applie our feete, handes, eyes, and tongues vnto the seruice of God, vnlesse they were partakers of the frute and rewarde? Which thing Paule plainly confirmeth with his owne wordes, sayinge: The body not to fornication, but to the Lord: and the Lord to the body. And he that hath raised vp Christ, shall also raise vp vs by his power. More playne are those wordes which followe: that our bodies are the temples of the holy Ghost & the members of Christ. In the meane time we see howe he ioyneth the resurrection with chastitie and holinesse, as a litle after he sayeth that the price of redemption pertaineth also to the bodies. Now it were not reasonable that the body of Paule, in which he hath borne the printes of Christ, and in which he honorably glorified Christ, should loose the rewarde of the crowne. Whereupon also came that gloryinge, We looke for the redeemer from heauen, which shall make our vile body likefashioned to the body of his brightness. And if this be true, that we must by many afflictions enter into the kingdom of God, no reason sufficeth to debarre the bodies from this entry, which God both exerciseth vnder the standard of the crosse, and honoreth with the praise of victory. Therefore of this matter there arose among the Saintes no doutinge, but that they hoped to be companions of Christ, which remoueth into his own person all the afflictions wherewith we are proued, to teache that they bring life. Yea and vnder the law he exercised the holy fathers in this faith with an outward ceremony. For to what purpose serued the vsage of buryinge, as we haue already shewed, but that they should know that there is new life prepared for the bodies that are layd vp? Hereunto also tended the spices & other signes of immortality, wherewith vnder y^e law the darknesse of faith was holpen euen as it was by the sacrifices. Neither was that maner bredde by superstition, forasmuch as we see that the Spirit doth no lesse diligently rehearse burialles than the chiefe mysteries of fayth. And Christ commendeth that worke as a speciall worke, truly for none other reason but because it listeth vp our eyes from beholding of the graue which corrupteth & destroyeth al, to the sight of the reuuinge. Moreouer the so diligent obseruinge of the ceremony which is praised in the Fathers, sufficiently proueth that it was to them a rare and pretious help of faith. For neither would Abraham haue so carefully prouided for the burying place of his wife,

2. Cor. 6
4. and 7
Rom. 8.
11.

1. Cor. 6
12. & 15
19.

Gala. 6.
17.

Phil. 3.
21.

Act. 14.
22.

Mat. 26
10.

Gen. 23
4. & 19

vnlesse there had bin set before his eyes a religion and a profite hyer than the world, namely that garnishinge the deade body of his wife with the signes of the resurrection he might confirme both his owne faith and the faith of his household. But a clearer prooffe of this thing appeareth in the example of Iacob, which to testifie to his posterity that the hope of the promised lande was not euen by death fallen out of his minde, commaunded his bones to be caried thither. I beseech you, if he was to be clothed with a newe body, shoulde he not haue giuen a sonde commaundement concerninge dust that shoulde be brought to nothings? Wherefore if their authority of the Scripture be of any force with vs, there can be required of no doctrine either a more cleare or more certaine prooffe. For this euen children vnderstande by the wordes of Resurrection, and raising vp againe. For neither can we call it the Resurrection of that which is now first created, neither shoulde that saying of Christ stande fast, Whatsoeuer the Father hath giuen me, it shall not perishe, but I will raise it vp in the last day. To the same purpose serueth the word of Sleeping, which pertaineth only to the bodies. Whereupon also burying places were called Coemeteria, Sleeping places. Nowe it remaineth that I speake some what of the maner of the resurrection. I vse this word, because Paule calling it a mistery, exhorteth vs to sobriety, and bridleth the liberty to dispute like Philosophers freely & sutrelly of it. First we must hold, as we haue sayd, that we shall rise againe in the same flesh which we beare, as touching the substance, but the quality shalbe other. As when the same flesh of Christ which had bin offered for sacrifice, was raised vp againe, yet it excelled in other qualities as if it had bin altogether an other flesh. Which thing Paule declareth by familiar examples. For as there is all one substance of the fleshe of a man, and of a beast, but not all one quality: as all starres haue like matter, but not like brightnesse: so he teacheth that though we shall kepe still the substance of our body, yet there shalbe a change, that the state of it may be much more excellent. The body therefore, that we may be raised vp againe, shal not perishe nor vanish away: but putting of corruption, it shall put on vncorruption. But forasmuch as God hath all the elementes ready at his becke, no hardinesse shall hinder him, but that he may commaunde both the earth and waters and fier, to render that which seemeth to be consumed by them. Which also Esay testifieth though not without a figure, where he sayth, Beholde, the Lorde shall go forth of his place, that he may visit the iniquity of the earth: & the earth shall discouer her bloode, and shall no more hide her dead. But there is to be noted a difference betwene them that haue bin deade longe

longe before, and those whom that day shall finde aliue. For we shall not all slepe (as Paul sayth) but we shall all be changed: that is to say, it shall not be of necessitie that there be a distance of time betwene death and the beginning of the second life: because in a moment of time, and in the twinklinge of an eye, the sounde of the trumpet shall pearce, to raise vp the deade vncorruptible, & with a sodaine change to fashion againe the liuing into the same glory. So in an other place he comforteth the faithfull which must die: because they which shall then remaine aliue shal not go before the dead, but rather they shal first rise againe which haue slept in Christ. If any obiekt that sayinge of the Apostle, that it is appointed to all mortall men ones to die, it is easie to answer it with saying that when the state of nature is changed, it is a kinde of death, and is fitely so called. And therefore these things agree wel together, that all shalbe renued by death when they shall put of their mortall body: and yet that it is not necessary that there be a seueringe of the body and the soule where there shalbe a sodaine changing.

9 But here ariseth a harder question: by what right the resurrection which is the singular benefit of Christ is common also to the wicked and the accursed of God. We knowe that all were in Adam condemned to death: Christ came the resurrection & life. Came he to giue life to all mankind vniuersally without choise? But what is more against reason, than that they shoulde by their obstinate blindenesse obtaine that which the godly worshippers of God do obtaine by onely faith? Yet this remaineth certaine, that there shalbe one resurrection of judgement, and an other resurrection of life, & that Christ shal come to seuer the Lambes from the Goates. I answer, that this ought not to seeme strange, the likenesse whereof we see in dayly experience. We see that in Adam we were deprived of the inheritance of the whole world, and that we are by no lesse iuste reason debarred from common foode, than from the eating of the tree of life. Whense then commeth it to passe, that God doth not onely make his sunne to rise vpon the good and euill, but also as touching the vses of this present life, his inestimable liberality continually floweth forth to them with large plentuousnesse? Hereby verily we knowe that those things which properly belonge to Christ and his members, do also ouerflow to the wicked: not that it is their rightfull possession, but that they may be made yet more inexcusable. So the wicked do oftentimes finde God beneficiall, by more than meane proues, yea such as sometime do darken all the blessings of the Godly, but yet do turne to their greater damnation. If any man obiekt, that the resurrection is

not fitly compared to fadinge and earthly benefites: here also I answer that so soone as they were estranged from God the fountaine of life, they deserued the death of the Deuill, whereby they shoulde be vtterly destroyed: Yet by the maruelous counsell of God there was found a meane state that out of life they might liue in death. No more absurdity ought it to seeme, if the resurrection happen to the wicked, which draweth them against their willes to the iudgement seate of Christ, whom now they refuse to heare for their maister and teacher. For it were a small paine to be consumed away with death, if they were not, to suffer punishment for their obstinacy, brought before the iudge, whose vengeance they haue without ende and measure prouoked against themselues. But although we must holde that which we haue sayd, and which that notable confession of Paul before Felix containeth, that he looketh for $\bar{y}$ resurrection of the righteous and wicked: yet the Scripture oftentimes setteth forth election together with the heavenly glory to the only children of God: Because Christ properly came not to the destruction, but to the saluation of the world. Therefore in the Creede there is made mention of the blessed life only.

10 But forasmuch as the Prophecy of death swallowed vp by victory, shall then and not till then be fulfilled: let vs alway haue in minde the eternall felicity, the ende of the resurrection: of the excellency whereof, if all things were spoken which the tongues of men were able to speake, yet scarcely the smallest parcell thereof shoulde be exprest. For howe soeuer we truely heare that the kingdome of God shalbe stuffed full with brightnesse, ioy, felicity, and glory: yet those things that are spoken of are most farre remoued from our sense, and remaine as it were wrapped in darke speeches, vntill that day come when he himselfe shall giue to vs his glory to be seene face to face. We know (saith Iohn) that we are the children of God, but it hath not yet appeared. But when we shalbe like to him, then we shall see him such as he is. Wherefore the Prophetes, because they could by no wordes expresse the spiritual blessednesse in it selfe, did in a manner grossly portray it out vnder bodily things. But forasmuch as the feruentnesse of desire must with some tast of that swetenesse be kindled in vs, let vs chiefly continue in this thought, $\bar{y}$ if God do as a certaine fountaine which can not be drawen drie, containe in him the fulnesse of all good things, nothinge is beyonde him to be coueted of them that tende towarde the soueraigne good and the full perfection of felicity: as we are taught in many places. Abraham, I am thy rewarde exceedinge great. With which sayinge accordeth Dauid,

Act. 24.
15.

Osc. 13.
14.
1. Cor.
15. 54.

1. Ioh. 3.
2.

Gen. 15
2.

uid, The Lord is my portion, the lot hath very well fallen to me. A- Psal. 16.
 gainē in an other place, I shalbe satisfied with thy countenance. But 6.
 Peter pronounceth that the faithfull are called to this end, that they Psal. 17.
 may be made partakers of the nature of God. Howe so? because he 15.
 shalbe glorified in all his saintes, and shalbe made wonderful in them 2.Pet. 1.
 that haue beleued. If the Lord will enterparten his glory, power, and 4.
 righteousness with his elect, yea and will giue himselfe to them to be
 enioyed, and (which is better) will after a certaine maner grow into
 one with them: let vs remember that vnder this benefit is contained
 all kinde of felicity. And when we haue much profited in this medi-
 tation, let vs reknowledge that we yet stay beneth at the bottome of
 the rootes, if the conceiuing of our minde be cōpared with the high-
 nesse of this mystery. Wherefore in this behalfe we must keepe so-
 briety, least with how much greater boldnesse we shall stie vp on his
 beinge vnmindefull of our owne small measure, so much more the
 brightnesse of the heavenly glory ouerwhelme vs. We feele also how
 the vnmeasurable greedinesse to know more than is lawefull, tickleth
 vs: from whence both trifling and hurtfull questions do spring from
 time to time: trifling I call those of which there can no profit be ga-
 thered. But this second kind is worse, because they which giue them-
 selues to them, do entangle themselues with pernicious speculatiōs,
 and therefore I call them hurtfull. That which the Scriptures do
 teach, ought to be out of all doubt with vs: namely that as God diuersly
 distributinge his giftes to the Saintes in this worlde, doth vnequal-
 ly enlighten them, so the measure of glorie shall not be equall in hea-
 uen where God shal crowne his gifts. For neither doth this belonge
 indifferently to all which Paule sayth, Ye are my glorie and crowne 1. Thes.
 in the day of Christ: nor also that sayinge of Christ to the Apostles: 2. 19.
 Ye shall sit iudginge the twelue tribes of Israell. But Paule (which Mat. 19.
 knewe that as God enricheth the holy ones with spirituall giftes in 28.
 earth, so he beautifieth them with glorie in heauen) douteth not
 that there is a peculiar crowne layd vppe for him accordinge to the
 rate of his labours. And Christ to set forth to the Apostles the digni-
 ty of the office which they did beare, telleth them that the frute ther-
 of is layd vp for them in heauen. So Daniell also sayth, But the wise Dan. 12
 shall shine as the brightnesse of the firmament, and they which iu- 3.
 stifie many, as Starres to the worldes ende and for euer. And if a
 manne heedefully consider the Scriptures, they do not onely pro-
 mise eternall life to the faithfull, but also speciall reward to euery one.
 Whereupon commeth that sayinge of Paule, The Lorde render to 2. Tim. 4
 him in that day. Which the promise of Christ confirmeth, Ye shall 14.

Mat. 19
29. receiue a hundred folde in the eternall life. Finally as Christ beginneth in this worlde the glory of his body with manifolde diuersity of giftes, and encreaseth it by degrees: so he shall also make it perfect in heauen.

11 But as all the godly will receiue this with one consent, because it is sufficiently testified by the word of God: so on the other side leauing crabbed questions, which they shall know to be a hinderance to them, they will not passe their appointed boundes. As for my parte, I do not onely priuately forbear superfluous searchinge of vnprofitable thinges, but I also thinke that I ought to beware that I do not with aunsweringe nourishe the lightnesse of other. Menne hungrie of vayne knowledge do aske howe great shall be the distance betwene the Prophetes and the Apostles, and agayne betwene the Apostles and the Martyrs: howe many degrees Virgines differ from married folkes: finally they leaue no corner of heauen vnsearched. Then it commeth in their mindes to enquire to what purpose serueth the repairinge of the worlde, sith the children of God shal neede nothinge of all this so great and incomparable plenty: but shalbe like to the Angels, whose not eatinge is a Signe of the eternall blessednesse. But I aunswere that in the very sight there shal be so great pleasure, so great sweetenesse in the onely knowledge without any vse, that this felicity shall farre passe all the helps wherewith we be nowe holpen. Lette vs imagine our selues to be sette in the most wealthy coast of the worlde, and where we shall want no pleasure: yet who is there whome his sickenesse do not sometime hinder and not suffer to vse the benefites of God? Who is there whose course his owne intemperance doth not oft breake in sunder? Whereupon followeth that a cleare enioyinge and pure from all fault, although there be no vse of corruptible life, is the perfection of felicity. Some go further and aske whether drosse and other corruptions in metalles, be not farre from restoringe and are contrary to it. Which though in some respect I graunt them, yet I looke with Paule for the repairinge of these faultes which tooke their beginninge at sinne, towarde which repayinge they grone and are in trauaile. Yet they proceede further, and aske what better estate is prepared for manne, sith the blessinge of issue shall then be at an ende. This knot is also easie to be loosed. Whereas the Scripture so honorably setteth out that kinde of blessinge, that is referred to the encreasces wherewith God continually draweth forward the order of nature her marke: but in the perfection it is knowen that there is an other manner. But sith the vnware are easily taken with allurements, and then the maze draweth

Rom. 8.
22.

with them in deeplier, and at length when euery mannes deuises please himsele there is no end of striuinge: therefore let this be a shorte way for vs, to be contented with the glasse and darke speech vntill we shall see face to face. For fewe of a great multitude care which way they may go to heauen: but all do before their time couet to know what is done there. All beinge commonly sluggish and slow to enter into battels, do already paint out to themselues imagined triumphes.

12 Now because no description can matche the grieuousnesse of the vengeance of God vpon the reprobate, their tormentes and paines are figured to vs by bodily thinges, namely by darkenes, we-
 ping, gnashing of teeth, vnquencheable fier, and a worme eride-
 lessly gnawing the heart. For by such maners of speech it is certaine
 that the holy Ghost meant to trouble all our senses with horrour:
 as when it is sayd that there is prepared from eternity a deepe Hell,
 that the nourishmentes thereof are fire and much woode: that the
 blast of the Lorde, as a streame of brimstone, doth set it on fier. As by
 such thinges we must be holpen after a certaine maner to conceiue
 the miserable state of the wicked, so we ought chiefly to fasten our
 thought vpon this howe wretched a thinge it is to be estranged from
 the fellowship of God: and not that onely, bur also to feele the
 maiesty of God so bent against thee, that thou canst not escape but
 be fast strained of it. For first his displeasure is like a most violent fier,
 with touchinge whereof all thinges are deuoured and swallowed vp.
 Then, all creatures so serue him to execute his iudgement, that they
 to whom the Lord shall so shew his wrath, shal fele the heauen, earth,
 sea, and beastes, as it were with cruell indignation emflamed against
 them and armed to their destruction. Wherefore it is no small thinge
 that the Apostle pronounceth when he sayth that the vnbeleuinge
 shall suffer eternall punishment by dyinge from the face of the Lord,
 and from the glory of his power. And so oft as the Prophetes do cast
 vs in feare with bodily figures, although they speake nothinge ex-
 cessiuely for our dulnesse, yet they adde foreshewinges of the iudge-
 ment co come, in the sunne and the moone and the whole frame of
 the world. Wherefore the vnhappy consciences do finde no rest, from
 being vexed and tossed with a terrible whirlewinde, frō feeling them-
 selues to be torne in peeces by God beinge angirly bent against them,
 from being pearced and launced with deadly stinges, from trembling
 at the lighteninge of God, and beinge broosed with the weight of his
 hand: so that it is much more ease to enter into al bottomles depthes
 and deuouringe pittes, than to stande one moment in those terrours.

Matt. 8.

12. & 13.

13.

Marc. 9.

43.

Esa. 66.

24.

Esa. 30.

33.

1. The. 1.

9.

Cap. i.

Of the outward meanes

What and how great then is this, to be pressed with euerlasting and neuer ceassing siege of him? Of which thing the 90. Psalme containeth a notable sentence: that although with only sight he scatter abroad all mortall men and bringe them to nought, yet his worshippers, how much more fearefull they are in the worlde, so much more he enforceth them and pricketh them forward loden with the crosse, vntill he be all in all.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE INSTITVTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, WHICH intreateth of the outward meanes or helpes, whereby God allureth vs into the fellowship of Christ and holdeth vs therein,

The first Chapter.

*Of the true Church vvhich vve ought to kepe vnyty, because
it is the mother of all the godly.*



That by Faith of the Gospel Christ is become oures, & we be made partakers of the saluation brought by him & of eternal blessednes, is already declared in the last booke. But because our rudenesse, and slothfulnesse, yea and vanity of wit, do nede outward helpes whereby Faith in vs may both be engendred, and grow and encrease in proceeding toward the marke wherunto it tenderth: God hath also added them therby to provide for our weakenes. And that the Preaching of the Gospel might flourish, he hath left this treasure with the Church. He hath appointed Pastors and teachers, by whose mouth he might teach them that be his: he hath furnished them with authority, finally he hath left nothing vndone that might auaille to the holy consent of faith and right order. First of all he hath ordained Sacramentes, which we feele by experience to be more than profitable helpes to nourishe and confirme Faith. For because beinge enclosed in the prison of our flesh, we do not yet attaine to the degre of Angels, God applying himselfe to our cappacity according to his
wonderful

wonderful Prouidence, hath appointed a meane whereby we being farre distant from him might come vnto him. Wherefore the order of teaching requireth that now we entreate of the Church, & of the gouernement, orders, & power of it, & then of the Sacramentes, and lastly also of ciuile order: and therewithall that we call away the godly readers from those corruptions wherewith Satan in the Papacy hath depraued all things that God hath appointed for our saluation. I will beginne at the Church, into whose bosome God will haue his children to be gathered together, not only that they should by her helpe and ministry be nourished while they are infantes and yonge children, but also be ruled by her motherly care till they grow to ripper age, and at length come to the marke of Faith. For it is not lawfull that those things be seuered which God hath conioined, that to whom he is a Father, the Church be also their mother: and that not only vnder the law, but also since the coming of Christ, as Paul witnesseth, which teacheth that we are the children of the new & heavenly Hierusalem.

Mat. 10

9.

Gala. 3.

26.

2 In the Creede, where we professe that we beleue the Church, that is not spoken onely of the visible Church whereof we nowe entreate, but of all the elect of God, in whose number they are also comprehended that are departed by death. And therefore this word Beleue is there set, because oftentimes there can no other difference be noted betwene the children of God & the vngodly, betwene his peculiar flocke and sauage beastes. For whereas many do enterlace this worde in, that is without probable reason. I graunt in deede that it is the more commonly vsed, & also wāteth not the consenting testimony of antiquity, forasmuch as euen the Nicen Crede, as it is reported in the Ecclesiastical history, addeth the preposition in. But therewithall we may marke by the wrytings of the aunciēt Fathers, that it was in olde time receiued without controuersie to say, that they beleued the Church & not in the Church. For Augustine, & that ancient writer whatsoeuer he was, whose work remaineth vnder y name of Cyprian concerning the exposition of the Crede, do not only so speake theselues, but also do expressly note that it should be an vnproper manner of speakeinge if the preposition were adioyned, & they confirme their opinion with no trifling reason. For we therefore testifie that we beleue in God because vpo him as a true speaker our mind repositeth it selfe, & in him our confidence resteth which could not so cōueniently be spoken to say in the Church, no more than it could be sayd, I beleue in the forgiuenes of sinnes, or in the resurrexiō of the flesh. Therefore although I woulde not strue about wordes, yet I hadde

rather follow the propriety of speakinge that shoulde be fittest to expresse the matter, than curiously to seeke for formes of speech whereby the matter may without cause be darkened. But the ende is, that we shoulde knowe that although the Deuill attempt all meanes to ouerthrowe the grace of Christ, and though the enemies of God be caried with violent rage to the same entent: yet it can not be extinguished, nor the bloude of Christ be made barren, but that it will bring forth some frute. And so is both the secret election of God, and his inwarde callinge to be considered: because he alone knoweth who be his, and holdeth them enclosed vnder a seale as Paule tearmeth it: saying that they beare his tokens whereby they may be feuerally knownen from the reprobate. But because a small and contemptible number lieth hid vnder a huge multitude, & a few graines of wheate are couered with a heape of chaffe, to God onely is to be left the knowledge of his Church, the fundation whereof is his secret electiō. But it is not sufficient to conceiue in thought and minde the multitude of the elect, vnlesse we thinke vpon such an vnity of the Church into which we be truly perswaded that we our selues be engrafted. For vnlesse we be vnder our heade Christ vnited together with all the rest of his members, there abideth for vs no hope of the inheritance to come. It is therefore called Catholike or Vniuersall, because we can not finde two or three Churches but that Christ must be torne in sonder, which can not be done. But all the elect of God are so knit together in Christ, that as they hang vpon one head, so they may growe together as it were into one body, cleauiing together with such a compacting of ioyntes as the members of one felie body: being truly made one, which with one hope, Faith, Charity, with one selfe Spirite of God do lue together, beinge called not only into one inheritance of eternal life, but also into one partakinge of one God and Christ. Wherefore although the sorowefull desolation that on ech side presenteth it selfe in sight, crieth out that there is nothinge left of the Church, yet lette vs know that Christes death is frutesfull and that God maruellously as it were in secrete corners preserueth his Church. As it was sayd to Elias, I haue kept to my selfe seuen thousand men that haue not bowed their knee before Baal.

3 Albeit this article of the Creede doth in some respect belonge to the outwarde Church, that euery one of vs should holde himselfe in brotherly consent with all the children of God, shoulde yeelde vnto the Church that authoritie which it deserueth, finally should so behaue himselfe as a shepe of the stocke. And therefore is adioyned the

commu-

Eph. 1.
13. 1

1. Reg.
19. 18.

communion of Saintes. Which parcell, although commonly the olde writers do leaue it out, yet is not to be neglected: because it very well expresseth the qualitie of the Church: as if it had bene sayed that the Saints are gathered together into the fellowship of Christ with this condition, that whatsoeuer benefites God bestoweth vpon them they should continually communicate them one to an other. Whereby yet the diuersitie of graces is not taken away, as we knowe that the giftes of the holy Ghost are diuersly distributed: neither is the order of ciuile gouernement disturbed, by which it is lawfull for euery man priuately to enioy his owne possessions, as it is necessary, that for preseruatiō of peace among men, they should haue among them selues peculiere and deuided properties of things. But there is a community affirmed, such as Luke describeth, that of the multitude of the beleuers there was one harte and one soule: and Paule, when he exhorteth the Ephesians to be one body, one Spirit, as they be called in one hope. For it is not possible, if they be truely perswaded that God is the common father, and Christ the common head to them all, but that being conioined among themselves with brotherly loue, they should continually communicate those things that they haue. Nowe it much behoueth vs to knowe what profite thereupon returneth vnto vs. For we beleue the Church to this ende, that we may be certainly perswaded that we are the members of it. For by this meane, our saluation resteth vpon sure and sounde stayes, that it, although the whole frame of the world be shaken, can not come to ruine and fall downe. First it standeth with goddes election, neither can it vary or faile. but together with his eternall Prouidence. Then, it is after a certaine maner ioined with the stedfastnesse of Christ, which will no more suffer his faithfull to be plucked from him, than his owne members to be rent and torne in peces. Beside that, we are assured that trueth shall alway abide with vs, so long as we are holden in the bosome of the Church. Last of al that we fele that these promises belong to vs, there shalbe saluation in Syon, God shall for euer abide in Hierusalem, that it may not at any time be moued. So much can the partaking of the Church do, that it holdeth vs in the fellowship of God. Also in the very worde Communion is much comfort: because while it remaineth certaine, that whatsoeuer the Lorde geueth to his and our members, belongeth to vs, our hope is by all their good things confirmed. But in such sorte to embrace the ynitie of the Church, it is not needefull (as we haue already sayed) to see the Church it selfe with our eyes, or fele it with our handes: but rather by this that it consisteth in Faith, we are admonished that

Ag. 4.

31.
Ephc. 4.
4

Iuel. 2.

32.
Abd 17
Psa 46.
6.

we ought no lesse to thinke it to be, when it passeth our vnderstanding, than if it openly appeared. Neither is our faith therefore the worse, because it conceiueth it vnknown: for asmuch as we are not here in comaunded to discerne the reprobate from the elect (which is the office of God onely, and not oures) but to determine assuredly in our mindes, that all they that by the mercifull kindnesse of God the father through the effectuall working of the Holy Ghost, are come into the partaking of Christ, are seuered into the peculiar right and proper possession of Christ: and that, for asmuch as we be in the number of those, we are partakers of so great a grace.

4 But sith it is now our purpose to entreat of the visible Church, let vs learne euen by this one title of Mother, how much y knowledge thereof is profitable, yea necessary for vs: for asmuch as there is no other entry into life, vnlesse she conceiue vs in her wombe, vnlesse she bring vs forth, vnlesse she feede vs with her breastes, finally vnlesse she kepe vs vnder her custody and gouernance, vntill such time

Mat. 22. as being vncllothed of mortall flesh we shall be like vnto Angels. For
30. our weakenesse suffreth vs not to be dismissed from schole, till we haue
Esa. 37. bene scholars throughout the whole course of our life. Beside that
31. out of her bosome there is no forgeuenesse of sinnes, and no salua-
Ioel. 2. tion to be hoped for, as witnesseth Esaie & Ioel, with whom agreeth
32. Ezechiel when he declareth that they shall not be in the number of
Eze. 13. Goddes people whom he putteth away from the heauenly life. As
9. on the contrary side, they are sayd to write their names among the
citizens of Hierusalé, that turne them selues to the following of true

Psa. 106 godlinesse. After which maner it is also sayed in an other Psalm: 4.
Remember me, Lorde, in the good will of thy people: visite me in
thy saluation that I may see the benefites of thy elect, that I may be
merry in the mirth of thy people, that I may reioise with thy enheri-
taunce. In which wordes the fatherly fauor of God, and the peculiar
testimonie of the Spirituall life is restrained to his flocke, so that the
departing from the Church is alway damnable.

5 But let vs procede to prosecute that which properly belongeth
Eph. 4. to this place. Paul writeth that Christ, that he might fulfill all things,
11. gaue some Apostles, some Prophetes, some Euangelistes, and some
Pastors & teachers, to the restoring of the holy ones, into the worke
of ministerie, vnto the edification of the body of Christ: vntill we all
come into the vnitie of Fayeth, and of the acknowledging of the
sonne of God, vnto a perfect manne, and to the measure of the full
growen age of Christ. We see howe God, which was able to make
them that be his perfect in a momente, yet will not haue them grow
into

into manly age but by the bringing vp of the Church. We see the meane expresse, for that vnto the Pastors is enioined the preaching of the heauenly doctrine. We see howe all, not one excepted, are brought into one rule, that they should with milde Spirit and willing to learne, yelde themselues to the teachers appointed for that vse. And by this marke Esaye had longe before set out the kingdome of Christ, where he sayeth: My Spirit which is in thee, and the wordes that I haue put in thy mouth shall neuer departe, neither out of thy mouth, nor out of thy mouth of thy sede & thy childrés childré. Wherevpon followeth that they are worthy to perish with famine & pining hunger, whosoeuer they be that refuse the Spirituall meate of the soule reached vnto them of God by the handes of the Church. God doth breath faith into vs, but by the instrument of his Gospell, as Paule sayeth that faith is by hearing. As also with God remaineth his power to saue, but (as the same Paule witnesseth) he vttereth and displayeth the same in the preaching of the Gospell. For this reason in olde time he willed that there should be made holy assemblies to the sanctuary, that doctrine vttered by the mouth of the Priest should nourish the consente of faith. And to no other end those glorious titles haue respect, where the temple is called the rest of God, and the sanctuary his house, where he is sayed to sit betwene the Cherubins, but to bring estimation, loue, reuerence and dignitie to the ministerie of the heauenly doctrine, which otherwise the sight of a mortall and despised man would not a litle diminish. Therefore that we should knowe, that out of earthen vessels is brought fourth vnto vs inestimable treasure, God himself cometh fourth, & in as much as he is author of this degree, so he will haue himself to be acknowledged presente in his institution. Therefore after that he hath forbidden his to giue themselues to iudgement by flying of birdes, to south sayings, magicall artes, necromancy and other superstitions, he immediately adde:h that he will geue them that which ought to suffice in steade of all, that is to say, that they shall neuer be destitute of Prophetes. But like as he sent not the olde people to Angels, but raised vp teachers out of the earth, which might truely performe the office of Angels: so at this day also his will is to teach vs by men. And as in the olde time he was not contente with the onely lawe, but added Priests for expositors, at whose lippes the people should enquire for the true meaninge thereof: so at this day he not onely willeth vs to be hedelessly bent to reading, but also appointeth maisters ouer vs, by whose traual we may be holpen: whereof cometh double profit. For on the one parte by a very good triall it proueth our obedience,

Esa. 59.

21.

Rom. 10

17.

Psa 133

14.

Psa. 80.

2.

2. Cor.

4-7.

Leui. 19

31.

where we heare his ministers speaking euen as it were himselfe. On the other side it also prouideth for our weaknesse, while after the maner of men he had rather speake vnto vs by interpreters to allure vs vnto him, than with thondring driue vs away from him. And truely howe expedient this familiar maner of teaching is for vs, all the godly do fele by the feare wherewith the maiestie of God doth worthily astonish them. But they that thinke that the authoritie of the doctrine is abaced by the contempt of the men that are called to teach, do bewray their vnthankfulnesse: because among so many excellent giftes wherewith God hath garnished mankind: this is a singular prerogatiue, that he vouchesaue to consecrat the mouths and tonges of men to himselfe, that his owne voice should sound in them. Wherefore on our behalues let vs not be greued obediently to embrace the doctrine of saluation set foorth by his commaundement and by his owne mouth: because although the power of God is not bounde to outwarde meanes, yet he hath bounde vs to an ordinary maner of teaching: which whyle phrentike menne refuse to kepe, they wrappe themselues in many deadly snares. Either pride, or disdainefulnesse, or enuie moueth many to perswade themselues that they can sufficiently profit by their owne priuate reading and study, and so to despise publike assemblies, and to accompte preaching superfluous. But sith they do as much as in the is lose or breake in sonder the holy bonde of vnitie, no man escapeth the due punishment of this diuorce, but he bewitcheth himselfe with pestilent errors and most wicked dotages. Wherefore, that the pure simplicitie of faith may flourish among vs, let vs not be grieued to vse this exercise of godlinesse, which God by his institution hath shewed to be necessarie for vs and so earnestly comendeth. But there was neuer yet found any euen of the most wanton dogges which would say that we ought to stoppe our eares against God: but in all ages the Prophets and godly teachers haue had a hard strife against the wicked, whoes stubbornesse can neuer come vnder this yoke, to be taught by the mouth and ministerie of menne. Which is as much as to blotte out the face of God which shineth vnto vs in doctrine. For, in olde time the faithfull were commaunded to seke the face of God in the Sanctuarie, and the same is so ofte repeted in the lawe, for no other cause but for that the doctrine of the lawe and the exhortations of the Prophets were to them a liuely image of God: as Paule affirmeth that in his preaching shineth the glorie of God in the face of Christ. Howe much the more detestable are the Apostates, which greedely seeke to deuide Churches, as though they did driue shepe from

Psa. 115.

1. Cor.

3. 6.

from their foldes and cast them into the mouthes of wolues. But we must holde that which we haue alleged out of Paul, that the Church is no otherwise bilded but by outwarde preaching, and that the holy ones are holden together with no other bonde but when with learning and profiting with one consente they kepe the order appointed by God to the Church. To this ende principally, as I haue sayed, the faithfull in olde time vnder the lawe were commaunded to resort to the sanctuary. Because when Moses speaketh of the dwelling place of God, he doth there withall call it the place of name, where God hath set the memorie of his name. Whereby he plainly teacheth that without the doctrine of godlinesse there is no vse thereof. And it is not doutfull but that for the same reason Dauid with great bitterness of Spirit complaineth that he is by the tyrannous crueltie of his enemies kept from entring into the Tabernacle. It semeth commonly to many, a childish lamentation, because it should be but a very small losse, and also no great pleasure should be forgone thereby, to wante the entrie of the temple, so that there were enough of other delitefull things. But he bewaileth that with this one grieffe, anguish, and sorowe, he is fretted & vexed & in a maner wasted. For nothing is of greater estimation with the faithfull, than this helpe whereby God by degrees lifteth vp his on hie. For this is also to be noted, that God in the mirror of his doctrine alway so shewed himselfe to the holy Fathers, that the knowledge was spirituall. Wherefore the temple is called not onely his face, but also (to take away all superstition) his foote stole. And this is that happy meting into vnitie of faith, while from the hiest euen to the lowest all do aspire to the head. All the temples that euer the Gentiles vpon any other purpose builded to God, were but a mere prophaning of his worship: whereunto though not with like grossenes, yet somewhat the Iewes fell. Whereof Stephen out of the mouth of Esay reprocheth the, where he sayeth, that God dwelleth not in temples made with handes. &c. Because onely God doth by his worde sanctifie to himselfe temples to the lawefull vse. And if we rashly attempt any thing without his commaundement, by and by to an euill beginning do cleaue newe deuises by which y euill is spreade abroad without measure. Yet Xerxes, when by the counsell of the Magitiās he burned vp or plucked downe all the tēples of Greece, vndiscretely sayed, that the goddes to whom all things ought to be freely open were inclosed within wals & tiles. As though it were not in the power of God, to the entente he might be nere vs, after a certaine maner to descende vnto vs, & yet neither to chaunge place, nor to fasten vs to earthly meanes: but rather by

Exo. 20.

24.

Psa. 33

7.

Psa. 99.

5.

1. Par. 2.

28. 2.

Act. 7.

48.

certaine chariotes to carry vs vp to his heavenly glory, which with the inmeasurable greatnesse therof filleth all things, yea & in heighth surmounteth the heauens.

6 Nowe forasmuch as at this time there hath bene great strife about the effectualnesse of the ministry, while some excesssiuely amplifie the dignitie thereof: and some other affirme that that which is properly belonging to the Holy Ghost is wrongfully geuen away to mortall man, if we thinke that ministers and teachers do pearce to the mindes & hartes, to amende as well the blindnesse of the mindes as the hardnesse of hartes: it is mete that we geue a right determination of this cōtrouerfy. All that they contend on both partes shal easily be accorded by expressely noting the places where God the author of preaching ioining his Spirit with it promiserh fruit thereof: or againe, when seuering himself from outwarde helps he chalengeth to himselfe alone as well the beginnings of faith as the whole course thereof. It was the office of the secōde Elias (as Malachie witnesseth) to enlighten the mindes, and to turne the hartes of fathers to the children, and vnbeleuers to the wise dome of the righteous. Christ pronounceth that he sendeth the Apostles, that they should bring fruite of their labor. But what that fruite is Peter shortly defineth, saying that we be regenerate with incorruptible seede. And therefore Paule glorieth that he by the Gospell begate the Corinthians, and that they were the seale of his Apostleshippe: yea that he was not a literall minister, such as did onely beate the eares with sounde of voice, but that there was geuen him an effectualnesse of Spirit, that his doctrine should not be vnprofitable. In which meaning also in an other place he sayeth, that his Gospell was not in word onely, but in power. He affirmeth also that the Galathians by hearinge receiued the Spirit of faith. Finally in many places he maketh himselfe not onely a worker together with God, but also assigneth himselfe the office of geuing saluation. Truely he neuer brought fourth all these things to this entent to geue vnto himselfe any thing were it neuer so little seuerally from God: as in an other place he shortly declareth, saying: our labour was not vnprofitable in the Lorde, according to his power mightily working in me. Againe in an other place, he that was mightie in Peter towarde the circumcision, was also mightie in me towarde the Gentiles. But howe he leaueth nothing seuerally to the ministers, appeareth by other places, as: he that planteth is nothing, and he that watereth is nothing, but God that geueth the encrease. Again: I haue laboured more than all: not I, but the grace of God that was with me. And truely we must holde fast those

Mala. 4.

6.

Ioh. 15.

16.

1. Pet. 1.

23.

1. Cor.

4. 15.

1. Cor. 9

2.

2. Cor.

3. 6.

1. Cor.

2. 4.

Gal 3. 2

1. Cor.

3. 9.

1. Thef.

3. 5

Gala. 2.

8.

1. Cor.

3. 7.

those sayings, where God ascribing to himselfe the enlightening of the minde, and the renewing of the harte, teacheth that it is a robbing of God if man take vpon himself any parte of either of them. In the meane time if any man offer himselfe to the ministers whom God ordeineth, willing to learne, he shall knowe by the frute, that this maner of teaching not in vaine pleased God, and that this yoke of modesty was not in vaine layed vpon the faithfull.

7 But as for the Church visible and which is within the compasse of our knowledge, what iudgement is mete to be geuen thereof, I thinke it already appeare evidently by that which we haue before sayed. For we haue sayed, that the holy Scripture speaketh of the Church after two sortes. Somtime when it nameh the Church, it meaneth that Church which is in deede before God, into which none are receiued but they that are both by grace of adoptiō the children of God, and by sanctification of the Spirit the true members of Christ. And then truely it comprehendeth not onely the holy ones that dwell in earth, but also all the elect that haue bene since the beginning of the world. But oftentimes vnder the name of the Church it signifieth the vniuersall multitude of men scattered abroad in the world, which professe that they worship one God and Christ, by Baptisme entre into his faith, by partaking of the Supper testifie their vnitie in true doctrine and charitie, haue an agreement in the word of the Lorde, and for the preaching thereof do kepe the ministerie ordeined by Christ. In this Church there be mingled many hypocrites which haue nothing of Christ but the name and outwarde shewe: there be many ambitious, couetous, enuious, euill speakers, some of vncleane life: which be suffred for a time, either because they can not by lawfull order of iudgemēt be conuincd, or because there is not alway in vre that seueritie of discipline that ought to be. Therefore as we must needs beleue that the Church which is inuisible to vs, is to be seen with the eyes of God onely: so are we commaunded to regarde this Church which is called a Church in respect of men, and to kepe the communion of it.

7 Therefore so much as behoued vs to knowe it, the Lord hath 2.Tim. set it out by certaine markes and as it were signes vnto vs. This is 2.19. in deede the singular prerogatiue of God himselfe, to knowe who be his, as we haue already alleaged out of Paule. And truely that the rashnesse of menne should not crepe so farre, it is prouided, by the very successe of thinges daily putting vs in minde, howe farre his secret iudgements do surmounte our vnderstanding. For euen they that seemed most desperate, and accompted vtterly past hope,

are by his goodnesse called backe into the way : & they that seemed to stande fast in comparison of other, doo oftentimes fall. Therefore

Homel. according to the secret predestination of God (as Augustine sayeth) in 1oā. there be many shepe without, and many wolues within. For he 45. knoweth them, and hath them marked that knowe neither him nor themselues But of those that openly beare his badge, his onely eyes do see who be both holy without faining, and who will cōtinue euen to the ende, which is the very chiefe point of saluation. Yet on the other side, forasmuch as he forsaue it to be somedeale expedient, that we should knowe who were to be accompted his children, he hath in this parte applied himselfe to our capacitie. And because the certaintie of faith was not necessarie, he hath put in place thereof a certaine iudgement of charitie: whereby we should acknowledge for membres of the Church those that both with confession of faith, and with example of life, and with partaking of sacraments, do professe the same God and Christ with vs. But as for the knowledge of the body thereof, howe much more that he knewe it to be necessary for our saluation, with so much y more certaine markes he hath set it out.

9 Loe hereupon groweth & ariseth vnto vs, a face of the Church visible to our eyes. For wheresoeuer we see the word of God to be purely preached and hearde, and the sacraments to be ministred according to the institutiō of Christ, there it is in no wise to be doubted that there is some Church of God: forasmuch as his promise canne Mat. 18. not deceiue, Whersocuer two or three are gathered together in my 20. name, there I am in the middes of them. But that we may euidently vnderstande the summe of this matter, we must procede by these as it were degrees: that is to say, that the vniuersall Church is a multitude gathered together out of all natiōs whatsoeuer they be, which being sondered and seuerally scattered by distances of places, yet doth agree in one truth of godly doctrine, and is bounde together with the bonde of one selfe religion: And that so vnder this are cōprehended all particular Churches which are in all townes and streetes according to the order of mens necessitie, so that euery one of them may rightfully haue the name and authoritie of a Church: And that all particular men which by professiō of godlinesse are reckened among such Churches, although they be in dede strāgers from the Church, yet do after a certaine maner belong vnto it, till by publike iudgemēt they be banished out of it. Howbeit there is somewhat a diuers maner in iudging of private men and of Churches. For it may fall in experience, that such men as we shall thinke not to be altogether worthy of the company of the godly, yet we must vse like brethren, and accompt

compt them amonge the faithfull, for the common consent of the Church, wherby they are suffered and borne withall in the body of Christ. We do not by oure testimonie allowe such to be members of the Church: but we leaue them the place that they haue amonge the people of God, till it be by orderly right of lawe takē away from them. But of the very multitude we must otherwise thinke: which if it hath and honoreth the ministry of the Word, and the administration of Sacramentes, it deserueth without dout to be esteemed & iudged a Church: because it is certaine that those things are not without fruite. So we do also preserue to the vniuersall Church her vnitie, which diuelishe spirits haue alway trauailed to cut in sunder: neither do we defraude of their authoritie those lawfull assemblies which are disposed according to the fittesse of places.

10 We haue set for signes to discerne the Church by, the preaching of the Word, and the obseruing of the Sacraments. For these can be no where but they must bring forth fruite, and be prospered with the blessing of God. I do not say, that wheresoeuer the word is preached, there by and by springeth vp fruit: but I say that no where it is receiued and hath a stayed seate, but that it bringeth forth the effectualnesse thereof. Where the preaching of the Gospell is reuerently heard, and the Sacraments are not neglected, howesoeuer it be, there for that time appeareth a not deceitfull & not doutfull face of the Church, whereof no man may vn Timered either despise the authoritie, or refuse the admonitions, or resist the counsells, or mocke at the corrections: much lesse to depart from it, and to breake in sunder the vnitie of it. For the Lorde so hiely esteemeth the Communion of his Church, that he compteth him for a traterous runne away and forsaker of Religion, whosoeuer shal stubbornly estraunge himselfe from any Christian fellowship, so that it be such a one as hath the true ministerie of the Word and Sacraments. He so commendeth the Churches authoritie, that when it is violate, he iudgeth his owne diminished. Neither is it of small importaunce, that the Church is called the pillar and strong stay of truth and the house of God. By which wordes Paule signifieth, that to the ende the truth of God should not decay in the world, the Church is a faithful keeper thereof: because Gods will was to haue the preaching of his word kept pure, and to shewe himselfe vnto vs a father of houtholde by her ministerie and labour, while she feedeth vs with spirituall nourishments, and procureth all things that make for our saluation. It is also no sclender praise, that it is said that she is chosen and seuered by Christ to be his spouse, that should be without wrinkle and spot, the

1. Tim 3

15.

Eph. 5.

27.

Eph. 1.

23.

body and fulnes of him. Whereupon followeth, that departing from the Church is a denying of God and of Christ. Therefore so much the more we must beware of so wicked disagreement. For while we go about, so much as in vs lieth, to procure the ruine of Gods truth, we are worthy that he should sende downe his lightening with the whole violent force of his wrath to destroy vs. Neither can there be imagined any faulte more hainous, than with wicked breache of faith to defile the mariage that the onely begotten sonne of God hath vouchesaued to contracte with vs.

11 Wherefore let vs diligently kepe these markes emprinted in our mindes, and let vs esteeme them according to the Lordes will. For there is no thing that Satan more endeouureth than to take away and abolish the one of these, or both: sometime that when these markes are faced and blotted out, he may take away the true and naturall distinction of the Church: sometime that when they are brought in contempt, he may with open falling away plucke vs from the Church. By his craft it is brought about, that in certain ages past, the pure preaching of the word hath vanished away: and now he doth with as great importunacy trauaile to ouerthrowe the ministerie, which yet Christ hath so stablished in the Church, that when it is taken away, the edification of the Church perisheth. But now, howe daungerous, yea howe deadly a temptation is it when it doth but come in our minde to depart from that congregation, wherein are seene the signes and tokens by which the Lorde thought his Church sufficiently described? We se howe great hede is to be taken on both sides. For, that we shoulde not be deceiued vnder the title of the Church, euery cōgregation that pretēdeth the name of the Church must be examined by that maner of triall, as by a touchstone. If it haue in the word and Sacraments the order appointed by the Lord, it will not deceiue vs: let vs boldly yeld vnto it the honor due to Churches. But contrary wise if it boast it selfe without the word and Sacramēts, we must no lesse with fearefull conscience beware of such deceites, than on the other side we must flee rashnesse and pride.

12 Where as we say that the pure ministerie of the word and the pure vsage in celebrating the Sacraments, is a sufficient pledge and earnest, so that we may safely embrace as the Church any fellowship wherein both these shalbe: this extendeth so farre, that it is neuer to be cast of, so long as it shall continue in those, although it swarme full of many other faultes. Yea and there may some faultinesse creepe into it, in the administration either of Doctrine, or of the Sacramentes, which ought not to estraunge vs from the Com-
munion

munion of it. For all the articles of true Doctrine be not of one sorte. Some be so necessarie to be knowen, that they ought to be certaine and vndouted to all men, as the prope principles of Religion: of which sort are, That there is one God. That Christ is God, and the sonne of God: that our Saluation consisteth in the mercy of God: and such like. There be other that being in controuersie betwene Churches, yet do not breake the vnitie of faith. For those Churches that disagree about this one point, if without lust of contention, without stubburnesse of affirming, the one thinke that soules when they departe from the bodies do flie vp into heauen, and the other Church dare determine nothing of the place, but yet certainly holdeth that they liue to the Lorde. The wordes of the Apostle are: Let Phil. 3.
all vs that be perfect thinke all one thing: but if ye thinke any thing 19.
otherwise, this the Lorde shall also reuele vnto you. Doth he not sufficiently shewe that diuersitie of opinions about these matters, that be not so necessary, ought to be no ground of disagreement among Christians? It is in deede a principall pointe, that we agree in all things. But for as much as there is no man that is not wrapped with some littell clowde of ignoraunce: either we muste leaue no Church at all, or we must pardon a beinge deceiued in such things as may be vnknown without violating the summe of Religion, and without losse of saluation. But I meane not here to defend any errors be they neuer so litle, so as I would thinke that they should be cherished with flattering and winking at them: but I say that we ought not rashly for euery light dissention forsake the Church, in which at least that Doctrine is reteined safe and vncorrupted, wherein standeth the safetie of godlinesse, and the vse of Sacramentes is kept as it was institute by the Lorde. In the meane time if we endeour to amend that which displeaseth vs, we do therin according to our dutie. And hereunto belongeth that saying of Paule: If any thing better be 1. Cor.
reueled to him that sitteth, let the first holde his peace. Whereby 14. 30.
it is euidente, that all the membres of the Church are euery one charged with endeouour to publike edification, according to the measure of his grace, so that it be done comely and according to order: that is, that we neither do forsake the communion of the Church, nor abiding in it, do trouble the peace and well ordred discipline thereof.

13 But in bearinge with the imperfection of life, our gentle tendernesse ought to go much further. For herein is a very slipperie easinesse to fall: and herein with no small deuises doth Satan lay wait for vs. For there haue bene alway some, which filled with false per-

swation of perfect holinesse as though they were already made certaine ayry spirits, despised the company of all men, in whome they sawe remaining any thing of the nature of man. Such in old time were the Cathary, and they that were as madde as they, the Donatistes. Such at this day are some of the Anabaptistes, which would seeme to haue profited aboute the rest. Some there be that offende more by an vndiscrete zeale of righteousness, than by that madde pride. For when they see among them to whom the Gospell is preached, the fruit of life not agreeably answering to the doctrine therof, they by and by iudge that there is no Church. It is in deede a most iust displeasure, and such a one whereunto in this most miserable age of the world, we geue to much occasion. Neither may we excuse our accursed slouthfulnesse, which the Lorde will not suffer vnpunished: as euen already he beginneth with greuous scourges to chastise it. Wo therefore to vs, which with so dissolute licentiousnesse of wicked dooinges, make that weake consciences be wounded by reason of vs. But in this againe they offende whom I haue spoken of, because they can not measure their beeing displeased. For where the Lorde requireth clemencie, they leauing it, do geue them selues wholly to immeasurable rigorousnesse. For, because they thinke that there is no Church where there is not sounde purenesse and vprightness of life, for hatred of sinnes they departe from the lawefull Church, while they thinke that they swarue from a company of wicked men. They alledge that the Church of Christ is holy. But that they may also vnderstande that it is mingled of good and euill men, let them heare this parable out of the mouth of Christ, wherein it is

Mat. 13.

47.

Mat 13.

21.

Matt. 3.

12.

compared to a nette, in which fishes of all kindes are gathered together: & are not chosen out til they be laid abrode vpon y^e shoare. Let them heare that it is like vnto a corne felde, which being sown with good graine, is by the enemies fraude scattered with tares, of which it is not cleansed vntill the croppe be brought into the barne floore. Finally let them heare that it is like vnto a floore, wherein the wheat is so gathered together, that it lieth hidden vnder the chaffe, till being clenfed with fanne and syue it be at length laid vp in the grainer. If the Lorde pronounce that the Church shall euen to the day of Iudgement be troubled with this euill, to be burdened with mingling of euill men: they do in vaine seeke for a Church sprinkled with no spotte.

14 But they crie out that it is an intollerable thing, that the pestilence of vices so raungeth abroade. What if the saying of the Apostle do here also answer them? Among the Corinthians not onely
a fewe

a fewe had gone out of the way, but the infection hadde in a maner possessed the whole body: There was not onely one kinde of sinne, but many: neither were they light offences, but certaine horrible outrageous doings: it was not only corruption of maners, but also of doctrine. What in this case saith the holy Apostle, that is to say, the instrument of the Holy Ghost, by whoes testimonie the Church standeth and falleth? Doth he require a diuision from them? Doth he banish them out of the kingdome of Christ? Doth he strike them with the extremest thunderbolt of curse? He not onely doth none of all these thinges: but he both acknowledgeth and reporteth it a Church of Christ and fellowship of saintes. If there remaine a Church among the Corinthians, where contentions, sectes, and enuious partakinges do broile: where quarels and brawlinges be in vire, with a gredinesse of hauing where that wicked dooing is openly allowed, which were abhominable among the very Gentiles: where Paules name is vniustly railed at, whom they ought to haue honoured as their father: where some scorne at the resurrection of the dead, with ruine whereof the whole Gospell falleth: where the gracious gifts of God serue to ambition, & not to charitie: where many things are vncomely and vnorderly doone: and if therefore there still remaine a Church, because the ministerie of the word and of the Sacraments is there not refused, who dare take away the name of the Church from them that can not be charged with the tenth part of these fautes? They that with so great precisenesse deale so cruelly against the Churches of this present time: what (I pray you) would they haue done to the Galathiās, which were almost vtter forsakers of the Gospell amōg whom yet the same Apostle founde Churches:

1. Cor. 1.
11. & 3.
3. & 5. 1.
& 6. 7.
& 9. 1.
and 15.
12.

Gala. 1.

15 They obiekt also, howe that Paule greuouesly rebuketh the Corinthians for suffering in their company a man that was a hainous sinner, and then he setteth a generall sentence wherein he pronounceth, that it is vnlawefull euen to eate breade with a manne of reprochefull life. Here they crie out: If it be not lawefull to eate com-

1. Cor.
5. 2.

mon breade, howe may it be lawefull to eate with them the bread of the Lorde. I confesse in deede that it is a great dishonour, if hogges and dogges haue place among the children of God: it is also a much more dishonour if the holy body of Christ be geuen forth to them. And truely if they be well ordred Churches, they will not suffer wicked men in their bosome, and will not without choise admitte both worthy and vnworthy together to that holy banket. But forasmuch as the Pastors do not alway so diligently watche, yea and sometime are more tender in bearing with men than they ought to be, or

Cap. I.

Of the outwarde meanes

are hindered so that they can not vse that seueritie that they would: it commeth to passe that euen they that are openly euill, are not alway thrust out of the company of the holy ones. This I graunte to be a fault: neither will I diminishe it, sith Paule doth so sharply rebuke it in the Corinthyans. But although the Church be slacke in her duetie, it shall not be therefore immediately in the power of euery priuate man, to take vpon him selfe the iudgement to seuer him. I do in dede not deny that it is the doing of a godly mā to withdrawe himselfe from all priuate company of euill men, to entangle himselfe in no willing familiaritie with them. But it is one thing to flee the companie of euill men, and an other thing for hatred of them to forsake the Communion of the Church. But where as they thinke it sacrilege to be partakers of the Lordes bread with them, they are therein much more rigorous than Paule is. For where he exhorteth vs to a holy and pure partaking, he requireth not that one should examine an other, or euery man y whole Church, but y they shoulde echone proue himselfe. If it were vnlawfull to communicate with an vnworthy man, then truely Paul would bid vs to looke circumspectly whether there were any in the multitude, by whoes vncleannesse we might be defiled. Nowe when he requireth onely of euery man the prooue of themselves, he sheweth that it nothing hurteth vs if any vnworthy do thrust themselues in among vs. And nothing els is ment by this which he sayeth afterwarde, He that eateth vnworthily, eateth and drinketh iudgement to himselfe. He doth not say, to other, but to himself. And rightfully. For it ought not to stande in the choise of euery particular man, who be to be receiued, & who to be reiected. The knowledge thereof belongeth to the whole Church, which knowledge can not be had without lawefull order, as hereafter shall be said more at large. Therefore it should be vnrighteous, that any priuate man should be defiled with the vnworthinesse of an other, whom he neither can nor ought to kepe backe from comming to it.

16 But although by this vndiscrete zeale of righteousness this temptation doth sometime also entre into good men: yet this we shall finde that to much precisenesse groweth rather of pride, disdainfulnessse, and false opinion of holynesse, than of true holinesse and true zeale thereof. Therefore they that are bolder than other, and as it were stander d bearers to make any departing from the Church, for the most parte do it vpon no other cause, but in despising of all men to boast themselues to be better than other. Therefore Augustine sayeth well and wisely: When godly order & maner of Ecclesiasticall discipline ought principally to haue regarde vnto the vnitie of Spirit
in

1. Cor.

11. 18.

1. Cor.

11. 29.

Contra

par. lib.

3. ca. 1.

in the bonde of peace: which the Apostle commaunded to be kept by bearing one with an other: and which beinge not kept, the medicine of reuenge is proued to be not only superfluous, but also pernicious, and therefore now to be no medicine at all: those euill children, which not for hatred of other mens iniquities, but for affection of their owne contentions, do greedily labour either wholly to drawe or at least to diuide the weake common people entangled with the boasting of their name, swelling with pride, madde with stubburnesse, traiterous with sleanders, troublesome with seditions, least they should seeme to want the light of truth, do pretende a shadowe of rigorous seueritie: and those things that are in the holy Scriptures comaunded to be done with a gentler kinde of healing, sauving the sinceritie of loue, and keping the vnitie of peace, to correct the faultes of brethren, they abuse it to sacrilege of schisme, and to occasion of cutting of. But to godly and quiet men he geueth this counsell, that they mercifully correct that which they can, and that which they can not, patiently beare, and grone and mourne with loue, vntill God either amende and correct them, or at the haruest roote vp the tares, and sanne out the chaffe. Let the godly trauaile to fortifie themselves with these armures, least while they seeme to themselves strong and couragious reuengers of righteousness, they departe from the kingdome of heauen, which is the onely kingdome of righteousness. For sith it is Gods will to haue the communion of his Church to be kept in this outward felowship: he that for hatred of euil men doth break the token of that felowship, entreth into a way whereby is a slippery falling from the communiõ of saints. Let them thinke that in a great multitude there be many truly holy and innocent before the eyes of the Lord, whom they see not. Let them think that euen of them that be diseased there be many that do not please or flatter themselves in their faultes, but being nowe and then awakened with earnest feare of God do aspire to a greater vprightnesse. Let them thinke that iudgement ought not to be geuen of a man by one deede: forasmuch as the holiest do sometime fall away with a most greuous fall. Let them thinke that to gather a Church there lieth more weight both in the ministerie of the word and in the partakinge of the holy mysteries, than that all y force should vanishe away by the fault of some wicked men. Last of all let them consider, that in iudging the Church, the iudgement of God is of greater value than the iudgement of man.

17 Where also they pretẽd that the Church is not without cause called Holy, it is mete to wey with what holinesse it excelleth: least if we will admitte no Church but such a one as is in all pointes perfect,

Cap. i.

Of the outwarde meanes

Ephe. 5. we leaue no Church at all: It is true in deede which Paule saith, that
15. Christ gaue himselfe for the Church to sanctifie it: that he clenſed
 it with the lauer of water with the word of life, to make her vnto
 himselfe a glorious spouse hauing no spotte or wrinkle &c. Yet this is
 also nothing lesse true, that the Lorde daily worketh in smothering her
 wrinkles and wiping away her spottes. Whereupon followeth that
 her holinesse is not yet fully finished. Therefore the Church is so
 holy, that it daily profiteth and is not yet perfect. dayely procedeth,
 & is not yet come to the marke of holinesse: as also in an other place
Ioel. 3. shalbe more largely declared, whereas therefore the Prophets pro-
17. phecie that there shalbe a holy Hierusalem, through which straungers
Esa. 35. shall not passe: and a holy temple whereinto vnclane men shall not
8. entre: let vs not so take it, as if there were no spotte in the membres
 of the Church: but for that with their whole endeouour they aspire to
 holinesse and sound purenesse, by the goodnesse of God cleannesse is
 ascribed to them, which they haue not yet fully obtained. And al-
 though oftentimes there be but rare tokens of such sanctification a-
 monge men: yet we must determine y there hath bene no time since
 the creation of the world wherein the Lord hath not had his Church,
 and that there shall also be no time to the very ende of the world,
 wherein he shall not haue it. For albeit immediatly fro the beginning
 the whole kinde of men is corrupt and defiled by the sinne of Adam;
 yet out of this, as it were a polluted masse, God alway sanctifieth
 some vessels vnto honour, that there should be no age without feling
 of his mercie. Which he hath testified by certaine promises: as these;
Psa. 89. I haue ordeined a testament to my elect: I haue sworne to Dauid my
4. seruant, I will for euer continue thy seede: I will builde thy seate in
Psa. 132 generation and generation. Againe, the Lorde hath chosen Syon, he
13. hath chosen it for a dwelling to himselfe: This is my rest for euer. &c.
Hier 31. Againe, These things saith the Lord which geueth the Sunne for the
35. light of y day, the mone & starres for the light of the might. If these
 lawes shall faile before me, then the seede of Israell shall also faile.

18 Hereof Christ himselfe, the Apostles, and in maner all the
 Prophets haue geuen vs example. Horrible are those descriptions
 wherein Esaie, Hieremie, Ioel, Abacuc, and the other do lament the
 sicknesse of the Church of Hierusalem. In the common people, in
 the magistrat, in the Priests all things were so corrupt, that Esaie dou-
 teth not to match Hierusalem with Sodom and Gomorrha. Religion
 was partely despised, partely defiled: in their maners are commonly
 reported thestes, extortions, breaches of faith, murthers and like mis-
 chieues. Yet therefore the Prophets did neither erect to themselues

newe Churches, nor build vp newe altars on which they might haue seuerall sacrifices: but of whatsoeuer maner men they were, yet because they considered, that God had left his word with them, and ordained Ceremonies wherby he was there worshipped, in the midst of the assembly of the wicked they helde vp pure handes vnto him. Truly if they had thought that they did gather any infection thereby, they woulde rather haue died a hundred times than haue suffred themselues to be drawn thereunto. Therefore nothing withheld them frō departing, but desire to the keping of vnity. But if the Prophets thought it against conscience, to estrange themselues from the Church, for many & great wicked doings, not of one or two men, but in maner of the whole people: then we take too much vpon vs, if we dare by and by depart frō the communiō of the Church, where not all mens maners do satisfie either our iudgemēt, yea or the Christian profession,

19 Now what maner worlde was there in the time of Christ and the Apostles? And yet that desperate vngodlinesse of the Pharisees, and the dissolute licentiousnesse of liuinge, which then eche where reigned, could not hinder, but that they vsed the same Ceremonies with the people, and assembled with the rest into one temple to the publike exercises of religion. Whereof came that, but because they knew that the felowship of euil men did not defile them, which with a pure conscience did communicate at the same Ceremonies. If any man be litle moued with the Prophets and Apostles, let him yet obey the authority of Christ. Therefore Cyprian well sayth, though there be seene tares or vncleane vessels in the Church, yet there is no cause why we should depart from the Church: we must only labour that we may be wheate: we must vse diligence and endeouour as much as we may y we may be a golden or siluer vessel. But to breake the earthen vessels, is the only worke of the Lord, to whom also is giuen an iron rodde. And let no man challenge to himselfe that which is properly belonging to the Sonne onely, to be able alone to fanne the floore, and cense the chaffe, and seuer all the tares by mans iudgement. This is a proude obstinacy, and a presumption ful of sacrilege, which a peruerse furour taketh to it selfe. &c. Therefore let both these rhinges remaine certainly fixed, First that he hath no excuse, that of his owne will forsaketh the outwarde communion of the Church. Where the word of God is preached and the sacramentes ministred: then that the faultes of a fewe or of many are no hindrance, but that we may therein rightly professe our faith by the Ceremonies institute by God: because a godly conscience is not hurt by the vnworthines

Libr. 3.
epist. 5.

Cap. i.

Of the outward meanes

of any other either pastor or priuate man , and the misteries are to a holy & vpright man neuerthelesse pure & holosome because they are together handled of vncleane men.

20 Their precisenesse and disdainfulnes proceedeth yet further: because they acknowledge no Church but such a one as is pure from all spottes be they neuer so small: yea they are angry with good teachers, for that in exhortinge the faithfull to go forward, they teache them all their life long to grone vnder the burden of vices, & to flee vnto pardō. For they prate y by this meane men be led frō perfectiō. I graunt in deede, that in earnest callinge vpon perfection we ought not slowely or coldly to trauaill, much lesse to be idle: but to fill our mindes with confidence thereof while we be yet in our course, I say, it is a deuclishe inuention. Therefore in the Creede the forgiuenesse of sinnes is aptly ioyned next after the Church. For none do attaine it, but only they that are citizens and of the household of the Church, as it is read in the Prophet. Therefore the buildinge of the heavenly Hierusalem ought to go before, wherein afterward this mercifulnesse of God may haue place, that whosoever come vnto it, their iniquity may be taken away. I say that it ought first to be builded, not for that there can be any Church without the forgiuenes of sinnes, but because the Lord hath not promised his mercy but in the Communiō of Saintes. Therefore the first entry for vs into the Church and kingdom of God, is the forgiuenesse of sinnes, without which we haue no couenant or conioyning with God. For thus he sayth by the Prophet: In that day I will strike you a couenant with the beast of the felde, with the fowle of the aire, and with the vermine of the earth. I will breake the sworde and warre from out of the earth, and I will make men to sleepe without feare. I will espouse you vnto me for euer. I will espouse you (I say) in righteousness, in iudgement, in mercy, and in compassions. We see how by his mercy the Lord reconcileth vs to himselfe. And so in an other place, when he foresayth that the people shalbe gathered together againe, whom he had scattered abroad in his wrath, he sayth, I will clense them from all wickednesse wherewith they haue sinned against me. Wherefore by the signe of washinge we enter into the feloshippe of the Church, whereby we may be taught, that there is no entry open for vs into y householde of God, vnlesse our filthines be first wiped away with his goodnesse.

21 But by the forgiuenesse of sinnes the Lord doth not onely receiue & adopt vs once into the Church, but by the same he also preserueth and maintaineth vs still in it. For to what purpose were it, to haue

haue such a pardon graunted vs, as should serue for no vse? But eue-
ry one of the godly is a witnesse to himselfe that the mercy of God
should be vaine and mocking, if it should be graunted only but once:
because there is none y^e is not in his owne consciēce priue through-
out his whole life of many weakneses, which neede y^e mercy of God.
And truely not in vaine God promiseth this grace peculiarly to the
of his owne housholde: and not in vaine he commaundeth the same
message of reconciliation to be daily offred vnto them. Therefore as
throughout all our life we cary about vs the remnantes of sinne, vn-
lesse we be sustained with the continuall grace of the Lorde in forgi-
uing our sinnes, we shall scarcely abide one moment in the Church.
But the Lord hath called his vnto eternall saluation. Therefore they
ought to thinke that there is pardon alway ready for their sinnes.
Wherefore we ought to holde assuredly, that by the liberality of God
by meane of Christes deseruing through the Sanctificatiō of the Spi-
rit, sinnes, haue bin and are daily pardoned to vs which be called and
grafted into the body of the Church.

22 To deale this benefit vnto vs, the keies were giue to the Church
For when Christ gaue the Apostles commaundement, and deliuered
the power to forgiue sinnes, he meant not this onely, that they should
loose the from sinnes that were frō vngodlines cōuerted to the faith
of Christ: but rather that they should continually execute this office
among the faithfull. Which thing Paul teacheth, whē he writeth that
the embassage of reconciliation was left with the ministers of the
Church, whereby they shoulde oftentimes in Christes name exhor-
te the people to reconcile themselues to God. Therefore in the Com-
munion of Saintes, by the ministry of the Church it selfe, sinnes are
continually forgiuen vs, when the Priestres or Bishops, to whom that
office is committed, do with the promises of the Gospell confirme
godly consciences in hope of pardon and forgiuenes: and that as well
publicly as priuately, accordinge as necessity requireth. For there be
very many, which for their weakenes do neede a singular atonement.
And Paul reporteth that not only in common preaching, but also in
houses he had testified the Faith in Christ, and seuerally admonished
eue-
ry one of the doctrine of saluation. Therefore we haue here thre
things to be noted: First, that with how great holines soeuer the chil-
dren of God do excell, yet they be alway in this estate, so long as they
dwell in a mortall body, that without forgiuenesse of sinnes they can
not stande before God. Secondly, that this benefit is so proper to the
Church, that we canne not otherwise enioy it, but if we abide in the
Communion thereof. Thirdly, that it is distributed vnto vs by the mi-

Mat. 16

19. & 18

18.

Ioh 20.

23.

1. Cor. 5

20.

Act 20.

20.

nisters and Pastors, either by preaching of the Gospell, or by ministering of the Sacraments: & that in this behalfe principally appeareth the power of the keyes, which the Lord hath giuen to the fellowship of the faithfull. Wherefore let euery one of vs think this to be his duty, no where else to seeke forgiveness of sinnes, than where the Lord hath set it. Of publike reconciliation which belongeth to discipline we shall speake in place fit for it.

23 But forasmuch as those phrentike Spirites that I haue spoken of, do go about to plucke away from the Church this only anchore of saluation, consciences are the more strongly to be confirmed against a so pestilent opinion. The Nouatians in old time troubled the Church with this doctrine: but not much vnlike to the Nouatians our age also hath many of the Anabaptistes which fall to the same dotages. For they saie that the people of God are in Baptisme regenerate into a pure and Angelike life, that is corrupted with no filthines of the flesh. But if any man offend after Baptisme, they leaue vnto him nothing but y^e vnappeasable iudgemēt of God. Briefly they graunt no hope of pardon to a sinner fallē after grace receiued: because they acknowledge no other forgiveness of sinnes but that whereby we be first regenerate. But although therē be no lie more clearly confuted by the Scripture: yet because these men finde some whom they may deceiue (as also in old time Nouatus had many folowers) let vs shortly shew how mad they be to their owne and others destruction. First, whereas by the commaundement of the Lord, the holy ones do daily

Matt. 6. 21. repeate this prayer: forgive vs our dettes: truly they do confesse themselves detters. Neither do they craue it in vaine because the Lord hath alway appointed no other thinge to be asked, than that which he himselfe would giue. Yea whereas he hath testified that the whole prayer shalbe heard of his father, yet he hath also sealed this absolution with a peculiar promise. What wil we more? The Lord requireth of the holy ones all their life long a confession of sinnes, yea and that continuall, & promiseth pardon. What boldnes is it, either to exempt them from sinne, or if they haue stumbled, vterly to exclude them from grace? Now whom doth he will vs to forgive seventy times seven times? not to our brethren? To what end did he commaund it, but that we shoulde folow his clemency. He forgiveth therefore, not once or twise: but as often as being stricken downe with the acknowledging of sinnes they sigh vnto him.

24 But that (we may begin in a maner at the very swadling cloutes of the Church) the Patriarches were circumcised, being allured into partakinge of the couenant hauinge vndoubtedly by their fathers diligence

gence bin taught righteousness and innocence, when they conspired to murder their brother: this was a mischievous act, to be abhorred euen of the most desperate theeuers. At the last being meekened with the monitions of Iudas, they solde him: this was also an intolerable haynousnesse. Simeon and Leui, with wicked reuenge, and such as was also condemned by their owne fathers iudgement, vsed cruelty against the Sichemites. Ruben with most vncleane lust defiled his fathers bed. Iudas when he would giue himselfe to fornication against the law of nature, went into his sonnes wife. And yet so farre are they from being wiped out of the chosen people, that they be rather raised vp to be heades of it. But what did Dauid? when he was a gouernour of iustice, with how great wickednesse did he by sheding of innocent bloude open the way to his blinde lust? He was already regenerate, and among the regenerate garnished with notable praises of the Lord: neuertheless he committed that haynous offence, which is horrible euen amoge the Gentiles: and yet he obtained pardon. And (that we may not tary vpon single examples) how many promises there are in the law and the Prophetes of Gods mercy towards the Israelites, so oft it is proued that the Lord sheweth himselfe appeaseable to the offenses of his people. For what doth Moses promise to come to passe, when the people beinge fallen into Apostasie shall returne vnto the Lord? He shall bringe thee backe out of captiuitie, and shall haue mercy on thee, & shall gather thee together out of the peoples to whom thou hast bin dispersed. If thou be scattered euen to the borders of the heauen, I will from thense agayne gather thee together.

25 But I will not beginne a recital that shoulde neuer be ended. For the Prophetes are full of such promises, which do yet offer mercy to the people couered with infinite wicked doinges. What offense is there more hainous thā rebellion? for it is called a diuorce betwene God and the Church. But this is ouercome by the goodnesse of God. What man is there (sayth he by Jeremy) that if his wife giue foorth her body in common to adulterers, can abide to returne into fauour with her? but with thy fornications all the wayes are polluted, O Iuda, the earth hath bin filled with thy filthy loues. But returne vnto me, and I will receiue thee. Returne thou turne away, I will not turne away my face from thee: because I am holy, and am not angry for euer. And truely he can be no otherwise minded, which affirmeth y he wil- leth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be conuerted & liue. Therefore when Salomon did dedicate the temple, he appointed it also to this vse, that the prayers made for obtaininge pardon of

Gen. 37
18.Gen. 13
28.Gen. 34
25.Gen. 35
12.Gen. 38
16.2. Sa. 11.
4. & 15Deu. 30
3.Ier. 1. 3.
& 12.Eze 18.
23. &32.
1. Reg.

3. 46.

sinnes shoulde be heard from thense. If (sayd he) thy sonnes shal sinne (for there is no man that sinneth not) and thou beinge angry shalt deliuer them to their enemies, & they shal repent in their hart, and beinge turned shall entreate thee in their captiuitie, sayinge, we haue sinned, we haue done wickedly, and shall pray towarde the lande which thou hast giuen to their fathers, and towarde this holy temple: thou shalt heare their prayers in heauen, and shalt be made mercifull to thy people that hath sinned against thee, and to all their wickedneses wherewith they haue offended thee. And not vainely the Lorde ordained in the lawe daily Sacrifices for sinnes. For if the Lord had not foreseene that his people should be troubled with continuall diseases of sinnes, he woulde neuer haue appointed these remedies for them.

26 Was this benefite taken away from the faithfull, by the coming of Christ, wherein the fulnes of grace was shewed forth, so that they dare not now pray for pardon of sinnes? that if they offende the Lord they may not obtaine any mercy? What shall this be else, but to say that Christ came to the destruction of them that be his, & not to their saluation, if that mercifulnesse of God in pardoning sinnes which in the old testament was continually ready for the holy ones, be now sayd to be vtterly taken away? But if we beleue the Scriptures which expressely crie out, that in Christ only the grace & kindenes of the Lord fully appeared, that the plentifulnesse of mercy was poured out, that the reconciliation of God and men was fulfilled: let vs not doubt that there floweth vnto vs a more bountifull mercifulnes of the heavenly father, than that it is cut of or shortned. And hereof there want not examples. Peter which had heard that he should be denied before the Angels of God that confessed not the name of Christ before men, denied him thrise in one night, and that not without execration: yet he was not put away from pardon. They that liued inordinatly amonge the Thessalonians are so chastised, that yet they be gently called to repentance. Euen Symon the Magician himielfe is not cast in desperation, but he is rather commaunded to hope well, when Peter counselleth him to flee to prayers.

27 Yea most haynous sinnes haue sometime possessed whole Churches, out of which Paule rather gently vnwrapped them, than pronounced them accursed. The falling away of the Galatians was no meane offense. The Corinthians were so much lesse excusable than they, as they abounded in mo & those nothing lighter sinnes: yet neither of the are excluded from the mercy of God. Yea euen they that had sinned about the rest in vncleanes, fornication & vnchastity, are
namely

Nu. 18.
3.

Tit. 1.9
& 3.4.
2. Tim. 1
9.
Mat. 10.
33.
Marc. 6
38.
Mat. 26
39.
1. Thes.
3. 6.
Act. 8.
22.
Gal. 1. 6
& 3. 1. &
4. 9.
1. Cor.
12. 21.

namely called to repentance. For the couenant of the Lorde remaineth & shall remaine for euer inuiolable, which he solemnely made with Christ the true Salomon & his members, in these wordes: If his sonnes shall forsake my law, & shall not walke in my iudgements, if Psa. 82. they shall defile my righteousnes, & not kepe my commaundements, 32. I will visite their iniquities with a rod, & their sinnes with stripes: But my mercy I will not take away from him. Finally by the very order of the Creede we be taught, that there remaineth in the Church of Christ continuall pardon of sinnes: for that when the Church is as it were stablished, yet forgiveness of sinnes is adioyned.

28 Some that be somewhat wiser, when they see the doctrine of Nouatus to be confuted with so great plainnesse of Scripture, make not euery sinne vnardonable, but wilful transgressing of the law, into which a man wittingly & willingly falleth. Now they that say so, do vouchsaue to graunt pardon to no sinne, but where a man hath erred by ignorance. But whereas the Lord in the law commaundeth one sorte of Sacrifices to be offred for cleansing of the wilful sinnes of the faithfull, and other to redeme their ignorances: how great lewdnes shall it be to graunt no cleansing to wilful sinne? Nay that there is nothing plainer, than that the onely Sacrifice of Christ auaieth to forgive the wilful sinnes of the holy ones: forasmuch as the Lorde hath testified the same by carnall Sacrifices as by signes. Againe who can excuse Dauid by ignorance, whome it is euident to haue bin so well instructed in the law? Did Dauid not know, how great was the fault of adultery & manslaughter, which daily punished the same in other? Did brother slaughter seme to y Patriarches a lawful thing? Had the Corinthians so ill profited that they thought that wantonnesse, vncleannesse, whordom, hatreds & contentions pleased God? Did Peter beinge so diligently admonished not know howe great a matter it was to forswear his maister? Therefore let vs not with our owne enuiousnesse stop vp the way against the mercy of God that so gently vttereth it selfe. Leui. 4.

29 Truly I am not ignorant that the olde wryters expounded those sinnes that are daily forgiven to the faithfull, to be the light offenses that crepe in by weakenesse of the flesh: & that they thought that the solempne repentance which was then required for haynous misdeedes might no more be iterate than Baptisme. Which sayinge is not so to be taken, as though they would either throw them down headlonge into desperation after their first repentance had fallen againe, or extenuate those other sinnes as though they were smal in the sight of God. For they knew that the holy ones do oftentimes

stagger by infidelity that superfluous othes do sometimes fall from them, that they nowe and then are chafed vnto anger, yea that they breake out euen into manifest raylings, & beside these be troubled with other euils which the Lord not scenderly abhorreth: but they so called them, to put a difference betwene them and publike crimes y with great offence came to the knowledge of the Church. But whereas they did so hardly pardon them that had comitted any thing worthy of Ecclesiasticall correction, they did not this therefore, because they thought that such should hardly haue pardon with the Lord: but by this severity they meant to make other afraid that they should not rashly runne into wicked doings, by the deseruing wherof they might be estranged from the Communion of the Church: howbeit truly the word of the Lord which herein ought to be the only rule vnto vs, appointeth a greater moderation. For it teacheth that the rigor of discipline is so farre to be extended, that he that ought chiefly to be provided for be not swallowed vp with heauines: as we haue before declared more at large.

The ij. Chapter.

A comparison of the false Church with the true Church.

OF howe great value the ministry of the worde and Sacramentes ought to be with vs, and how farre the reuerence of it ought to proceede, that it be vnto vs a perpetuall token whereby to discerne the Church, it hath bin already declared. That is to say, whersoever that ministry abideth whole and vncorrupted, there the faultes or diseases of maners are no impediment, but that it may beare the name of a Church. Then, that the very ministry it selfe is by small errors not so corrupted, but that it may be esteemed lawfull. Morouer we haue shewed that the errors that ought so to be pardoned, are those wherby the principal doctrine of religion is not hurt, wherby those chiefe pointes of religion that ought to be agreeably holden among the faithful are not destroyed, and in the Sacramentes, those that do not abolish nor empaire the lawfull institution of him that ordained them. But so soone as lying is broken into the chiefe tower of religion, so soone as the summe of necessary doctrine is peruered, and the vse of the Sacramentes falleth: truly the destruction of the Church followeth: like as a mans life is at an end, when his throte is thrust through or his hart deadly wounded. And

Ephc. 2. this is clearly proued by the wordes of Paule, when he teacheth that
30. the fundation of the Church is layd vppon the doctrine of the Apo-
stles

ables and Prophets, Christ himselfe beinge the head corner stone. If the fundation of the Church be the doctrine of the Prophets & Apostles, by which the faithful are commaunded to repose their saluation in onely Christ: then take away that doctrine, and how shall the building stande any longer? Therefore the Church must needs fall downe, where that summe of religiō falleth which is only able to vpholde it. Againe, if the true Church be the pillar & stay of the trueth, it is certaine, that there is no Church, where lying & falshood haue vsurped the dominion. 1. Tim. 3
15.

2 Sith it is in such case vnder the Papistry, we may vnderstande how much of the Church is there remaininge. In stede of the ministry of the word, there reigneth a peruerse gouernement and made of lies mingled together, which partly quencherh and partly chokerh the pure light. Into the place of the Lordes Supper is entred a most filthy sacrifice: the forme of worshippinge God is deformed with a manifold and intolerable heape of superstitions: the doctrine, without which Christianity can not stande, is altogether buried and driuen out: the publike assemblies are the schooles of idolatry and vngodlinesse. Therefore there is no perill least in departing from a damnable partaking of so many mischieues, we be plucked frō the Church of Christ. The communion of the Church was not ordained to this end, that it should be a bond whereby we should be entangled with idolatry, vngodlinesse, ignorance of God, and other kindes of euils: but rather whereby we should be fast holden in the feare of God & obedience of truth. They do in dede gloriously set out their Church vnto vs, that there should seeme to be no other Church in the worlde: and afterward, as though the victory were gotten, they decree that al be Schismatikes that dare withdrawe themselues from the obedience of that Church that they paint out: and that all be heretikes that dare once mutter against the doctrine thereof. But by what proues do they confirme that they haue the true Church? They alleage out of the auncient Chronicles, what in olde time was in Italy, in Fraunce, in Spaine. They say that they fetch their beginning from those holy mē that with sound doctrine founded & raised vp Churches, & stablished the same doctrine & edifying of y Church with their blood. And that so the Church hath bin an oag the so consecrate both with spiritual giftes, & with the blood of martyrs, & preserued with continuall succession of Bishops, y it might not fall away. They rehearse how much Ireneus, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, & other esteemed this succession. But how trifling these things be, & how they be but very mockeries, I wil make them very easily to vnderstande that wil be content a

litle to wey them with me. Truly I woulde also exhort themselues earnestly to take hede hereunto, if I did trust that I might any thing preuaile with them by teachinge. But forasmuch as they, leauinge all regard of trueth, do bend themselues to this only purpose, by all the wayes that they can, to defend their owne cause, I will only speake a few thinges whereby good men and those that loue the trueth, may winde themselues out of their sutable cauillatiōs. First I aske of them, why they do not alleage Aphrike, and Egypt, and all Asia? Euen because in all those countreyes this holy Succession of Bishops hath ceased, by meane whereof they boast that they haue preserued Churches. They come therefore to this point to say, that they therefore haue a true Church, because since it first beganne to be, it hath not bin destitute of Bishops: for in perpetuall course they haue succeeded one an other. But what if I cast Greece in their way? Therefore I aske againe of them, why they say that the Church is lost amonge the Grecians, among whom that succession of Bishops was neuer interrupted, which in their opinion is the only keeper and preseruer of the Church. They make y^e Grecians Schismatikes, but by what right? because in departing f^rō the Apostolike sea, they haue lost their priuilege: what? Do not they much more deserue to lose it that depart from Christ himselve? It foloweth therefore, that the pretence of succession is but vaine, vnlesse the posterity do kepe fast and abide in the truth of Christ, which they haue receiued of their fathers from hand to hand.

3 Therefore the Romanistes at this day do alleage nothinge else but that, which it appeareth that the Iewes in old time alleaged whē they were by the Prophetes of the Lord reprobued of blindenes, vngodlines and idolatry. For they gloriously boasted of the temple, Ceremonies & priesthoodes, by which things, by great reason as they thinke they measured the Church. So in steede of the Church, they shewe certaine outwarde visours, that ostentimes are farre from the Church, and without which the Church may very well stand. Therefore we neede to confute them with no other argument, then that wherewith Hieremy fought against the foolish presumptuousnes of the Iewes: that is, that they should not boast in lying wordes, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, it is the temple of the Lorde. Forasmuch as the Lord doth no where acknowledge any thinge for his, but where his word is heard and reuerently obserued. So when the glory of God did sit betwene the Cherubins in the Sanctuary, & he had promised them that that should be his stedfast seate: yet when the Priestes once corrupted the worshippinge of him with peruerse

Ier. 7. 4

Eze. 10.

4

peruerse

peruerſe ſuperſtitious, he remoued elſe where, & left the place without any holineſſe. If the ſame temple which ſeemed to be holily appointed to the perpetuall dwelling of God, might be forſakē of God and become vnholy: there is no cauſe why theſe men ſhould ſaine to vs that God is ſo bound to perſons or places, and ſo faſt tied to outward obſeruations, that he muſt needes abide with them that haue onely the title and ſhewe of the Church. And this is it about which Paule contendeth in the Epiſtle to the Romaines, from the 9. chapter to the 12. For this did ſore trouble weakē cōſciences, that the Iewes when they ſeemed to be the people of God, did not only reſuſe the doctrine of the Goſpell, but alſo perſecute it. Therefore after that he hath ſet out the doctrine, he remoueth this doubt, and denieth that thoſe Iewes beinge enemies of the truth are the Church, howſoeuer they wanted nothinge that otherwiſe might be required to the outward forme of the Church. And therefore he denieth it, becauſe they embraced not Chriſt. But ſomewhat more expreſſly in the Epiſtle to the Galathians: wherein cōparing Iſmael with Iſaac, he ſayth that many hold place in the Church, to whom the inheritance belongeth not; becauſe they are not begotten of the free mother. From whence alſo he deſcendeth to the compariſon of two Hieruſalems. Becauſe as the lawe was giuen in the mount Sina, but the Goſpell came out of Hieruſalem. So many being ſeruilely borne and brought vp do without douringe boaſt themſelues to be the children of God and of the Church, yea they proudly deſpiſe the naturall children of God, whē theſelues be but baſtards. On the other ſide alſo, when we heare that it was once pronounced from heauen: Caſt out the bond woman and her ſonne, let vs, ſtanding vppon this inuiolable decree, boldly deſpiſe their vnſauery boaſtings. For if they be proud by reaſon of outward profeſſion, Iſmael was alſo circumciſed: if they contend by antiquity, he was the firſt begotten, and yet we ſee that he is put away. If the cauſe be demaunded, Paule aſſigneth it, for that none are ac-

compted children, but they that are begotten of the pure and lawful ſeede of doctrine. According to this reaſon God denieth that he is bounde to wicked Prieſtes by this that he couenanted with their Father Leui that he ſhoulde be his Angell or interpreter: yea he turneth againſt themſelues their falſe boaſting, wherwith they were wont to riſe vp againſt the Prophetes, that the dignity of Prieſthoode was to be had in ſingular eſtimation. This he willingly admitteth, and with the ſame condition he debateth with them, becauſe he is ready to keepe his couenant, but when they do not mutually performe their part to him, they deſerue to be reiectēd. Loe what ſucceſſion auaideth,

Gala. 4.

22.

Gen. 21

10.

Ro. 9. 6.

vnlesse therewithal be also ioyned an inuitation & euenly continu-
 inge course :euen to this effect that the successors, so soone as they
 be proued to haue swarued from their originall , be deprived of all
 honor. Vnlesse perhappes because Caiphas succeeded many Godly
 Bishoppes (yea there was euen from Aaron to him a continuall vn-
 broken course of succession) therfore that same mischieuous assem-
 bly was worthy the name of the Church. But this were not tolerable
 euen in earthly dominions , that the tyranny of Caligula , Nero,
 Heliogabalus and such other , should be called a true state of Com-
 mon weale, for that they succeeded the Brutes, Scipions, & Camilles.
 But specially in the gouernement of the Church there is nothinge
 more sonde, than leauinge the Doctrine to set the succession in the
 Persons onely , but neither did the holy doctours whom they falsely
 thrust in vnto vs, meane any thing lesse, then to pray that precisely as
 it were by right of inheritance Churches be there where Bishops are
 successiue placed one after an other. But where as it was then out
 of controuerfie, that from the very beginninge to that age nothinge
 was chaunged in Doctrine , they alleaged that which might suffice
 to make an ende of all newe errours , that is , that by those was that
 doctrine oppugned, which had bin euen from the Apostles constant-
 ly and with one agreeinge consent retained . There is therefore no
 cause, why they should any longer go forward to deceiue by preten-
 ding a false colour vnder the name of the Church, which we do reue-
 rently esteeme as becommeth vs: but when they come to the definitiō
 of it, not only water (as the common sayinge is) cleaueth vnto them,
 but they sticke fast in their owne myre because they put a stinkinge
 harlot in place of the holy spouse of Christ . That this putringe in of
 a changeling should not deceiue vs, beside other admonitions, let vs
 reméber this also of Augustine. For speaking of the Church, he sayth.
 It is it that is sometime darkened, & couered with multitude of offen-
 ces as with a cloude: sometime calmenesse of time appeareth quiet &
 free: sometime is hidden and troubled with waue of tribulations and
 temptations. He bringeth forth examples, y oftentimes the strongest
 pillars either valiantly suffred banishmēt for the faith, or were hidden
 in the whole world.

4 In like maner the Romanistes do vexe vs, and make afraid the i-
 gnorant with the name of the Church, whereas they be the deadly e-
 nemies of Christ, Therefore although they pretende the temple, the
 priesthoode and the other such outward shewes, this vaine glistringe
 wherewith the eies of the simple be daseled ought nothing to moue
 vs to graunt that there is a Church where the Word of God doth not
 appeare.

appeare. For this is the perpetual marke wherewith God hath marked them that be his. He that is of the trueth (saith he) heareth my voice. Ioh. 18.
 Againe, I am that good shepeherd, and I know my shepe, & am known of them. My shepe heare my voyce, and I know them and they follow me. And a litle before he had sayd, that the shepe follow their shepeherd, because they know his voice: but they follow not a stranger, but runne away from him, because they knowe not the voice of strangers. Why are we therefore wilfully mad in iudging the Church, whereas Christ hath marked it with an vndoutful signe, which wheresoeuer it is seene can not deceiue, but that it certainly sheweth the Church to be there: but where it is not, there remaineth nothing that can giue a true signification of the Church. For Paule rehearseth that Eph. 2.
 the church was builded, not vpon the iudgements of men, not vpon 20.
 priesthoodes, but vpon the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophetes. But rather Hierusalem is to be seuerally known from Babilon, and the Church of Christ from the conspiracy of Satan, by that difference wherewith Christ hath made them different one from the other. He that is of God (saith he) heareth y^e Words of God. Ye therefore heare Iohn. 8.
 not, because ye are not of God. In a summe, soasmuch as the church 47.
 is the kingdom of Christ, & he reigneth not but by his word, can it be now doutfull to any man, but that those be the wordes of lyinge, by which Christes kingdome is fained to be without his scepter, that is to say without his holy word?

5 But now where as they accuse vs of Schisme & heresie, because we both preach a contrary doctrine to them, & obey not their lawes, and haue our assemblies to Praiers, to Baptisme, to the ministratiō of the Supper, and other holy doings, seuerally from them: it is in deede a very sore accusation, but such as nedeth not a long or laborſome defence. They are called heretikes & schismatikes, which making a diuision, do breake in sunder the communion of the Church. And this communion is holden together with true bondes, that is to say, the Li. que-
 agreement of true Doctrine, & brotherly charity. Wherupon Augustin si. euāg
 putteth this difference betwene heretikes & schismatikes, that here- secund.
 tikes in dede do with false doctrines corrupt the purenes of faith, but Marth.
 the Schismatikes sometime euen where there is like faith, do breake the bonde of felowship. But this is also to be noted, that this conioyn-
 ing of charity so hangeth vpon the vnity of Faith, that Faith ought to be the beginninge thereof, the ende, and finally the only rule. Let vs therefore remember that so oft as the vnity of the Church is commēded vnto vs, this is required, that while our mindes agree in Christ, our wils also may be ioyned together wth mutuall wel willing in Christ.

Eph. 4. 5 Therefore Paule, when he exhorteth vs to that well willinge, taketh
 Phil. 2. for his fundation that there is one God, one Faith, & one Baptisme.
 2. & 5. Yea whersoeuer he teacheth vs to be of one minde, and of one will,
 he by and by addeth in Christ, or according to Christ: meaning y it is a
 factious cōpany of the wicked, & not agreement of the faithful which
 is without the word of the Lord.

6 Cyprian also following Paul deriueth the whole fountaine of the
 agreement of the Church, from the only bishoprike of Christ. He af-
 De sim- terward addeth the Church is but one, which spredeth abroad more
 pl. pr. 2. largely into a multitude with encrease of frutesfulnesse; like as there
 be many sunnebeames, but one light: and many braunches of a tree,
 but one body grounded vpon a fast roote; And when many streames
 do flow from one fountaine, although the number seeme to be scat-
 tered abroade by largenes of ouerflowing plēty, yet the vnity abideth
 in the originall. Take away a beame of the sunne from the body, the
 vnity can suffer no diuision. Breake a braunch from the tree, the bro-
 ken braunch can not spring. Cut of the streame from the spring hed,
 being cut of it drieth vp. So also the church being ouerspred with the
 light of the Lord, is extended ouer the whole world: yet there is but
 one light that is spred euery where. Nothing could be sayd more fitly
 to expresse that vndiuidable knitting together, which all the mēbers
 of Christ haue one with an other. We see how he continually calleth
 vs backe to the very head. Whereupon he pronounceth that heresies
 & schismes do arise hereof, that men do not returne to the originall
 of trueth, nor do seke the head, nor kepe the doctrine of the heauēly
 maister. Now let the go & cry that we be heretikes that haue depart-
 ed frō their Church: sith there hath bin no cause of our estranginge
 from them but this one, that they can in no wise abide the pure pro-
 fessing of the trueth: but I tell not how they haue driuen vs out with
 cursinges and cruel execrations. Which very selfe doing doth abun-
 dātly enough acquite vs, ynles they wil also condemne the Apostles
 for Schismatikes, with whom we haue all one cause. Christ (I say) did
 Ioh. 16. fore say to his Apostles, that the time should come when they should
 2. be cast out of the Sinagoges for his names sake. And those Sinagoges
 of which he speaketh, were then accompted lawefull Churches. Sith
 therefore it is euident that we be cast out, & we be ready to shew y the
 same is done for the names sake of Christ, truely the cause ought first
 to be enquired of, before that any thinge be determined vpon vs, ei-
 ther one way or other. Howbeit, if they wil, I am cōtent to discharge
 them of this point. For it is enough for me, that it behoued that we
 should depart from them, that we might come to Christ.

7 But it shall appeare yet more certainly, in what estimation we ought to haue all the Churches whom the tyranny of that Romishe idoll hath possessed, if it be compared with the old Church of the Israelites, as it is described in the Prophetes. There was then a true Church among the Iewes and Israelites, when they continued in the lawes of the couenant, for they obtained those things by the benefit of God, wherupon the Church consisteth. They had the trueth of doctrine in the law: the ministry thereof was among the Priestes & the Prophetes: with the signe of circumcision they entred into religion: by other Sacraments they were exercised to the confirmation of Faith. It is no dout that those rites wherewith the Lorde hath honored his Church, fitly pertained to their felowship. After that, forsakinge the law of the Lord, they went out of kinde to idolatry and superstition, they partly lost that prerogatiue. For who dare take away the name of the Church from them, with whom God hath left the preaching of his word and obseruation of his mysteries? Againe, who dare cal that the Church without any exceptiō, where y word of y Lord is openly & freely troden vnder foote? where the ministry therof, the chief sinew, yea the very soule of the Church is destroyed?

8 What then? will some man say: was there therefore no parcel of a Church remaining among the Iewes after that they fel away to idolatry? The answer is easie. First I say y in the very falling away there were certaine degrees. For we wil not say that there was all one falle of Iuda, and Israell, at such time as they both first swarued from the pure worshipping of God. When Iarobeam first made calues, against the open prohibition of God, & did dedicate an vnlawfull place for worshipping, he did vtterly corrupt religion. The Iewes did first defile themselues with wicked & superstitious maners before y they wrōgfully changed the order in the outward forme of religiō. For althogh vnder Rechabeam they had already gotten them many peruerse Ceremonies: yet because there taried at Hierusalem both the Doctrine of the Law, & the Priesthoode, and the Ceremonious vsages in such sort as God had ordained the, the godly had there a tolerable state of Church. Amonge the Israelites vnto the reigne of Achab, there was no amendement of things, and from thence forth they fell from worse to worse. They that succeded afterward, to the very destruction of the kingdom, partly were like vnto him, & partly (when they minded to be somewhat better than he) they folowed the example of Iarobeam: but they all euery one were wicked and idolaters. In Iewry there were nowe and then diuerse changes, while some kinges perverted the worshippinge of God with false and forged superstitions,

some other restored religion that was decayed: vntil the very priestes themselves defiled the temple of God with prophane & abhominable vsages.

9 Now let the Papistes if they can howe much soeuer they extenuate their owne faulces, deny that among them the state of religion is as corrupt and defiled as it was in the kingdom of Israell vnder Iarobeam. But they haue a grosser idolatrie: & in doctrine they are not one droppe purer: vnlesse paradventure euen in it also they be more vnpure. God, yea all men that are endued but with a meane iudgement, shalbe witnesses with me, and the thinge it selfe also declareth, how herein I tell nothinge more then trueth. Nowe when they will driue vs to the communion of the Church, they require two thinges of vs: first, that we shoulde communicate with all their praiers, sacramentes, and Ceremonies: then that whatsoeuer honor, power and iurisdiction Christ giueth to his Church, we shoulde giue the same to their Church. As to the first point, I graunt that all the Prophets that were at Hierusalem, when thinges were there very much corrupted, did neither seuerally sacrifice, nor had assemblies to pray seueral from other men. For they had a commaundement of God, whereby they

Exo. 29. were commaunded to come together into Salomons temple: they
 2 knew that the Leuiticall priestes, howsoever they were unworthy of that honor, yet because they were ordained by the Lord ministers of the holy Ceremonies, & were not as then deposed, did yet still rightfully possesse that place. But (which is the chiefe point of this question) they were compelled to no superstitious worshippinge, yea they tooke in hande to do nothing but that which was ordained by God. But among these men, I meane the Papistes, what like thing is there? For we can scarcely haue any meetinge together with them, wherein we shall not defile our selues with open idolatrie. Truly the principall bonde of their communion is in the masse, which we abhorre as the greatest sacrilege. And whether we do this rightfully or wrongfully, shalbe seene in an other place. At this present it is enough to shew that in this behalfe we are in other case thā the Prophets were, which although they were present at the Ceremonies of the wicked, were not cōpelled to behold or vse any Ceremonies but such as were institute by God. And, if they will needes haue an example altogether like, lette vs take it out of the kingdom of Israell. After the ordinance of Ierobeam Circumcision remayned, the sacrifices were offered, the lawe was accompted holy, the same God was called vpon whom they had receiued of their Fathers: but for the forged and forbidden formes of worshippinge, God disallowed and condemned all

all that was there done. Shewe me one Prophet, or any one godly man that ones worshipped or sacrificed in Bethell. For they knewe they could not do it, but that they should defile themselves with some sacrilege. We haue then thus much, that the communion of the Church ought not so farre to be of force with the godly, that if it should degenerate to prophane and filthy vsages, they should forth with of necessitie followe it.

10 But about the other pointe we contend yet more earnestly. For if the Church be so considered to be such, whoes iudgement we ought to reuerence, whoes authoritie to regarde, whoes monitions to obey, with whoes chastisements to be moued, whoes communion in all things we ought religiously to obserue: then we can not graunt them a Church, but that we must of necessity be bounde to subiectiō and obedience vnto it. Yet we will willingly graunt them that which the Prophets graunted to the Iewes & Israelites of their time: when things were there in as good, yea or in better state. But we see howe eche where they crie out, that their assemblies are vnholly, to which it is no more lawfull to consent than it is to denie God. And truly if those were Churches, it followeth therfor that in Israel Helias, Micheas and such other: in Iurie, Esaie, Ieremie, Osee and other of that sorte, whom the Prophets, priests and people of that time hated 1 Tim. and detested worse than any vncircumcited men, were strangers 3. 15 from the Church of God. If those were Churches, then the Church was not the pillar of truth, but the stay of lieng: not the tabernacle of the liuing God, but the receptacle of idoles. Therefore it was needefull for them to depart from the consent of those assemblies, which was nothing els but a wicked conspiracie against God. In like maner if any man acknowledge the assemblies at these dayes being defiled with idolatrie, superstition and wicked doctrine, to be such in whoes full communion a Christian man ought to continue euen to the cōsente of doctrine, he shal greatly erre. For if they be Churches then they haue the power of the keyes. But the keyes are vnseparably knitte with the word, which is from thense quite driven away. Againe, if they be Churches, then the promise of Christ is of force among them, whatsoeuer ye binde. &c. But they contrariwise do banishe from their communion all such as do professe themselves not fainedly the seruātes of Christ. Therefore either the promise of Christ is vaine, or at least in this respect they are not Churches. Finally in stede of the ministerie of the word they haue scholes of vngodlinessse, and a sinke of all kindes of errors. Therefore either in this respect they are not Churches, or there shall remaine no token

Mat 18.
19. and
18. 18.
Ioh. 20.
23.

whereby the lawefull assemblies of the faithfull may be seuerally known from the meetinges of Turkes.

11 But as in the olde time there yet remained among the Iewes certaine peculiar prerogatiues of the Church, so at this day also we take not from the Papistes such steppes as it pleased the Lorde to haue remaining among them after the dissipatiō of the Church. The Lorde hadde ones made his couenant with the Iewes. That same rather beinge vpholden by the stedfastnesse of it selfe didde continue with struing against their vngodlinesse, than was preferued by them. Therefore (such was the assurednesse and constancie of Goddes goodnesse) there remained the couenant of the Lord, neither could his faithfulnessse be blotted out by their vnfaithfulnessse: neither could Circumcision be so prophaned with their vncleane handes, but that it still was the signe and sacrament of that couenante. Whereuppon the childern that were borne of them, the Lorde called his owne, which vnlesse it were by special blessing, belonged nothing to him. So when he hath left his couenaut in Fraunce, Italy, Germany, Spaine, Englañde: sins those prouinces haue bene oppressed with the tyranny of Antichrist, yet that his couenaut might remaine inuiolable, first he there preferued Baptisme, the testimonie of his couenant, which being cōsecrate by his owne mouth reteineth her owne force notwithstanding the vngodlinesse of man: then, with his prouidence he hath wrought that there should remaine other remnantes, least the Church should be vtterly destroyed. And as oftentimes bildinges are so pulled downe, that the foundations and ruines reimaine: so he hath not suffred his Church either to be ouerthrowen by Antichrist from the very foundation, or to be laid euen with the grounde (howsoeuer to punish the vnthankfulnessse of men that had despised his word, he suffreth horrible shaking and dissipation to chaunce) but euen after the very wasting he willed that the bilding half pulled downe should yet remaine.

12 Whereas therefore we will not simply graunt to the Papistes the title of the Church, we do not therfore deny that there be Churches among them: but onely we contende of the true and lawefull ordering of the Church: which is required in the communion both of the sacraments which are the signes of profession, but also specially of doctrine. Daniel and Paule foretolde that Antichrist should sitte in the temple of God. With vs we accompt the bishop of Rome the captaine and standard bearer of that wicked and abhominable kingdome. Whereas his seate is placed in the temple of God, thereby is meant that his kingdome shalbe such as can not abolish the name

of Christ nor of his Church. Hereby therefore appeareth, that we do not deny but that euen vnder his tyrannie remain Churches: but such as he hath prophaned with vngodlinesse full of sacrilege, such as he hath afflicted with outragious dominion, such as he hath corrupted and in maner killed with euill & damnable doctrines, as with poisoned drinkes: such wherein Christ lieth halfe buried, the Gospell ouerwhelmed, godlinesse banished, the worshipping of God in a maner abolished: such finally wherein all things are so troubled, that therein rather appereth the face of Babylon then of the holy citie of God. In a summe, I say that they be Churches, in respect that the Lorde there maruelously preserueth the remnauntes of his people howe-soeuer they were disperfed and scattered abroad, in respect that there remaine some tokes of the Church, specially these tokens, the effectualnesse whereof neither the craft of the Deuil, nor the maliciousnesse of man can destroy. But on the other side because these markes are blotted out, which in this discourse we ought principally to haue respect vnto, I say that every one of their assemblies and the whole body wanteth the lawefull forme of a Church.

The iij. Chapter.

Of the teachers and ministers of the Church, and of their election and office.

NOwe it is mete that we speake of the order, by which it was the Lordes will to haue his Church gouerned. For although in his Church he onely must rule and reigne, yea and beare preeminence or excelle in it, and this government to be vsed or executed by his onely word: yet because he dwelleth not among vs in visible presence, so that he can presently with his owne Mat. 26. mouth declare his will vnto vs, we haue sayed that in this he vseth the ministerie of men, and as it were the trauaille of deputies, not in transferring his right and honour vnto them, but onely that by their mouth he might do his owne worke, like as a workeman to do his worke vseth his instrument. I am compelled to repete againe those things that I haue already declared. He might in deede do it either by himselfe without any other helpe or instrument, or also by meane of Angells: but there are many causes why he had rather do it by men. For by this meane first he declareth his good will toward vs, when he taketh out of men them that shall do his message in the world, that shalbe the interpreters of his secret will, finally that shall represent his owne person. And so by experience he proueth that it is not vaine that commonly he calleth vs his temples, when out of

Auguſt.
Ib i de
doctri.
chriſti.

the mouthes of men, as out of his ſanctuarie, he geueth aunſweres to men. Secondly, this is the beſt and moſt profitable exerciſe to humilitie, when he accuſtometh vs to obey his worde, howeſoeuer it be preached by men like vnto vs, yea ſometime our inferiours in dignity. If he himſelfe ſpake from heauen, it were no maruell if his holy Oracles were without delay reuerently receiued with the eares and mindes of all men. For who would not drede his power being in preſence? who would not be throwen downe at the firſt ſight of ſo great maieſty? who would not be confounded with that infinite brightneſſe? But when ſome ſilly man riſen out of the duſt ſpeaketh in the name of God, here with very good teſtimony we declare our godlienneſſe and reuerent obedience toward God himſelfe, if to his miniſter we yelde our ſelues willing to learne, which yet in nothing excelleth vs. Therefore for this cauſe alſo he hath hidden the treaſure of his heauenly wiſedome in bricke & earthen veſſels, that he might haue the certainer profe howe much he is eſteemed of vs. Moreover there was nothing fitter for the cheriſhing of mutuall charitie, than that men ſhould be bound together one to an other with this bonde, when one is made a paſtor to teach the reſt, and they that are commaunded to be ſcholars receiue all one doctrine at one mouth. For if euery man were able enough to ſerue himſelfe, and needed not the helpe of an other: ſuch is the pride of mans nature, that euery one would deſpiſe other, and ſhould againe be deſpiſed of them. Therefore the Lord hath bounde his Church with that knotte, which he forſawe to be the ſtrongeſt knotte to hould vnitie together, when he hath leſte with men the doctrine of ſaluation, and of eternall life, that by their handes he might communicate it to the reſt. Hereunto

2 Cor.
4.7.

Eph. 4.
4.

Paulẽ had reſpect when he wrote to the Ephẽſians, One body one ſpirit, as alſo ye be called in one hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith, one Baptiſme. One God, and the father of all, which is aboue all, and by all, and in vs all. But vnto euery one of vs grace is geuen according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. Wherefore he ſaith: When he was gone vp on hy, he ledde captiuitie captiue, he gaue giſtes to men. He that wente downe is the ſelfe ſame he, that wente vp, that he might fulfill all things. And the ſame hath geuen ſome to be Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Euangeliſtes, and other ſome Paſtors and teachers, vnto the reſtoring of the holy ones, to the worke of miniſtration, to the edifying of the body of Chriſt, vntill we come all into the vnitie of faith, and of the knowledge of the Sonne of God, into a perfect man, into the meaſure of full grown age: that we be no more children that may be caried about with

euery

every winde of doctrine : but following truth in charitie , let vs in all things growe into him that is the hed , euen Christ , in whome the whole body conioined and compacted together by all the ioint of subministratiō, according to the working in measure of euery parte, maketh encrease of the body, vnto the edifying of it selfe by charity.

2 By these words he sheweth, that that ministerie of men, which God vseth in gouerning his Church is the chiefe sinew, wherby the faithfull cleaue together in one body : and also he sheweth that the Church can not otherwise be preserved safe, but if it be vpholdē by these staies, in which it pleased the Lord to repose the saluation of it, Christ (sayeth he) is gone vp on hy , that he might fulfill all things. Eph. 4. 10.
This is the maner of fulfilling, that by his ministers, to whom he hath committed that office, and hath geuen the grace to execute that worke, he disposeth and distributeth his gistes to the Church, yea and after a certaine maner geueth himselfe present, with extending the power of his spirit in this institution, that it should not be vain or idle. So is the restoringe of the holy ones performed : so is the body of Christ edified : so do we by all things growe into him that is the hed, and do grow together among our selues : so are we all brought into the vnitie of Christ, if prophetic flourish among vs, if we receiue the Apostles, if we refuse not the doctrine ministred vnto vs. There- Eph. 4. 12.
fore he goeth about the dissipatiō, or rather the ruine & destruction of the Church, whosoever he be that either endeuoreth to abolish this Order of whom we speake, and this kinde of gouernement, or minisheth the estimatiō of it as a thing not so necessary. For neither the light and heate of the sunne, nor meate & drinke are so necessary to nourish and susteine this present life, as the office of Apostles and pastors is necessarie to preserve the Church in earth.

3 Therefore I haue aboue admonished, that God hath oftentimes with such titles as he could, commended the dignitie thereof vnto vs, that we should haue it in most hy honour and price, as the most excellent thing of all. He testifieth that he geueth to men a singular benefite, in raising them vp teachers, where he commaundeth the Prophet to crie out that faire are the feete, & blessed is the coming of them that bring tidings of peace : and when he calleth the Apostles the light of the world, and salte of the earth. Neither could this office be more honourably aduanced, than it was when he said: He that heareth you, heareth me. He that despiseth you, despiseth me. But there is no place more plaine, than in Paule in his seconde Epistle to the Corinthians, where he as it were of purpose entreateth of this matter. He affirmeth therefore, that there is nothing in the Esa 52. 7.
Mat. 5. 15. and 14.
Luk 10. 16.
2 Cor. 4. 6.
2 Cor. 13. 9.

Cap. 3.

Of the outwarde meanes

2. Cor. 3

9.

Church more excellēt or glorious than the ministry of the Gospel, forasmuch as it is the administration of the Spirit, and of righteousness, and of eternall life. These and like sayings serue to this purpose, that that order of governing & preserving the Church by ministers, which the Lord hath stablished for euer, should not growe out of estimation among vs, and so at length by very contempt grow out of vse. And howe great is the necessity thereof, he hath declared not onely by wordes, but also by examples. When his will was to shine more fully to Cornelius with the light of his trueth, he sente an Angell from heauen to sende Peter vnto him. When his will was to call Paule to the knowledge of himselfe, and to engraft him into the Church, he spake not to him with his owne voice, but sente him to a man, of whom he should receiue both the doctrine of saluation, and the sanctification of Baptisme. If it be not done without cause, that an Angell, which is the interpreter of God, do himselfe abstaine from declaring the will of God, but commaundeth that a man be sente for, to declare it: and not without cause that Christ the onely scholemaster of the faithfull committeth Paule to the schooling of a man, yea euen that same Paule whom he had determined to take vp into the thirde heauen, and to vouchsaue to graunt him miraculous reuelation of things vnspeakable: who is there nowe that dare despise that ministry, or passe it ouer as a thing superfluous, the vse whereof it hath pleased God to make approved by such examples?

2. Cor.

12. 2.

4 They that haue rule of the government of the Church according to the institution of Christ, are named of Paul first Apostles, then Prophets, thirdly Euangelistes, fourthly Pastors, last of all teachers. Of which, the twoo last alone haue ordinarie office in the Church: the other three the Lorde raised vp at the beginning of his kingdome, and sometime yet also raiseth vp, as the necessitie of times requireth. What is the Apostles office, appeareth by that commaundement: go, preache the Gospell to euery creature. There are not certaine boundes appointed vnto them: but the whole world is assigned them, to be brought into the obedience of Christ: that in spreading the Gospell among all nations wheresoeuer they shall be able, they may eche where raise vp his kingdome. Therefore Paule, when he wente about to proue his Apostleship, rehearseth that he hath gotten to Christ not some one citie, but hath farre and wide spread abroad the Gospell: and that he hath not layed his handes to an other mans fundatiō, but plāted Churches where the name of the Lorde had neuer bene heard of. Therefore the Apostles were sente to bring backe the world from falling away, vnto true obedience of

Eph 4.

11.

Mar. 16.

15.

Rom. 15

19. and

20.

Eph. 4.

11.

God,

God, and eche where to stablish his kingdome by preaching of the Gospell: or (if you like that better) as the first bilders of the Church, to lay the fundations thereof in all the world. Prophetes he calleth, not all expositors of Gods will whatsoeuer they be, but those that by singular reuelation excelled, such as at this time either be none, or are lesse notable. By Euangelistes I vnderstande those, which when in dignity they were lesse than the Apostles, yet in office were nexte vnto them, yea and occupied their roomes. Such were Luke, Timo- Luk. 10
thee, Titus and other like: and paraduenture also the seuentie Dis- 1.
ciples, whom Christ appointed in the seconde place after the A- Luk. 11.
postles. According to this exposition (which seemeth to me agreeable both with the wordes and meaning of Paule) those three offices were not ordeined in the Church to this ende that they should be perpetuall, but onely to serue for that time wherein Churches were to be erected, where were none before, or at least to be remoued from Moses to Christ. Albeit I denie not, but that afterward also the Lorde hath sometime raised vp Apostles, or at least in their places Euangelistes, as it hath bene done in our time. For it was needefull to haue such, to bring backe the Church from the falling away of Antichrist. Yet the office it selfe I do neuerthelesse call extraordinarie, because it hath no place in the Churches already well set in order, Next after these are Pastors and Teachers, whome the Church may neuer lacke: betwene whom I thinke that there is this difference, that the Teachers are not appointed to beare rule of discipline, nor for the ministracion of Sacramentes, nor admonishments or exhortations, but onely to expounde the Scripture, that pure and sounde doctrine may be kept among the faithfull. But the office of Pastor containeth all these things within it.

5 Nowe we haue, which were those ministeries in the Church that continued but for a time, and which were those that were ordeined to endure perpetuall. If we ioine the Euangelistes with the Apostles, we shal haue remaining two couples after a certaine maner answeringe the one to the other. For as our Teachers are like to the olde Prophets, in such sort are our Pastors like to the Apostles, The office of Prophets was more excellent, by reason of the singular giste that they had of reuelation: but the office of Teachers hath in a maner like order, and altogether the same ende. So those. xij. Luc. 6.
whom the Lorde did choose, that they should publish abroad to 13.
the world the newe preaching of the Gospell, in degre and dignitie Gal. 2. 2.
went before the rest. For although by the meaning and propertie 1.
of the word, all the ministers of the Church may be rightly called

Apostles, because they are sente of the Lorde, & are his messengers: yet because it was much behouefull, that there should be a certaine knowledge had of the sending of them that should bring a thing newe and vnheard of, it was necessarie that those xij (to whoes number Paule was afterwarde added) should be garnished with some peculiar title about the rest. Paule himselfe in deede in one place geueth this name to Andronicus & Iunias, whom he sayeth to haue bene notable among the Apostles: but when he meaneth to speake properly, he referreth it to none other but to that principall degree. And this is the common vse of the Scripture. Yet the Pastors (sauiug that eche of them do gouerne seuerall Churches appointed to them) haue all one charge with the Apostles. Nowe what maner of thing that is, let vs yet heare it more plainly.

Ro 16.

2.

Mat. 10.

1.

Mat. 23

9.

1. Cor. 4

1.

Tit. 1. 9.

Act. 10

20.

Act. 20.

34.

6 The Lorde, when he sente the Apostles, gaue them cōmaundement (as we said euen now) to preach the Gospell, and to baptise them that beleue vnto forgiveness of sinnes. He had before commanded, that they should distribute the holy signes of his body and blood, as he had done. Loe here is a holy, inuolable and perpetuall lawe layed vpon them that succede in the Apostles place, whereby they receiue cōmandement to preache the Gospell, and minister the Sacramēts. Whereupon we gather, that they which neglect both these things, do falsly say that they beare the person of the Apostles. But what of the Pastors? Paule speaketh not of himselfe onely, but of them all, when he sayeth: let a man so esteeme vs as the ministers of Christ, and distributors of the misteries of God. Againe in another place a Bishop must be a fast holder of that faithful word which is according to doctrine: that he may be able to exhorde by sounde doctrine, and to conuince the gainesayers. Out of those and like places, which are echwhere to be founde, we may gather, that also in the office of the Apostles these be the two principall partes, to preach the Gospell, and to minister the Sacraments. As for the order of teaching, it consisteth not only in publike Sermons, but belongeth also to priuate admonitions. So Paul calleth the Ephēsiāns to witnesse that he hath not fled from doing of any of those things that were for their profit, but that he preached and taught them both openly and in euery house, testifying both to the Iewes and Grecians, repentāce and faith in Christ. Againe a little after: that he hath not ceased with reares to admonishe euery one of them. Neither yet belongeth it to my purpose at this present to expresse all the qualities of a good Pastor, but onely to point out what they professe that call themselves Pastors: that is, that they are so made rulers of the Church, not that they

they should haue an idle dignity, but that they should with the doctrine of Christ instruct the people to true godlinesse, minister the holy mysteries, and preserue and exercise vpright discipline. For ^{Eze. 13.} whosoeuer be set to be watchemen in the Church, the Lorde declar^{17.}eth vnto them, that if any by their negligence perish through ignorance, he will require the blood at their handes. That also pertaineth to them all, which Paul sayeth of himselfe: wo to me vnlesse I preach the Gospell, forasmuch as the distributing thereof is committed to me. Finally what the Apostles performed to the whole world, the ^{1. Cor. 9} same ought euery Pastor to performe to his flocke to which he is ^{16.} appointed.

7 Albeit when we assigne to euery one their seuerall Churches, yet in the meane while we do not denie but that he which is bounde to one Church may helpe other Churches, if any troublesome thing do happen that requireth his presence, or if he be asked counsell of any darke matter. But forasmuch as for the keping of the peace of the Church, this policy is necessary, that there be sette forth to euery man what he should do, least all shoulde be confusely disordered, runne about without calling, or rashly runne altogether into one place, and least such as are more carefull for their owne commoditie than for the edification of the Church, should at their owne will leaue their Churches vacant: this ordering ought commonly to be kept so nere as may be, that euery man contented with his owne boundes should not breake into an other mans charge. And this is no inuention of man, but the ordinance of God himselfe. For we reade that Paule and Barnabas created Priests in all the seuerall Churches of Lистра, Antioche, Iconium: and Paule himselfe commaundeth ^{Act. 14.} Titus that he should appointe Priests in euery towne. So in one place ^{22.} he speaketh of the Bishoppes of Philippes, and in an other place of ^{Tit. 1. 5.} Archippus Bishop of the Colossians. And there remaineth a notable Sermon of his in Luke, to the Priests of the Church of Ephesus. ^{Phil. 1. 1} Whosoeuer therefore shall take vpon him the gouernment and ^{Colo. 4.} charge of one Church, let him knowe that he is bound to this lawe ^{17.} of Gods calling: not that as bounde to the soile (as the lawyers terme it) that is, made bonde and fastened vnto it, he may not ones moue his foote from thense, if the common profit do so require, so that it be done well and orderly: but he that is called into one place ought not himselfe to thinke of remouing, nor seke to be deliuered as he shal ^{Act 20.} thinke to be good for his commoditie. Then, if it be expedient that ^{18.} any be remoued to an other place, yet he ought not to attempt it of his owne priuate aduise, but to tary for publike authoritie.

8 But whereas I haue without difference called them Bishops, and Priests, and Pastors, and Ministers, that rule Churches : I did that according to the vsage of the Scripture, which indifferently vieth these wordes. For whosoever do execute the ministry of the word, to them he geueth the title of Bishops. So in Paule, where Titus is commaunded to appointe Priests in euery towne, it is immediatly added. For a Bishop must be vnreprouable. &c. So in an other place

Tit. 1. 5. he saluteth many Bishops in one Church. And in the actes it is re-
Phi. 1. 1. hearded, that he called together the Priests of Ephesus, whom he
Act. 20. himselfe in his owne Sermon calleth Bishops. Here nowe it is to be
Rom. 12 noted, that hetherto we haue recited none but those offices that
7. stande in the ministerie of the word: neither doth Paule make men-
1. Cor. tion of any other in that fourth chapter which we haue alledged. But
12. 28. in the Epistle to the Romaines, and in the first Epistle to the Corin-
 thians, he reckoneth vp other offices, as powers, the gift of healing,
 interpretation, gouernement, caring for the poore. Of the which I
 omitted those that endured but for a time, because it is to no profita-
 ble purpose to tary vpon them. But there are two that do perpetually
 abide, that is to say, gouernement and care of the poore. Gouernours
 I thinke were the Elders chosen out of the people, that should toge-
 ther with the Bishops, haue rule of the iudgement of maners, and the
 vsing of discipline. For a man cannot otherwise expounde that which
 he sayeth : let him that ruleth do it with carefulnesse. Therefore at
Rom. 2. the beginninge euery Church had their Senate, gathered of godly,
8. graue and holy men : which had that same iurisdiction in correcting
 of vices, whereof we shall speake hereafter. And that this was the
 order of more than one age, experience it selfe declareth. Therefore
 this office of gouernement is also necessarie for all ages.

9 The care of the poore was comitted to the Deacons. Howbeit
 to y^e Romaines there are set two kindes. Let him that geueth (sayeth
Rom. 12 Paule in that place) do it in simplicitie : let him that hath mercy, do it
2. in cherefulnesse. Forasmuch as it is certaine that he speaketh of the
 publike offices of the Church, it must needes be that there were
 two seuerall degrees. Vnlesse my iudgement deceiue me, in the first
 point he meaneth Deacons, that distributed the almes: in the other he
 speaketh of them that had geuen themselues to looking to the poore
 and sicke: of which sort were the widowes of whom he maketh men-
 tion to Timothee. For women could execute no other publik office,
1. Tim. but to geue themselues to the seruice of the poore. If we graunt this,
5. 10. (as we must needes graunt it) the there shalbe two sortes of Deacons:
 of which one sort shall serue in distributing the things of the poore,

the other in loking to y^e poore of the Church themſelues. But although the very word Diaconia, Deaconrie extēdeth further: yet the Scripture ſpecially calleth the Deacons, to whom the Church hath geuen the charge to diſtribute the almes, and to take care of the poore, and hath appointed them as it were ſtewardes of the common treaſurie of the poore: whoes beginning, inſtitution and office, is deſcribed of Luke in the Actes. For when a murmuring was raiſed by the Gre- A& 6.3
cians, for that in the minifterie of the poore their widowes were neglected, the Apoſtles excuſing themſelues with ſaying that they could not ſerue both offices, both the preaching of the word and the miniſtring at tables, required of the multitude, that there might be choſen. vii. honeſt men, to whom they might commit that doing. Loe what maner of Deacons the Apoſtolike Church had, and what Deacons it were mete for vs to haue according to their example.

10 Now whereas in the holy aſſembly all things are to be done in order and comely, there is nothing wherein that ought to be more diligently obſerued, than in ſtabliſhing the order of gouernement: becauſe there is no where greater perill if any thing be done vnorderly. Therefore to the ende that vnquiet and troubleſome men (which otherwiſe would happē) ſhould raſhly thruſt in themſelues to teach or to rule, it is expreſſy provided, that no man ſhould without calling take vpon him a publike office in the Church. Therefore that a man may be iudged a true miniſter of the Church, fiſt he muſt be orderly called: then he muſt aunſwere his vocation, that is to ſay, take vpon him and execute the duties enioined him. This we may oftentimes marke in Paule: which when he meaneth to approue his Apoſtleſhip, in a maner alway with his faithfulneſſe in executing his office he allegeth his calling. It ſo great a miniſter of Chriſt dare not take vpon himſelfe the authoritie that he ſhoulde be heard in the Church, but becauſe he both is appointed thereunto by the commandement of the Lord, and alſo faithfully performeth that which is committed vnto him: howe great ſhamefulneſſe ſhall it be, if any man wanting both or either of theſe, ſhall chalenge ſuch honor to himſelfe? But becauſe we haue aboue touched the neceſſitie of executing the office, nowe let vs entreate onely of the calling.

11 The diſcourſe therof ſtandeth in foure pointes: that we ſhould knowe, what maner of miniſters, how, and by whom miniſters ought to be inſtitute, and with what vſage or what Ceremonie they are to be admitted. I ſpeake of the outwarde and ſolemne calling, which belongeth to publike order of the Church: as for that ſecrete calling, whereof euery miniſter is priuy in his own conſcience before God, &

hath not the Church witnesse of it, I omit it. It is a good witnesse of our hart, that not by any ambition, nor couetousnesse, nor any other greedy desire, but with pure feare of God and zeale to edifie to the Church, we receiue the office offered vnto vs. That in deede is (as I haue sayed) necessarie for euery one of vs, if we will approue our ministerie allowable before God. Neuerthelesse he is rightly called in presence of the Church, that commeth vnto it with an euill conscience, so that his wickednes be not open. They are wont also to say that euē priuate men are called to y^e ministerie, whom they see to be mete and able to execute it: because verily learning ioined with godlinesse and with the other qualities of a good Pastor, is a certaine preparation to the very office. For whom the Lorde hath appointed to so great an office, he first furnisheth them with those armures that are required to fulfill it, that they should not come empty and vnprepared vnto it. Whereupon Paul also to the Corinthians, when he meante to dispute of the very offices, first rehearsed the giftes which they ought to haue that execute the offices. But because this is the first of those fower pointes that I haue propounded, let vs now go forward vnto it.

1. Cor.
12.7.

Tit. 1.9.
2. Tim.
3.1.

12 What maner of Bishoppes it is mete to choose, Paule doth largely declare in two places, but the summe commeth to this effect, that none are to be chosen, but they that are of sounde doctrine, and of holy life, & not notable in any vice, which might both take away credite from them, & procure slaunder to their ministry. Of Deacōs and Elders there is altogether like consideration. It is alway to be looked vnto, that they be not vnable or vnfit to beare the burden that is layed vpon them, that is to say, that they may be furnished with those powers that are necessarie to the fulfilling of their office.

Luc. 21.
15. and
24.49.
Mar. 16.
15.
Aēt 1.8
1. Tim. 5
22.

So when Christ was about to sende his Apostles, he garnished them with those weapons & instruments which they could not wante. And Paule when he had painted out the image of a good & true Bishop, warneth Timothee, that he should not defile himselfe with choosing any man that differeth from it. I referre this word Howe, not to the ceremonie of choosing, but to the reuerente feare that is to be kept in the choosing. Hereupon come the fastings and prayers, which Luke reciteth that the faithfull vsed when they made Priests. For whereas they vnderstoode that they medled with a most earnest matter, they durst attempt nothing, but with great reuerence and carefulnesse. But they chesely applied themselues to prayers, whereby they might craue of God the Spirit of counsell and discretion.

13 The third thing that we haue set in our diuisiō was, by whom ministers

ministers are to be chosen. Of this thing no certaine rule can be gathered out of the institution of Apostles, which had some difference from the common calling of the rest. For, because it was an extraordinary ministerie, that it might be made discernable by some more notable marke, it behoued that they which should execute it, should be called and appointed by the Lordes owne mouth. They therefore tooke in hande their doing, being furnished by no mans election, but by the onely commaundement of God and of Christ. Hereupon commeth that when the Apostles would put an other in the place of Iudas, they durst not certainly name any one man, but they brought forth two, that the Lorde shoulde declare by lot, whether of them he would haue to succede. After this maner also it is mete to take this, that Paule denieth that he was creat Apostle of men or by man, but by Christ and God the father. That first point, that is to say of men, he had common with all the Godly ministers of the worde. For no man could rightly take vppon him that execution, but he that were called of God. But the other point was proper and singular to himselfe. Therefore when he glorieth of this, he doth not onely boast that he hath that which belongeth to a true and lawfull Pastor, but also bringeth forth the signes of his Apostleship. For whē there were some among the Galathians, which traauiling to diminish his authoritie, made him some meane disciple, put in office vnder them by the principall Apostles: he, to defende in safetie the dignitie of his preaching, which he knewe to be shot at by those subtle deuises, needed to shewe himselfe in all pointes nothing inferior to the other Apostles. Therefore he affirmeth that he was chosen, not by the iudgement of men, like some common Bishop, but by the mouth and manifest Oracle of the Lorde himselfe.

14 But no man that is sober will deny, that it is according to the order of lawfull calling, that Bishops should be appointed by men: forasmuch as there are so many testimonies of y^e Scripture for profe thereof. Neither doth that saying of Paule make to the contrary, as it is said, that he was not sent of men, nor by men: forasmuch as he speaketh not there of the ordinary choosing of ministers, but challengeth to himselfe that which was special to the Apostles. Howbeit God also so appointed Paule by himselfe by singular prerogative, that in the meane time he vsed the discipline of Ecclesiastical calling. For Luke reporteth it thus, when the Apostles were fasting and praying, the Holy Ghost said: Separate vnto me Paule and Barnabas to the worke to which I haue seuerally chosen them. To what purpose serued that separation and putting on of handes, sith the Holy

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Ghoit hath testified his owne election, but that the discipline of the Church in appointing ministers by men, might be preserued: Therefore the Lord could by no plainer example approue such order, than he did when hauing first declared that he had ordained Paul Apostle for the Gentiles, yet he willeth him to be appointed by the Church.

Act. 1. 23. Which thing we may see in the choosinge of Mathias. For, because the office of Apostleship was of so greate importance, that they durst not by their owne iudgement choose any one man into that degree, they did set two men in the middes, vpon the one of whom the lot should fall: that so both the election might haue an open testimonie from heauen, and yet the policie of the Church should not be passed ouer.

15 Nowe it is demaunded whether the minister ought to be choien of the whole Church, or only of the other of the same office, and of the Elders that haue the rule of discipline, or whether he may be made by the authority of one man. They that geue this authority

Tit. 1. 5. to one man, allege that which Paule sayth to Titus: Therefore I haue leste thee in Creta, that thou shouldest appointe in euery towne

1. Tim. 5. 22. Priestes. Againe to Timothee: lay not handes quickly vpon any man. But they are deceiued if they think, that either Timothee at Ephesus,

or Titus in Creta, vsed a kingly power, that either of them should dispose all things at his owne will. For they were aboue the rest, only to go before the people with good and holisome counsells: not that they onely, excluding all other, should do what they listed. And that I may not seeme to faine any thing, I will make it plaine by a like

Act. 14. 23. example. For Luke rehearseth that Paule and Barnabas appointed Priests in diuerse Churches: but he also expresth y order or maner

howe, when he sayeth that it was done by voices: ordeining Priests (sayeth he) by lifting vp of handes in euery Church. Therefore they two did creat them. but the whole multitude, as the Grecians maner was in elections, did by holding vp their handes declare whom they would haue. Euen in like maner the Romaine histories do oftentimes say, that the Consul which kept the assemblies, created newe officers, for none other cause but for that he receiued the voices & gouerned the people in the election. Truly it is not likely that Paule graunted more to Timothee and Titus than he toke to himselfe. But we see that he was wonte to creat Bishops by voices of the people. Therefore the places aboue are so to be vnderstanded, that they minish nothing of the cōmon right and libertie of the Church. Therefore Ciprian sayeth well, when he affirmeth that it commeth from the authoritie of God, that the Priest should be chosen in presence of the people before

before the eyes of all men, and should by publike iudgement and testimonie be allowed for worthy & mete. For we see that this was by the commaundemēt of the Lorde obserued in the Leuiticall Priests, Leui. 8. that before their cōsecratiō they should be brought into the sight of the people. And no otherwise is Mathias added to the fellowship of the Apostles: and no otherwise the seuen Deacons were created: but the people seing and allowing it. These examples (sayeth Ciprian) do shewe, that the ording of a Priest ought not to be done, but in the knowledge of the people standing by: that the ordering may be iust and lawfull, which hath bene examined by the witnesse of all. We are therefore come thus farre, that this is by the word of God a lawefull calling of a minister, when they that seeme mete are created by the consent and allowaunce of the people, And that other Pastors ought to beare rule of the election, that nothing be done amisse of the multitude either by lightnesse, or by euill affections, or by disorder. 6. Numb. 30. 26. Act. 1. 15. and 6. 2.

16 Now remaineth the forme of ordering, to which we assigned the last place in the calling. It is euident that the Apostles vsed no other ceremonie, when they admitted any man to ministerie, but the laying on of handes. And I thinke that this vsage came from the maner of the Hebrues, which did as it were presente vnto God by laying on of handes that which they would haue blessed & hallowed. So when Iacob was about to blesse Ephraim and Manasse, he layed his handes vpon their heds. Which thing our Lorde followed, when he prayed ouer the infantes. In the same meaning (as I thinke) the Iewes, by the ordināce of the lawe, layed handes vpon the Sacrifices. Gen. 48. 14. Mat. 19. 15. Act. 19. 6. Wherefore the Apostles by laying on of handes did signifie that they offered him to God, whom they admitted into the ministerie. Albeit they vsed it also vpon them, to whom they applied the visibler graces of the Spirit. Howesoeuer it bee, this was the solempne vsage, so ofte as they called any man to the ministerie of the Church. So they consecrated Pastors and teachers, and so also Deacons. But although there be no certaine commaundement concerning the laying on of handes, yet because we see that it was continually vsed among the Apostles, their so diligent obseruinge of it ought to be to vs in steede of a commaundement. And truely it is profitable, that by such a signe, both the dignitie of the ministry should be cōmended to the people, and also that he which is ordered should be admonished, that he is not now at his own liberty, but made bonde to God & the Church. Moreouer it shall not be a vaine signe, if it be restored to the naturall beginning of it. For if the Spirit of God, hath ordeined nothing in the Church in vaine, we must thinke that this Ceremonie,

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sith it proceeded from him, is not vnprofitable, so that it be not turned into a superstitious abuse. Last of all this is to be holden, that not the whole multitude did lay their handes vpon the ministers, but the Pastors onely. Howbeit it is vncertaine whether many did alway lay on their handes or no. But it is euident that that was done in the

Act 6. Deacons, in Paule and Barnabas, and a fewe other. But Paule him-
6. & 13. selfe in an other place reporteth, that he, and not many other, did
3. lay his handes vpon Timothee. I admonish thee (sayeth he) that
2. Tim. thou raise vp the grace which is in thee by laying on of my handes.
1. 6. For, as for that which in the other Epistle is spoken of the laying on
 of the handes of the degree of Priests, I do not so take it, as though
1. Tim. Paule did speake of the companie of the Elders, but I vnderstande
4. 14 by that word the very ordinance it selfe: as if he had sayed: Make
 that the Grace, which thou hast receiued by laying on of handes
 when I did creat thee a priest, may not be voide.

The iiij. Chapter.

*Of the state of the olde Church, and of the maner of gouerning that was
 in use before the Papacie.*

Hitherto we haue intreated of the order of gouerning the Church, as it hath bene deliuered vs out of the pure word of God: and of the ministeries, as they were institute by Christ. Nowe that all these things may be more clerely and familiarly opened, and also be better fastened in our mindes: it shalbe profitable in these things to cōsider the forme of the Olde Church, which shall represent to our eyes a certaine image of Gods institutiō. For although the Bishops of those times did set forth many Canons, wherein they seemed to expresse more thā was expressed in the holy Scripture: yet they with such hedefulnesse framed all their order after the onely rule of Gods word, that a man may easily see that in this behalf they had in a maner nothing disagreeing from the word of God. But although there might be somewhat wantinge in their ordinances, yet because they with sincere zeale endeououred to preserue Gods institutiō, & they swarued not much frō it, it shal be very profitable here shortely to gather what maner of obseruation they had. As we haue declared that there are thre sortes of ministers cōmēded vnto vs in the Scripture: so all the ministers y^e the olde Church had, it diuided into thre Orders. For out of the order of Elders were partly chosen Pastors and Teachers: the rest of them had the rule of the iudgement and correction of maners. To the Deacons was committed the care of the poore, and the distributing of the almes.

As

As for the Readers and Acoluth, were not names of certaine offices: but those whom they called Clerkes, they trained from their youth vpward in certaine exercises to serue the Church, that they might be y better vnderstande to what purpose they were appointed, & might in time come y better prepared to their office: as I shal by and by shew more at large. Therefore Hierome, when he had appointed fise orders of the Church, reckoneth vp Bishops, Priestes, Deacons, Beleuers, and Cathecumeni: to the rest of the Clergy & monkes he giueth no proper place. In Esa. cap. 9.

2 Therefore to whom the office of teachinge was enioyned, all them they named Priestes. In euery city they chose out of their own number one man, to whom they specially gaue the title of Bishoppe: that dissensions shoulde not grow of equality, as it is wont to come to passe. Yet the Bishop was not so aboue the rest in honor and dignity, y he had a dominion ouer his felowes. But what office y Consul had in the Senate, to propound of matters, to aske opinions, to go before the other with counselling, monishing and exhorting, to gouerne the whole action with his authority, and to put in execution that which is decreed by common counsell: the same office had the Bishop in the assembly of the Priestes. And the olde wryters themselues confesse, that the same was by Mens consent brought in for the necessity of the times. Therefore Hierome vpon the Epistle to Titus saith: The same was a Priest which was a Bishop. And before that by the institution of the Deuill, there were dissensions in religion, and it was said amonge peoples: I am of Paule, I am of Cephas, Churches were gouerned by common counsell of Elders. Afterward, that the seedes of dissensions might be plucked vppe, all the care was committed to one man. As therfore the Priests do know, that by custome of the Church they are subiect to him that is set ouer them: so let the Bishops know, that they are aboue the Priests, rather by custome, than by the truth of the Lordes disposing, and that they ought to gouerne the church in common together. But in an other place he teacheth, how auncient an institutiō it was. For he sayth that at Alexandria, from Marcke the Euangelist euen to Heraclas and Dionysius, the Priestes did alway choose out one of theselues, and set him in a hyer degree, whom they named a Bishop. Therefore euery city had a company of Priestes which were Pastors and Teachers. For they all did execute amonge the people that office of teaching, exhorting and correcting, which Paul appointeth to the Bishops: and that they might leaue seede after them, they trauailed in teaching the yonger men, that hadde professed themselues souldiours in the holy warfare. To euery city there

Episto.
ad Eua

Tit. 1. 9.

was appointed a certaine countrey, that should take their Priestes from thence, and be accompted as it were into the body of that Church. Euery company (as I haue before sayd) only for preseruatiō of Policy and Peace, were vnder one Bishop: which was so aboue the rest in dignity, that he was subiect to the assembly of his brethren. If the compasse of ground that was vnder his Bishoprike were so great, that he could not suffice to serue all the offices of a Bishop in euery place of it, in the countrey it selfe there were in certaine places appointed Priestes which in small matters should execute his authority. Them they called countreybishops, because in the countrey they represented the Bishop.

3 But, so much as belongeth to the office, wherof we now speake, as well the Bishops as the Priestes were bound to apply the distributing of the word and Sacramentes. For it was ordained only at Alexandria, (because Arrius had there troubled the Church) y^e the priest should not preach to the people, as Socrates sayth in the 9. booke of the Tripartite history. Which yet Hierome confesseth that he misliketh not. Truly it should be counted monstrous, if any man had giuen out himselfe for a Bishop, that had not also in very dede shewed himselfe a true Bishop. Therefore such was y^e seuerity of those times, that all ministers were driuen to the fulfilling of such office, as the Lord requireth of thē. Neither do I rehearse the maner of one age alone: For euen in Gregories time, when the Church was now almost decayed (certainely it was much degenerate from the auncient purenes) it had not bin tolerable that any Bishop shoulde abstaine from preaching. The Priest (sayth he in one place) dieth if there be no sould heard of him: because he asketh against himselfe the wrath of the secrete iudge, if he go without sounde of preaching. And in an other place: When Paule testifieth that he is cleane from the bloud of all: in this saying we be conuincēd, we be bounde, we be shewed to be gilty, which are called Priestes, which beside the euils that we haue of our owne, adde also the deathes of other: because we kill so many as we beinge luke warme and silent do daily see to go to death. He calleth himselfe & other silent, because they were lesse diligēt in their worke than they ought to be. When he spareth not them, that did halfe performe their duty: what thinke you he would haue done, if a man had altogether sitte idle? Therefore this was a great while holden in the Church, that the chiefe duty of the Bishop was to feede Gods people with the word, or both publikely and priuately to edifie the Church with sound doctrine.

4 But whereas euery prouince hadde among their Bishoppes one Archebi-

Episto.
ad Eua.

Epi. 4.
Homel.
in Eze.
A. 2. 10.
16.

Archebifhop: alfo where in the Nicene Synode there were ordained Patriarches, which fhoulde in degree & dignity be about the Archbifhops, that pertained to the preferuinge of difcipline. Howebeit in this difcourfe, that which was moft rarely vfed may not be omitted. For this caufe therefore chiefly thefe degrees were ordained, that if any thing hapned in any Church, that could not well be ended by a fewe, might be referred to a prouinciall Synode. If the greatneffe or difficulty of the matter required a greater difcuffinge, the Patriarches were alfo called to it with the Synodes, frō whom there might be no appelle but to a General Councel. The gouernment fo ordered many called a Hierarchie, by a name (as I thinke) vnproper, and truely vnufed in the Scriptures. For the holy Gheft willed to prouide, that no mā fhould dreame of a principality or dominion whē the gouernment of the Church is fpoken of. But if, leauinge the word we looke vpon the thing, we fhall finde that the old Bifhops ment to forge no forme of ruling the Church, differing from that which the Lord appointed by his word.

5 Neither was the order of the Deacons at that time any other then it was vnder the Apoftles. For they receiued the daily offrings of the Faithfull, and the yearely reuenues of the Church, to bellowe them vpon true vfes, that is to fay, to diftribute thē to fede partly the minifters, & partly the poore: but by the appointment of the Bifhop, to whome alfo they yearely rendred accomptes of their distribution. For whereas the Canons do euery where make the Bifhop diftributer of all the goods of the Church, it is not fo to be vnderftanded, as though he did by himfelfe difcharge that care: but becaufe it was his part to appoint to the Deacon, who fhould be receiued into the common almes of the Church, and of that which remained, to whome it fhould be giuen, & how much to euery one: becaufe he had an overfeeing whether the Deacon did faithfully execute that which belōged to his office. For thus it is red in the canons which they afcribe to the Apoftles: We commaunde that the Bifhoppe haue the goodes of the Church in his owne power. For if he be put in truft with the foules of men, which are more precious, much more it is meete that he haue charge of money: fo that by his power all thinges may be diftributed to the poore by the Elders and Deacons: that they may be miniftred with all feare and carefulneffe. And in the Councel of Antioche Cap. 35 it is decreed, that the Bifhops fhoulde be reftained that meddle with the goodes of the Church, without the knowledge of the Elders and Deacons. But of that point we neede to make no longer difputation, fith it is euident by many epiftles of Gregorie, that euen at that time,

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when otherwise the ordinances of the Church were much corrupted, yet this obseruation continued, that the Deacons shoulde vnder the Bishop be the stewardest of the poore. As for Subdeacons, it is likely y^t at the beginning they were ioyned to the Deacons, that they should vse their seruice about the poore: but that difference was by litle and litle confounded. But Archdeacons began then to be created, when the plenty of the goods, required a new and more exact maner of disposing them: Albeit Hierome doth say, that it was euen in his age. In their charge was the summe of their reuenues, possessions, and store, and the collection of the daily offerings. Whereupon Gregory declareth to the Archdeacon of Salon, that he shoulde be holden guilty if any of the goodes of y^e Church perished either by his fraud or negligence. But whereas it was giuen to them to reade the Gospel to the people, and to exhort them to prayer: and whereas they were admitted to deliuer the Cuppe in the holy Supper, that was rather done to garnish their office, that they shoulde execute it with the more reuerence, whē by such signes they were admonished that it was no prophane bailiwick that they exercised, but a spirituall function and dedicate to God.

Epi. ad
Nepot.
Epist. 10
lib. 1.

6 Hereby also we may iudge what vse there was, and what maner of distribution of the Church goods. Ech where both in the decrees of the Synodes, and among the old wryters it is to be found, that whatsoeuer the Church possesseth either in landes or in money, is the patrimony of the poore. Therefore oftentimes there this song is sung to the Bishops and Deacons, that they shoulde remember, that they medle not with their owne goodes, but the goodes appointed to the necessity of the poore: which if they vnfaithfully suppress or wast, they shalbe guilty of blood. Whereby they are admonished, with great feare & reuerence, as in the sight of God, without respect of persons, to distribute them to whom they be due. Hereupon also come those graue protestations in Chrysostome, Ambrose, Augustine, and other like Bishoppes, whereby they affirme their owne vprightnesse to the people. But sith it is equity, and established by the law of the Lorde, that they which employ their seruice to the Church, shoulde be fed with the common charges of the Church, and also many Priestes in that age, consecrating their patrimonies to God, were willingly made poore: the distributinge was such, that neither the ministers wanted sustenance, nor the poore were neglected. But yet in the meane time it was provided, that the ministers themselues, which ought to giue exāple of honest sparing to other, should not haue so much, wherby they might abuse it to riorous excesse or deliciousnes, but only wher-

with

with to sustaine their owne nede. For those of the Clergy (sayth Hierome) which are able to liue of the goods of their parents, if they take that which is the poores, do commit sacrilege, & by such abuse they eate and drinke to themselves damnation.

7 First the ministracion was free and voluntary, whereas the Bishops and Deacons were of their owne wil faithfull, and vprightnesse of conscience and innocence of life were to them in steede of lawes. Afterwarde when euill examples grewe of the greedinesse or peruerse affections of some, to correct those faultes, the canons were made, which diuided the reuenues of the Church into foure partes: of which they assigned one part to the of the Clergy, the second to the poore, the third to the maintenance and reparation of Churches, and other holy buildinges, the fourth to the poore as well straungers as of their owne countrey. For whereas the other canons, giue this last parte to the Bishop, that varieth nothing from my abovesaid diuision. For they meane not that that part should be his owne, that either he himselfe alone shoulde deuoure it, or poure it out, vpon whom or what he list, but that it should suffice to maintaine the Hospitality which Paul requireth of that order. And so do Gelasius & Gregory expound it. For Gelasius bringeth no other reason why the Bishop should challenge any thinge to himselfe, but that he might giue it prisoners and strangers. And Gregory speaketh yet more plainly. It is the maner (sayth he) of the sea Apostolike, to giue commaundement to the Bishop when he is ordred, that of all the reuenue that ariseth, there be made foure portions: that is to say, the one to the Bishop and his family for Hospitality, & entertainment: the second to the Clergy: the third to the poore: the fourth to the repairing of Churches. Therefore it was lawfull for the Bishoppe to take nothing to his owne vse, but so much as were enough for moderate & meane foode and clothing. If any began to excede, either in riotous expence, or in ostentation and pomp, he was by and by repressed by his felowes, & if he obeyed not, he was put from his dignity.

8 As for that which they bestowed vpon garnishinge of holy thinges, at the first it was very litle. Afterward when the Church became somewhat richer, yet in that behalfe they still kept a meane. And yet all the money that was bestowed therupon, remained safe for the poore, if any greater necessity happened. So when famine possessed the Prouince of Hierusalem, and the nede could not otherwise be relieved, Cyrillus solde the vessels and garmentes, and spent them vpon sustenance of the poore. Likewise Acarius Bishop of Amida, when a great multitude of the Persians, in a maner starued for hunger, called

1. Tim. 3
2.

Tripas.
hist ii. 5
lib. 11.
cap. 16.

Cap.4.

Of the outward meanes

Ad Ne-
potia.

Lib. de
offic.
cap. 28.

together the Clergy, and when he had made that notable oration, Our God needeth neither dishes nor cuppes, because he neither eateth nor drinketh, he melt the vessels, to make thereof both meate & ransome for me in misery. Hierom also, when he inueyeth against the to much gorgiounes of temples, doth with honor make mentiō of Exuperius Bishop of Tholosa in his time, which caried the Lords body in a wicker basket, and his blood in glasse, but suffred no poore mā to be hungry. That which I euen now sayd of Acatius, Ambrose rehearseth of himselfe. For when the Arrians charged him, for y he had broken y holy vessels to ransom prisoners, he vsed this most godly excuse: He that sent y Apottles without golde, gathered Churches together without gold. The Church hath gold, not to kepe it, but to bestow it, & to giue reliefe in necessities. What neede is to kepe that which helpeth not? Do we not know, how much golde and siluer the Assyrians tooke out of the temple of the Lord? Doth not the Priest better to melt them for the sustenance of the poore, if other reliefes do faile, than an enemy a robber of God to beare them away? Will not the Lord say: Why hast thou suffred so many nedy to die for hunger? & verily thou hadst gold whereof thou mightest haue ministred them sustenance. Why were so many led away captiue, & not ransomed? why were so many slaine by the enemy? It had bin better that thou shouldest saue the vessels of liuinge men, than of metalles. To these thinges thou shalt not be able to aunswere. For what wouldest thou say? I feared least Gods tēple should want garnishing. He would answere: Sacraments require not gold: neither do those things please with golde that are not bought with golde. The ransoming of prisoners is a garnishing of Sacraments. In summe, we see that it is most true which the same man sayeth in an other place, that whatsoeuer the Church thē possessed was the store of the nedy. Againe: that a Bishop hath nothing that is not the poores.

Lib. 5. e-
pist. 31.
& 33.

9 These that we haue rehearsed were the ministeries of the Old Church. For the other of which the Ecclesiasticall wryters make mention, were rather certaine exercises and preparations, than appointed offices. For those holy men, that they might leaue a store for the Church after them, receiued into their charge, gouernance & discipline, yong men which with the consent & authority of their parentes, professed themselues souldiours of the spirituall warfare: & they so framed them from their tēder age, that they should not come vnskilful & raw to the executing of their office. But all they that were instructed with such beginnings, were called Clerkes. I would in dede that some other proper name hadde rather bin giuen them. For this

name

name grew of error, or of corrupt affectiō: forasmuch as Peter cal-^{1. Pet. 3.} leth the whole Church the Clergy, that is to say, the Lordes inheri-^{3.} tance. But the institution it selfe was very holy and profitable, that they which woulde consecrate themselues and their seruice to the Church, shold be so brought vp vnder the keping of the Bishop, that none should minister to the Church, but he that were well informed aforehande, and that had from his very youth both sucked holy doctrine, and by seuer discipline put in a certaine continuing quality of grauity & holy life, & were estranged from worldly cares, & were accustomed to spiritual cares and studies. But as yong souldiours are by certaine counterfait skirmishes instructed to learne true and earnest fight, so there were also certaine rudimentes, whereby they were exercised while they were Clerkes, before that they were promoted to the very offices. Therefore first they committed to the Clerkes the charge to open and shut the Church, and they named them Ostiarij, dorekeepers. Afterward they called them Acoluthi, folowers, which waited vpon the Bishop in his household seruices, and did continually accompany him, first for honors sake, & then that no suspition should arise of them. Morouer y by litle & litle they might become knowen to the people, and get to themselues commendation: also that they might learne to abide the sight of all men, & to speake before al men: that being made Priestes, when they came forth to teach, they should not be abashed with shame: therfore place was appointed the to read in the pulpet. After this maner they were promoted by degrees, to shew prooffe euery one of their diligēce in all their seuerall exercises, till they were made Subdeacons. This only is my meaning, that those were rather grosse beginnings, than such offices as were accompted among the true ministeries of the Church.

10 Wheras we said y the first & second point in the calling of ministers, are, what maner of men they ought to choose, & how great a religious carefulnes they ought to vse in that matter: therin the old Church hath folowed the prescribed order of Paul, & the examples of the Apostles, For they were wōt to come together to choose y pastors with most great reuerence, & carefull callinge vpon the name of God. Beside this they had a forme of examination, wherby they tried the life & doctrine of the that were to be chosen by that rule of Paul. Only they somewhat offended herein with too great seuerity, because they would require more in a Bishop than Paule required, & specially^{1. Tim. 3.} in proceffe of time they required vnmarried life. But in y other points^{3.} their obseruation was agreeinge with Pauls description. But in this which we made the third point, that is to say, who ought to institute

Cap.4.

Of the outward meanes

ministers, they kept not alway one order. In olde time, none was received into the company of Clerkes without the consent of all the people: insomuch that Cyprian laboreth earnestly to excuse that he appointed one Aurelius to be a Reader without asking aduise of the Church, because that was done beside the custome, though not without reason. For this he sayth before: In ordering of Clerkes, dere brethren, we are wont first to aske you aduise, and by common counsell to wey the maners and deseruings of euery one. But because in these lesser exercises there was not much peril: because they were chosen to a longe prooffe, and not to a great office, therefore the consent of the people therein cessed to be asked. Afterward in the other degrees also, except the Bishoprike, the people commonly left the iudgemēt and choise of them to the Bishop and the Priestres, that they shoulde examine who were meete and worthy: sauinge peraduenture when new Priestres were appointed for paroches: for then it behoued that the multitude of that place namely should consent. Neither is it any maruail, that the people in this behalfe was litle carefull in keepinge their owne right: For no man was made a Subdeacon, that had not shewed a longe prooffe of himselfe in his beinge a Clerke, vnder that seuerity of discipline, which then was vsed. After that he hadde bin tried in that degree, he was made a Deacon. From thense he came to the honor of priestthoode if he had behaued himselfe faithfully. So no man was promoted, of whom there had not bin in deede a triall had many yeares before the eyes of the people. And there were many canōs to punish their faultes: so that the Church could not be troubled with euil Priestres or Deacons, vnles it neglected the remedies. Howbeit in the Priestres also there was alway required the cōsent of them of the same city: which the very first canon testifieth in the 67. distinction, which is fathered vpon Anacletus. Finally, all the admissions into orders were therefore done at certaine appointed times of the yeare, that no man should priuily crepe in without the consent of the faithfull, or shoulde with too much easinesse be promoted without witnesses.

11 In choosing of Bishops the people had the liberty longe preserued, that none shoulde be thrust in that were not accepted of all. This therefore was forbidden in the counsell at Antioche, that none shoulde be thrust in to them against their will. Which thinge also

Epi. 90.

cap. 2.

Leo the first doth diligently confirme. Hereupon came these sayings: Let him be chosen, whom the Clergy, and the people, or the greater number shall require. Againe: Let him that shall beare rule ouer al, be chosen of all. For it must needs be, that he that is made a ruler being

vnknownen

vnknown and not examined, is thrust in by violence. Againe, Lette him be chosen, that is both chosen by the Clerkes, and desired by the people:& let him be consecrate by them of that Prouince, with the iudgement of the Metropolitane. The holy Fathers tooke so great heede that this liberty of the people should by no meane be diminished, that when the generall Synode gathered together at Constantinople did order Nectarius, they would not do it without the allowance of the whole Clergy & people, as they testified by their epistle to the Synode at Rome. Therefore when any Bishop did appoint a successor to himselfe, it was not otherwise stablished, vnles the whole people did confirme it. Whereof you haue not onely an example, but also the very forme in Augustine in y^e naming of Eradius. And Theodorite, when he reherseth that Peter was named by Athanasius to be his successour, by and by addeth, that the order of priestes confirmed it, & the magistrate, and nobility, & the people approued it with their allowing shewe.

Epist. 10
Theod.
lib. 4.
cap. 20.

12 I graunt in dede that this also was by very good reason stablished in the Councell at Laodicea, that the Election should not be left to multitudes. For it scarcely happeneth at any time, that so many heades should wel order any thing with one meaning: and commonly this is true, that the vncertaine communalty is diuided into contrary affections. But for this peril there was vsed a very good remedy. For first the Clerkes onely did choose: whom they had chosen they presented to the Magistrate, or to the Senate and chiefe men of the people. They, after consultation hadde, if they thought the election good, confirmed it: if not, they did choose an other, whome they did rather allow. Then the matter was moued to the multitude, which although they were not bound to those fore iudgements, yet thereby they could the lesse be disordered. Or if they began at the multitude: that was done onely to learne whom they did chiefly desire. When the desires of the people were heard, the they of y^e Clergy did choose him. So neither was it lawfull for the Clergy to appoint whom they listed, neither were they bounde to obey the foolish desires of the people. Leo appointeth this order in an other place, when he sayth: There are to be looked for, both the desires of the citizens, the peoples testimonies, the iudgement of the honorable, & the election of the clerkes. Againe, Let there be holden the testimony of the honorable, the subscription of the clerkes, the consent of the order & communalty. No reason (sayth he) suffreth it to be otherwise done. And nothinge else meaneth y^e decree of the Synode at Laodicea, but that the clergy, & chiefe of the people, should not suffer themselues to be

Cap. 13

Episto.
87.

caried away by the vndiscrete multitude : but rather that with their wisdom & grauity they should repress the peoples foolish affections, if at any time nede should so require.

13 This order of choosing was yet in force in the time of Gregory:& it is likely that it endured long after. There remaine many Epistles of his, that giue euident testimony of this matter. For so oft as he hath to do with the creating of any new Bishop, he vseth to wryte to the clergy, to the order, & to the people, & sometime also to the ruler, according as the gouernment of the city is appointed. But if by reason of the disordered state of the Church, he comitteth to any Bishop adioyninge, the charge of ouerseeinge in the election, yet he alway requireth a solemne decree strēgthened with the subscriptions of all.

Lib 2.
Epi. 69. Yea and when there was one Constantius create Bishop at Milaine, and that many of the Millaneis were by reason of the inuasion of the barbarous nations fled to Genua: he thought that the election could not otherwise be lawful, vnlesse they also were called together & gaue their assent. Yea there are not yet fīue hundred yeares past, since Pope Nicolas decreed thus of the election of the Bishop of Rome: that the Cardinall Bīshēps shoulde beginne, then that they shoulde ioyne to them the rest of the clergy, last of all that the election should be confirmed by the consent of the people. And in the ende he reciteth that decree of Leo, which I euen now alleaged, & commaundeth it from thence forth to be in force. But if the malice of wicked men shall so preuaile; that the clerkes to make a true election be compelled to depart out of the city: yet he commaūdeth that some of the people be present with them, As for the Emperours consent, so farre as I can perceiue, was required only in two Churches, that is, Rome and Constantinople: because there were the two seates of the Empire. For whereas Ambrose was sent to Milaine with a power from Valentinian to gouerne the election of the new Bishop: that was extraordinarily done, by reason of gricuous factions wherewith the citizens then boyled among themselves. But at Rome in old time the Emperours authority was of so great force in creatinge of the Bishop, that

Distin.
23 cap.
1n no-
mine.

Epist. 5.
lib. 1. Gregory sayeth; that he was set by his commaundement in the gouernment of the Church: when yet by solemne vsage he was desired by the people. This was the maner, that whē the clergy & the people had appointed any bishop, the clergy should forthwith moue it to the Emperour, that he should either by his allowance confirme the election, or by disallowance vndo it. Neither are the decrees that Gratian gathereth together, repugnant to this custome: wherein is nothinge elie sayd, but that it is in no wise to be suffred, that takinge away the

canonitall election, a kinge shoulde appoint a Bishop after his owne lust: & that the Metropolitan should cōsecrate none that were so promoted by violent powers. For it is one thinge to spoyle the Church of her right, that all should be transferred to the lust of one man: and an other thinge to graunt this honor to a kinge or an Emperour, that by his authority he may confirme a lawfull election.

14 Now it followeth, that we entreate, with what forme the ministers of the Church were admitted into their office after election: this the Latines called *Ordinatio* or *Consecration*: the Grekes haue called it *Cheirotonia*, liftinge vp of handes, and sometime also *Cheirothesia*, laying on of handes. Howbeit *Cheirotonia* is properly called that kinde of electiō, where mens consentes are declared by holding vp of their hands. There remaineth a decree of the Nicene cōcile, that the Metropolitan should mete together with al the Bishops of the prouince to order him which is chosen. But if some of them be hindered either by length of y way, or by sickenes, or by any necessity, that yet three at the least should mete: and that they that are absent shoulde by letters testifie their consent. And this Canon, when with discontinuāce it grew out of vse, was afterward renued with many Synodes. But all, or at least as many as had no excuse, were therefore cōmaunded to be present, that they might haue the grauer triall of the learninge and maners, of him that was to be ordered: for the matter was not done without triall. And it appeareth by Ciprians words, that in the old time they were wont not to be called after the election, but to be present at the election: and to this ende that they should be as it were gouernours, that nothing should be troublefomly done in the multitude. For where he sayd that the people haue power either to choose worthy Priestes, or to refuse vnworthy, within a litle after he addeth: Wherefore accordinge to the tradition of God & of the Apostles, it is to be diligently kept and holden (which is yet holden with vs also & in a maner throughout all prouinces) that for the right celebration of orderings, all the Bishops adioyninge of the same prouince should come together to that people for which a gouernour is ordered, and that the Bishop be chosen in presence of the people. But when they were sometime slowly gathered together, and there was peril least some would abuse that delay to occasion of ambitious suing: it was thought that it should be enough if after the election made, they should mete and after allowance vpon lawfull examination consecrate him.

15 When this was ech where done without exception, by litle & litle a diuerse maner grew in vse, that they which were chose should

Epist 4.
lib. 1.

Lib. 2.
Epi. 69.
46.

resorte to the Metropolitane city to fetche their orderinge. Which came to passe rather by ambition, and by deprauation of the first institution, than by any good reason. And not long after, when the authority of the seae of Rome was now encreased, there came in place yet a worse custome, that the Bishoppes almost of all Italy shoulde fetche their consecration from thense. Which we may note out of the Epistles of Gregorie. Onely a fewe cities, which did not so easily giue place, hadde their auncient right preserued: as there is an example had of Millaine. Paraduventure the onely Metropolitane cities kept their priuiledge. For all the Bishoppes of the Prouince were wont to come together to the chiefe citie to consecrate the Archebishoppe. But the Ceremonie was laying on of handes. For I reade of no other Ceremonies vsed: sauinge that in the solemne assembly the Bishops had a cettaine apparell whereby they might be distinctly knowne from other Priestes. They ordered also Priestes and Deacons with onely layinge on of handes. But euery Bishoppe with the company of Priestes ordered his owne Priestes. But although they did all the same thing: yet because the Bishop went before, and it was all done as it were by his guidinge, therefore the ordering was called his. Whereupon the old writers haue oft this saying: that a Priest differeth from a Bishop in no other thinge, but because he hath not the power of ordering.

The v. Chapter.

*That the olde forme of government is utterly ouerthrowen
by the tyranny of the Papacy.*

NOW it is good to set before mēs eyes the order of gouerning the Church, that the seae of Rome and all the champions thereof do kepe at this day, & the whole image of that Hierarchie which they continually haue in their mouth, and to compare it with that order of the first & old Church which we haue described: y by the cōparison it may appeare what maner of Church they haue, which vse this only title to charge or rather to ouerwhelm vs. But it is best to begin at Callinge, that we see both who, and what maner of mē, and by what order they be called to this ministry. And then afterward we shal consider how faithfully they execute their office. We will giue the first place to Bishops: to whom I would to God this might be an honor, to haue y first place in this discourse. But the matter it selfe doth not suffer me, ones to touch this thing be it neuer so lightly, without their great shame. And yet I will remember, in what kinde of wryting I am now occupied: & will not suffer my talke, which

which ought to be framed onely to simple doctrine, to flow abroade beyonde due boundes. But let some one of them that haue not vtterly lost all shame, answer me, what maner of bishoppes are at this day commonly chosen. Truly it is now growen too much out of vse, to haue any examinatio had of their learninge: but if there be had any respect of learning, they choose some lawyer that can rather brawle in a court, than preach in a Church. This is certaine, that these hundred yeares there hath scarcely bin euery hundreth man chosen that vnderstoode any thing of holy doctrine. I do not therefore spare the former ages, for y they were much better, but because we haue now only the present Church in questiō. If iudgement be had of their manners, we shall finde that there haue bin few or almost none, whom the olde Canons would not haue iudged vnworthy. He that was not a dronkard was a whoremonger: he that was also cleane from this wickednesse, was either a dyer, or a hunter, or dissolute in some parte of his life. For there be lighter faultes, which by the olde Canons do exclude a man frō being a bishop. But this is a most great absurdity, y very children scarcely ten yeares olde, are by the Popes graunt made bishops. They are growen to such shamelesnes, and senselesse dulnes, that they dreaded not that extreme yea & monstrous wicked doing, which is vtterly abhorring from the very sense of nature. Hereby appeareth howe religious their elections were, where the negligence was so carelesse.

2 Now in election, all that right of the people is takē away. Their desirings, their assentings, their subscribings, and all such thinges are vanished: the whole power is transferred to the Canons onely. They bestowe the bishoprike vpon whom they will, and afterwarde bringe him forth into the sight of y people, but to be worshipped, not to be examined. But Leo crieth on the other side, that no reason suffreth it, and he pronounceth that it is a violent imposition. Ciprian, when he testifieth that it proceedeth from the law of God that it should not be done but by the consent of the people, sheweth that the cōtrary manner is repugnāt to the word of God. The decrees of so many Synodes do most seuerely forbid it to be otherwise done: & if it be done, they commaunde it to be voide. If these thinges be true, there now remaineth in y Papacy no Canonical election, neither by Gods law nor by the Ecclesiastical law. But although there were no other euil, yet how shal they be able to excuse this that they haue so spoyled the Church of her right? But (say they) the corruption of times so required, that because in appointinge of bishops, hatreds and affections more preuailed with the people and the Magistrates, than right and sounde

iudgement, therefore the rule thereof should be giuen to a few. Admit verily that this were the extreme remedy of a mischief in despeired case. But sith the medecine it selfe hath appeared more hurtfull than the very disease, why is not this new euil also remedied? But (say they) it is exactly prescribed to the Canons, what they ought to folow in the election. But do we dout, but that the people in old time did vnderstand that they were bound to most holy lawes, when they saw that they had a rule set the by the word of God, when they came together to choose a bishop? For that only voyce of God, wherby he describeth the true Image of a bishop, ought worthily to be of more value than infinit thousandes of Canons. But neuerthelesse the people, corrupted with a most euill affection, had no regard of the lawe or of equity. So at this day though there be very good lawes writtē, yet they remaine buried in papers. Yet for the most part it is vsed in mens maners, yea and alowed as though it were done by good reason, that dronkards, whoremongers, dycers, are commonly promoted to this honor: (it is but litle that I say) that bishoprikes are the rewardes of adulteries and bawderies. For when they are giuen but to hunters and falconers, it is to be thought to be gaily well bestowed. Any way to excuse so haynous indignity, it is too much wicked. The people (say I) had in olde time a very good Canon to whom Gods word prescribed, that a bishoppe ought to be vnreprouable, a teacher, no fighter, &c. Why therefore is the charge of choosinge remoued from the people to these men? Because forsooth the word of God was not heard among the tumultes & seditious partakings of the people. And why shoulde it not at this day be remoued againe from these men, which not onely do breake all lawes, but casting away all shame, do wantonly, couetously, ambitiously, mingle and confounde Gods and mens matters together?

3 But they lye, when they say, y this was deuised for a remedy. We often read that in old time Churches were in tumultes at the choosinge of bishops: yet neuer any man durst thinke of taking away the authority from the people. For they had other wayes whereby they might either preuent these faultes, or amend the if they were alredy comitted. But I will tell what it is. When the people began to be negligent in makinge the elections, and did cast that care vpon the Priestes as litle belonging to them, they abused this occasion to vsurp a tyranny to themselues, which afterwarde they stablished by new Canons set forth. As for their ordering, it is nothing els but a mere mockage. For the shew of examination that they there set out is so vaine and hungry, that it wanteth euen all colour. Therefore wheras in some places

Princes

Princes haue by couenāt obtained of the bishops of Rome, that they themselues might name bishops, therein the Church suffered no new losse: because the election was taken away, onely from the Canons, which had by no right violently takē it, or verily stolen it. Truly this is a most fowle example, y out of the court are sent bishops to possesse Churches: & it should be the worke of godly Princes to abstaine from such corruption. For it is a wicked spoyling of y Church, when there is thrust vnto any people a bishop, whom they haue not desired, or at least with free voice allowed. But that vnorderly maner which hath longe ago bin in the Churches, gaue occasion to Princes to take the presentation of bishops into their owne handes. For they had rather that it should be their gift, than those mens, to whom it nothing more belonged, and which did no lesse wrongfully abuse it.

4 Loe here is a noble calling, by reason whereof the bishops boast themselues to be the successors of the Apostles. But they say that the authority to create Priestes belongeth to them only. But in this they most lewdly corrupt the old institution: because they do not by their ordering create Priestes to rule and fede the people, but Sacrificers to Sacrifice. Likewise when they consecrate Deacons, they do nothinge of their true & proper office, but they ordaine them only to certaine Ceremonies about the chalice and the paten. But in the Synode at Chalcedon, it is contrariwise decreed, that the orderings should not be absolutely giuen, that is to say, but that a place shoulde be therewithall assigned to them that are ordered, where they shall exercise their office. This decree is for two causes very profitable. First, that the Church shoulde not be burdened with superfluous charges: nor that that should be spent vpon idle men which should be giuen to the poore: Secondiy, that they which be ordered, should thinke that they be not promoted to an honor, but that there is an office committed vnto them, to the execution whereof they are bounde by solemne protestation. But the Romishe maisters (which thinke that there is nothinge in religion to be cared for, but their bellie) first do expounde title to be the reuenue that may suffice to sustaine them, whether it be by their owne liuelyhoode or by benefice. Therefore when they order a Deacon or a Priest, without taking care where they ought to minister, they giue them the order, if they be rich enough to finde themselues. But what man can admit this, that the title which the decree of the Councell requireth, shoulde be the yearly reuenue for their sustenance? But now because the later Canons condemned the bishoppes with penalty to finde them whom they had ordered without sufficient tide, by this meane to restraine their too much

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cap. 1.

ease admitting: there hath bin also a subtilty deuised to mocke out this penalty. For he that is ordered, naminge any title whatsoeuer it be, promisseth that he wil be content therewith: by this shift he is driuen from his action for his finding. I passe over a thousande fraudes that are herein vsed: that when some do falsely name vaine titles of benefices, wherupon they can not make fve shillings by yere: other some vnder secret couenar do borow benefices, which they promise that they wil by and by restore againe, but somtime they restore not at all. And such other misteries.

5 But although these grosser abuses were takē away, is not this alway an absurdity, to appoint a Priest to whom you assigne no place? Also they order no man but to Sacrifice. But the true ordinace of a Priest is, to be called to the government of the Church: & a Deacon to be called to the gathering of ŷ almes: they do in deede with many pompes shadow their doing, that in the very show it may haue a reuerce among the simple. But among men that haue their sound wit, what can these disguisings auale, if there be no sound stuffe or truth vnderneath them? For they vse Ceremonies about it, either fetched out of Iewishnes, or framed of theselues: which it were better to forbear. But of true examination, (for I nothinge passe vpon that shadow which they retaine) of the peoples cōsent, & of other things necessary, they make no mention. I call a shadow their foolish gesturings mete to be laughed at, framed to a fond & colde counterfainting of antiquity. The bishops haue their deputies which before the ordering may enquire of their learninge. But what? whether they can reade their masses: whether they can decline a common nowne, that they shal light vpon in reading, or coniugate a verbe, or do know the signification of one word, for it is not necessary that they be cunning enough to construe a verse. And yet they be not put backe frō Priest-hood, which faile euen in the childish rudiments, so that they bring any money or commendation of fauour. Of like sort it is, that when they are brought to ŷ altare to be ordered, it is asked thrise in a tong not vnderstanded, whether they be worthy of that honor. One answereth (which neuer saw them: but because nothinge should want of the forme, he hath that part in the play) They are worthy. What may a man blame in these reuerend fathers, but that with mockinge in so open Sacrileges, they do without shame laugh to scorne both God and men? But because they are in long possession therof, they thinke that nowe it is lawefull for them. For whosoever dare once open his mouth against these so euident and so haynous wicked doinges, he is forthwith haled by them to punishment of death, as though it were

one that had in olde time disclosed abrode the holy misteries of Ceres, would they do this if they thought that there were any God?

6 Nowe howe much do they behaue themselues better in bestowinge of benefices: which thing was ones ioined with y ordering, but nowe it is altogether separate? There is among them a diuerse maner. For the Bishops onely do not conferre benefices: and in those whereof they are said to haue the conferring, they haue not the full right: but other haue the presentation, and they reteine onely the title of collation for honors sake. There are also nominatiōs out of scholes, & resignations, either simple, or made for cause of eschange, commendatorie writings, preuentions, and whatsoeuer is of that sorte. But they also behaue themselues that none of thē can reproch an other with any thing. So I affirme, that scarcely euery hundreth benefice, is bestowed at this day in the papacy without Simonie, as the olde writers defined Simony. I do not say that they all buy them with ready money: but shewe me one of twentie that commeth to a benefice without some by commendation, some either kinned or alliance promoteth, and some the authoritie of their parentes: some by doing of pleasures do get themselues fauor. Finally benefices are geuen to this ende, not to prouide for the Churches, but for them that receiue them. Therefore they call them benefices, by which worde they do sufficiently declare, that they make no other accompt of them, but as the beneficiall giftes of princes, whereby they either get the fauour of their soldiars or rewarde their seruices. I omit how these rewardes are bestowed vpon barbers, cookes, moile keepers, and such dreggishe men. And nowe iudiciall courtes do ring of no matters more, than aboute benefices: so that a man may say that they are nothing els but a pray cast afore dogs to hunt after. Is this tolerable euen to be heard of, that they should be called Pastors, which haue brokē into the possessiō of a Church as into a ferme of their enemy? that haue gotten it by brawling in the lawe? that haue bought it for money? that haue deserued it by filthy seruices? which being childrē yet scantly able to speake, haue receiued it, as by inheritance from their vncles and kinsmen, and some bastardes from their fathers?

7 Would euer the licentiousnesse of the people, though they had bene neuer so corrupt and lawelesse, haue gone so farre? But this is also more monstrous, that one man, (I will not say what maner of man, but truely such a one as can not gouerne himselfe) is set to gouerne fīue or six Churches. A man may see in these dayes in Princes courtes, yong men that haue thre abbaties, two Bishoprikes, one Archbishoprike. But there be cōmonly Canons with fīue, six or seuen

benefices, whereof they haue no care at all, but in receiuing the reuenues. I will not obiectione, that it is eche where cried out against by the word of God, which hath long ago cessed to be of any estimation at all among them. I will not obiectione, that there haue bene many most seueren penall ordinances in many councells made against this wickednes: for those also they boldly despise as oft as they list. But I say that both are monstrous wicked doings, which are vtterly against God & nature and the gouernment of the Church, that one robber shall oppresse many Churches at ones, and that he should be called a Pastor, which can not be presente with his flocke though he would: and yet (such is their shamelesnesse) they couer such abominable filthinesse with the name of the Church, to deliuer themselves from all blame. But also (and God will) in these lewdeneses is contained that holy succession, by the merit whereof they boast that it is wrought that the Church may not perishe.

8 Now (which is the seconde marke in iudging a lawfull Pastor) let vs see howe faithfully they exercise their office. Of the Priests that be there created, some be Monkes, some be (as they call them) Secular. The first of these two companies was vnknownen to the olde Church: and it is so against the profession of Monkes, to haue such a place in the Church, that in olde time when they were chosen out of Monasteries into the clergie, they cessed to be Monkes. And Gregorie, whoes time had much dregges, yet suffered not this confusion to be made. For he willeth that they be put out of the Clergie that be made Abbots, for that no man can rightly be together both a Monke and a clerke: sith the one is a hinderance to the other. Nowe if I aske, howe he well fulfilleth his office, whom the Canons declare to be vnmete: what I pray you, will they aunswere? They will forsooth allege vnto me those vntimely borne decrees of Innocent and Boniface, whereby Monkes are so receiued into the honor and power of Priesthode, that they might still abide in their Monasteries. But what reason is this, that euery vnlearned asse, so sone as he hath ones possessed the sea of Rome, may with one word ouerthrowe all antiquity? But of this matter we shall speake hereafter. Let this suffice for this time, that in the purer Church it was holden for a great absurdity, if a Monke did execute the office of Priesthode. For Hierome sayeth that he doth not execute the office of a Priest, while he is conuersant among Monkes: and maketh himselfe one of the common people to be ruled by the Priests. But, although we graunt them this, what do they of their dutie? Of the mendicantes some do preach: all the other Monkes either sing or mumble vp masses in their dennes. As though

though either Christ willed, or the nature of the office suffereth, Priests to be made to this purpose. Whereas the Scripture plainly ^{Act. 10.} testifieth, that it is the priests office to rule his owne Church, is it not ^{23.} a wicked prophanation, to turne an other way, yea vterly to change the holy institution of God? For when they are ordered, they are expressly forbidde to do the things that God comaundeth all priests. For this song is song to them: let a Monke, cōtente with his cloister, not presume to minister the Sacramentes, nor to execute any thing belonging to publike office. Let them deny, if they can, that it is an open mockerie of God, that any priest should be made to this purpose, to abstaine from his true and naturall office: and that he which hath the name, may not haue the thing.

9 I come to the secular priests: which are partly beneficed men, (as they call them) that is to say, haue benefices whereupon to liue: and partly do let out their daily laboure to hire, in massing, or singing, and liue as it were of a stipende gathered thereupon. Benefices haue either care of soules, as bishoprikes, and cures of paroches: or they be the stipendes of deintie men, that get their liuing with singing, as prebendes, Canonships, personages, and dignities, chaplainships, and such other. Howbeit, sins things are now turned vpside downe, Abbacies and priories are geuen to very boyes, by priuilege, that is to say by common and vsuall custome. As concerning the hirelings, that get their liuing from day to day, what should they do otherwise than they do? that is in teruile and shameful maner to giue out them selues for gaine, specially sith there is so great a multitude as now the world swarmeth with? Therefore when they dare not beg openly, or forasmuch as they thinke they shoulde but little profite that way, they go about like hungry dogs, and with their importunacie, as with barking, they enforce out of men against their willes somewhat to thrust into their bealy. Here if I would go about to expresse in wordes, howe great a dishonour it is to the Church, that the honor and office of priesthod is come to this point, I should haue no ende. Therefore it is not mete that the readers should looke for at my hande such a long declaration as may be proportionall to so heinous indignitie. Brefely I say, if it be the office of priesthod, (as the word of God prescribeth, and the auncient canons require) to feede the Church, and to gouerne the spirituall kingdome of Christ: ^{1. Cor. 4.} all such sacrificers as haue none other worke or wages, but in making a market of masses, are not onely idle in their office, but also ^{21.} haue no office at all to exercise. For there is no place assigned them to teach: they haue no flocke to gouerne: Finally there is nothing

lesse to them, but the altar, whereupon to sacrifice Christ: which is not to offer to God, but to deuils, as we shall see in another place.

10 I do not here touch the outwarde faultes, but onely the inward euill, which sticketh fast by the roote in their institution. I will adde a saying, which will sound ill in their eares: but because it is true, I must speake it: that in the same degree are to be accompted Canons, Deanes, Chaplains, Prouosts, and all they that are fedde with idle benefices. For what seruice can they do to the Church? For they haue put from themselues the preaching of the word, the care of discipline, and ministration of Sacraments, as to much troublesome burdens. What then haue they remaining, whereby they may boast themselues to be true priests? Singing forsooth, and a pompe of Ceremonies. But what is that to y purpose? If they alledge Custome, if vse, if prescription of long time: I againe on the other side do lay vnto them the definition of Christ, whereby he hath expressed vnto vs both true priests, and what they ought to haue that will be accompted such. But if they can not beare so hard a lawe, to submit themselues to Christes rule: at the least let them suffer this matter to be determined by the authoritie of the Primitiue Church. But their case shall be neuer the better, if their state be iudged by the olde canons. They that haue degenerate into Canons, should haue bene priests, as they were in olde time, that should rule the Church in common with the Bishop, and be as it were his companions in the office of Pastor. Those Chapter dignities as they call them, do nothing at all belong to the gouerning of the Church: much lesse, chapleinships, and the other dregges of like names, What accompt then shall we make of them all? Truly both the word of Christ, and the vsage of the Church excludeth them from the honor of priesthode. Yet they stiffely holde that they be priests: but we must plucke of their visour: so shall we finde, that their whole profession is most strange and far remoued from that office of priests, both which the Apostles describe vnto vs, and which was required in the primitiue Church. Therefore all such Orders, with what titles soeuer they be notified, sith they be newe, being verily neither vpholden by the institution of God, nor by the auncient vsage of the Church, ought to haue no place in the description of the spiritual gouernment, which the Church hath receiued consecrate with the Lordes owne mouth. Or (if they will rather haue me to speake more simply and grossely) for as much as chaplains, canons, Deanes, Prouosts, & other idle bealies of the same sorte, do not so much as with their litle finger touch any small parcell of that office, which is necessarily required in priests, it is not to be

suffred,

suffred, that in wrongfully taking a fals honor vpon themselves, they should breake the holy institution of Christ.

11 There remaine Bishops, and persons of Paroches: who, I would to God they did strue to reteine their office. For we would willingly graunt vnto them, that they haue a godly and excellent office, if they did execute it. But when they will be accōpted Pastors, while they forsake the Churches committed to them, and cast the care of them vpon other, they do as if it were the Pastors office to do nothing. If an vsurer y neuer stirred his foote out of the city, would professe himself a plowman, or a keper of a vineyarde: if a souldiour that had bene continually in the bataile and in the campe, and hadde neuer seene iudiciall court or bookes, would boast himselfe for a lawyer, who could abide such stinking folies? But these mē do somewhat more absurdly, that will seeme and be called lawefull Pastors of the Church, and yet will not be so. For howe many a one is there, that doth so much, as in shewe, exercise the gouernement of his Church? Many do all their life long deuoure the reuenues of Churches, to which they neuer come so much as to loke vpon them. Some other do ones by yeare either come themselves, or sende their stewarde, that nothing should be lost in the letting to ferme. When this corruption first crept in, they that would enioy this kinde of vacation, exempted themselves by priuiledges: nowe it is a rare example, to haue one resident in his owne Church. For they esteeme them none otherwise than farmes, ouer which they set their vicars as bailies or farmers. But this very naturall reason reiecteth, that he should be pastor of a flocke, that neuer sawe one shepe thereof.

12 It appereth that euen in the time of Gregorie, there were Homil. certaine seedes of this mischief, that the rulers of Churches, began 17. to be negligēt in teaching: for he doth in one place grieuously complaine of it. The world (sayeth he) is full of priests: but yet in the haruest there are seldome workemen founde: because in deede we take vpon vs the office of priest, but we fulfill not the worke of the office. Againe, because they haue not the bowelles of charitie, they will seeme Lordes: they acknowledge not themselves to be fathers. They change the place of humilitie into the aduancing of lordlinessse. Againe, but what do we, O pastours, which receiue y rewarde, and are no workemen? We are fallen to outwarde businesse, and we take in hande one thing, and performe an other. We leaue the ministerie of preaching: and to our punishment, as I see, we are called Bishops, that keepe the name of honor and not of vertue. Sith he vseth so great sharpnesse of wordes against them, which were but lesse

continuing and lesse diligent in their office: What I pray you, would he say, if he sawe of the Bishops almost none, or truly very fewe, and of the rest scarcely euery hundreth man ones in all his life to go vp into a pulpet? For men be come to such madnesse, that it is commonly compted a thing to base for the dignitie of a Bishop, to make a sermon to the people. In the time of Bernarde, things were somewhat more decayed: but we see also with howe sharpe chidings he inueyeth against the whole order: which yet it is likely to haue bene then much purer than it is now.

13 But if a man do well wey & examine this outward forme of ecclesiasticall gouernement that is at this day vnder the papacy, he shall finde that there is no theuish corner wherein robbers do more licenciously range without lawe and measure. Truly all things are there so vnlike the institution of Christ, yea so contrary to it, they are so degenerate from the auncient ordinances and maners of the Church, they are so repugnant to nature and reason, that there can be no greater iniurie done to Christ, than when they pretend his name to the defence of so disordred gouernement. We (say they) are the pillers of the Church, the chief Bishops of religiō, y vicars of Christ, the heades of the faithfull: because the power of the Apostles is by succession come vnto vs. They are alway bragging of these follies, as though they talked vnto stockes. But so oft as they shall boast of this, I will aske of them againe, what they haue common with the Apostles. For we speake not of any inheritably descending honor, that may be geuen to men euen while they ly sleeping: but of the office of preaching, which they so much flee from. Likewise when we affirme that their kingdom is the tyranny of Antichrist, by and by they aunswer, that it is that reuerende Hierarchie, so ofte praised of notable and holy men. As though the holy fathers, when they commended the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie or spirituall gouernement, as it was deliuered them from hande to hande from the Apostles, did dreame of this mishapen and waste disordred heape, where the Bishops are for the most part, either rude asses, which knowe not the very first and common principles of faith, or sometime children yet newe come from the nurse: and if any be learneded (which yet is a rare example) they thinke a Bishoprike to be nothing els but a title of gloriousnesse and magnificence: where the persones of Churches thinke no more of feedinge the flocke, than a shoemaker doth of plowing: where all things are confounded with more than Babylonickall disperfing, that there remaineth no more any one steppe whole of that ordinance of the Fathers.

14 What if we descende to their maners? where shalbe that light of the world, which Christ requireth? where is the salte of the earth? where is that holinesse, which may be as a perpetuall rule to iudge by? There is no degree of men at this day more il spoken of for riot, wantonnesse, deintinesse, finally all kinde of lustes. There are of no degree men either fitter, or conninger maisters of all deceit, fraude, treason, and breach of faith: there is no where so great conning or beldnesse to do hurt. I passe ouer their disdainfulnesse, pride, extortion, crueltie. I passe ouer the dissolute licenciousnesse in all the parts of their life. In suffering whereof the world is so wried, that it is not to be feared, that I should seeme to enforce any thing to much. This one thing I say, which they themselues shall not be able to denie: that of the Bishops there is almost none, of the Parsons of paroches not the hundreth man, but if iudgemēt should be geuen of his maners, according to the olde Canons, he should be either to be excommunicate, or at lest to be put from his office. I seeme to say somewhat incredible: so farre is that auncient Discipline growen out of vse, that commaunded an exacter triall to be had of the maners of the clergie: but the truth is so. Now let them go, that fight vnder the standerd and guiding of the see of Rome, & let them boist among themselues of the order of priesthode. As for the order that they haue, truely it is euident, the it is neither of Christ, nor of his Apostles, nor of the fathers, nor of the olde Church.

15 Nowe let the Deacons come forth, and that most holy distributing that they haue of the goods of the Church, Howbeit they do not nowe creat their Deacons to that purpose, for they enioine them nothing els but to minister at the altar, to read and sing the Gospell, and do I wote not what trifles. Nothing of the almes, nothing of the care of the poore, nothing of all that functiō which they in olde time executed. I speake of the very institution. For if we haue respect what they do, in deede it is not to them an office, but onely a steppe toward priesthoode. In one thing, they that kepe the Deacons place at the masse, do represente a voide image of antiquity. For they receiue the offings before the consecration. This was the auncient maner, that before the communion of the Supper, the faithfull did kisse one another, and offer their almes at the altar: so first by a signe, & afterward by very liberalitie they shewed their charitie. The Deacon, that was the poore mens steward, receiued that which was giuen, to distribute it. Nowe of those almes, there cometh no more to the poore, than if they vere throwen into the sea. Therefore they mocke the Church with this lying Deaconrie. Truely therein they haue nothing like,

neither to the institution of the Apostles, nor to the auncient vsage. But the very distribution of the goods they haue coueied an other way: and haue so framed it, that nothing can be deuised more vnorderly. For as theues, when they haue cutte mens throtes, do diuide the pray among them: so these, after the quenching of the light of Gods word, as though the Church were slaine, do thinke that whatsoever was dedicate to holy vses is laid open for pray and spoile. Therefore making a diuision, euery one hath snatched to himselfe as much as he coule.

16 Here all these olde orders, that we haue declared, are not onely troubled, but vterly wiped out and rased. The Bishops and priests of cities, which being made riche by this pray, were tourned into canons, haue made hauocke of the chiefe part among them. But it appereth that the partition was vnorderly, because to this day they strue about the boundes. Whatsoeuer it be, by this diuision it is provided, that not one halfe peny of the goodes of the Church should come to the poore, whoes had bene the halfe part at least For the canons do giue them the fowerth part by name: and the other fowerth parte they do therefore appoint to the Bishops, that they shoulde bestowe it vpon hospitalitie, and other duties of charitie. I speake not what the clerkes ought to do with their portion, and to what vse they ought to bestowe it. For we haue sufficiently declared, that the rest which is appointed: for temples, buildings and other expenses, ought to be open for the poore in necessitie. I pray you, if they had one sparke of the feare of God in their hart, would they abide this burden of conscience, that all that they eate, and wherewith they be clothed, cometh of theste, yea of sacrilege? But sith they are litle moued with the iudgement of God, they should at least thinke, that those be men endued with wit and reason, to whome they would persuaide, that they haue so goodly and well framed orders in their Church, as they are wont to boast. Let them aunswer me shortly, whether deaconrie be a licēce to steale and robbe. If they denie this, they shall also be compelled to confesse, that they haue no deaconrie left: for as much as among them, all the disposition of the goodes of the Church is openly tourned into a spoiling full of sacrilege.

17 But here they vse a verry faire colour. For they say, that the dignitie of the Church is by that magnificence not vncomly vpholden. And they haue of their secte some so shamelesse, that they dare openly boast, that so onely are fulfilled those prophecies, whereby the olde Prophets describe the gloriousnesse of the kingdome of Christ, when that kingly gorgeousnesse is seen in the priestly order. Not in

vayne (say they) God hath promised these things to his Church: Kings shall come, they shall worship in thy sight, they shall bring thee giftes. Arise, arise, clothe thee with thy strength, O Syon: clothe thee with the garmentes of thy glorie, O Hierusalem: All shall come from Saba, bringing golde and incense, and speaking praise to the Lorde. All the cattell of Cedar shalbe gathered together to thee. If I should tarie long vpon confuting this lewdnesse, I feare least I should seeme fonde. Therefore I will not lose wordes in vaine. But I aske: if any Iewe would abuse these testimonies, what solution would they geue? Verily they would reprehende his dullnesse, for that he transferred those things to the flesh and the world, that are spirituallly spoken of the spirituall kingdome of Christ. For we knowe, that the Prophetes vnder the image of earthly things, did paint out vnto vs the heavenly glorie of God, that ought to shine in the Church. For the Church had neuer lesse abundance of these blessings, which their wordes expresse, than in the time of the Apostles: and yet all confesse, that the force of the kingdome of Christ then chiefly florished abroad. What then mean these sayings? Whatsoeuer is any where precious, hy, excellent, it ought to be made subiect to the Lord. Where as it is namely spoken of kings, that they shal submit their scepters to Christ, that they shall throwe downe their crownes before his feete, that they shall dedicate their goodes to the Church: when (will they say) was it better and more fully performed, than when Theodosius, casting away his purple roabe, leauing the ornamentes of the empire, as some one of the common people, submitted himselfe before God and the Church, to solemne penance? then when he and other like godly princes bestowed their endeouors and their cares to preserue pure doctrine in the Church, and to cherish and defende sounde teachers? But howe priests at that time exceded not in superfluous riches, that onely sentence of the Sinode at Aquileia, where Ambrose was chief, sufficiently declareth: Glorious is pouertie in the priests of the Lord. Truly the Bishops had at that time some riches, wherewith they might haue set out the Churches honor, if they had thought those to be the true ornamentes of the Church. But when they knew that there was nothing more against the office of Pastors, than to glister and shew themselues proudly with deintinesse of fare, with gorgeoussnesse of garments, with great train of seruantes, with stately palaces, they followed & kept the humblenesse & modestie, yea the very pouertie which Christ holily appointed among his ministers.

18 But, that we may not be to long in this point, let vs againe gather into a short summe, howe farre that dispensation or dissipation

Cap. 5.

Of the outwarde meanes

of the goods of the Church, that is now vsed, differeth from the true deaconrie, which both the word of God commendeth vnto vs, and the auncient Church obserued. As for that which is bestowed vpon the garnishing of temples, I say it is ill bestowed, if that measure be not vsed, which both the very nature of holy things appointeth, and the Apostles and other holy fathers haue prescribed both by doctrine and examples. But what like thing is there seen at this day in the temples? whatsoeuer is framed, I will not say after that auncient sparing, but to any honest meane it is reiected. Nothing at all pleaseth, but that which sauoureth of riot and the corruption of times. In the meane time they are so farre frō hauing due care of the liuely temples, that they woulde rather suffer many thousandes of the poore to perish for hunger, than they would breake the least chalice or cruet, to releue their neede. And that I may not pronounce of my selfe any thing more greuously against them, this onely I would haue the godly readers to thinke vpon: if it should happen that same Exuperius bishop of Tholosa, whom we euen now rehearsed, or Acatius, or Ambrose, or any such to be raised from death, what they would say. Truly they would not allowe that in so great necessitie of the poore, richesse in a maner superfluous should be toured another way. Admit I speake nothing howe these vses vpon which they be bestowed, (although there were no poore) are many waies hurtful, but in no behalfe profitable. But I leaue to speake of men. These goodes are dedicate to Christ: therefore they are to be disposed after his will. But they shall in vaine say, that this part is bestowed vpon Christ, which they haue wasted otherwise than he commaunded. Howbeit, to confesse the truth, there is not much of the ordinarie reuenue of the Church abated for these expenses. For there are no bishoprikes so welthy, no abbacies so fatte, finally neither so many, nor so large benefices, that may serue to fill the gluttonie of priests. But while they seke to spare themselves, they perswade the people by superstition, to turne that which should be bestowed vpon the poore, to builde temples, to sette vp images, to buy iewels, to gette costly garmentes. So with this gulse are the daily almes consumed.

19 Of the reuenue, that they receiue of their landes and possession, what els shall I say, but that which I haue already said, & which is before all mens eyes? We see with what faithfulness they which are called bishops and Abbots do dispose the greatest parte. What madnesse is it, to seeke here for an ecclesiasticall order? Was it mere that they, whose life ought to haue bene a singular example of frugallitie, modestie, continence, and humilitie, should contende with the royaltie

royaltie of princes in number of goodes, in gorgiounesse of houles, in deintinesse of appatell and fare? And howe much was this contrary to their office, that they, whom the eternall and inuiolable cō- Tit. 1. 7
maundement of God forbiddeth to be desirous of filthy againe, and biddeth to be cōtente with simple liuing, should not only lay handes vpon townes and castels, but also violently entre vpon the greatest lordships, finally possesse forceably very empires? If they despise the word of God: what will they aunswere to those auncient decrees of the Synodes: whereby it is decreed that the bishop should haue a small lodging not farre from the Church, meane fare & householde- Concil
stufte? what will they say to that praise of the Synode at Aquil- liū Car
leia: where pouertie is reported glorious in the priests of the Lordes- thag. 4.
For perhappes they will viterly refuse as to much rigorous, that cap. 13
which Hierome aduiserh Nepotianus, that poore men and strangers, and 15.
among them Christ as a guest, may knowe his table. But that which he by and by addeth, they will be ashamed to denie, that it is the glory of a bishop to provide for the goodes of the poore: that it is the shame of all priests to study for their owne richesse. But they can not receiue this, but they must all cōdemne themselues of shame. But it is not needefull in this place to speake more hardly against them, sith my meaning was nothing els, but to shewe, that among them the lawefull order of deaconry is long ago taken away: that they may no more glorie of this tute to the commendation of their Church: which I thinke I haue already sufficiently shewed.

The vj. Chapter.

Of the Supremacie of the See of Rome.

Hitherto we haue reherfed those orders of y Church, which were in the gouernement of the olde Church: but afterwarde corrupted in times, and from thencefoorth the more and more abused, do nowe in the Popishe Church reteine onely their name, and in deede are nothing els but visours: that by comparision the godly reader might iudge, what maner of Church the Romanistes haue, for whoes sake they make vs schismatikes, because we haue departed from it. But as for the hed and top of the whole order, that is to say, the supremacy of the see of Rome, whereby they trauaile to proue that they only haue the catholike Church, we haue not yet touched it: because it toke beginning neither from the institution of Christ, nor from the vse of the olde Church, as those former partes did: which we haue shewed to haue so proceeded from antiquitie, that by wickednesse of times they are viterly

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degenerate, and haue put on altogether a new forme. And yet they go about to perswade the world, that this is the chief and in a maner onely bonde of the vnitie of the Church, if we cleaue to the see of Rome, and continue in the obedience thereof. They rest (I say) principally vpon this stay, when they will take away the Church from vs, and claime it to themselues, for that they kepe the head, vpon which the vnitie of the Church hangeth, and without which the Church must needs fall asunder and be broken in pieces. For thus they thinke, that the Church is as it were a maimed and headlesse body, vnlesse it be subiect to the see of Rome, as to her head. Therefore when they talke of their Hierarchie, they alway take their beginning at this principle: that the bishop of Rome (as the vicar of Christ, which is the head of the Church) is in his steede President of the vniuersall Church: and that otherwise the Church is not well ordred, vnlesse that See do holde the Supremacie aboue all other. Therefore this also is to be examined, of what sort it is: that we may omitt nothing that pertaineth to a iust gouernement of the Church.

2 Let this therefore be the principal point of the question: Whether it be necessary for the true forme of Hierarchie (as they call it) or ecclesiasticall order, that one See should be aboue the other both in dignitie & in power, that it may be the heade of y whole body. But we make the Church subiect to too vniust lawes, if we lay this necessity vpon it, without the word God. Therefore if the aduersaries wil proue that which they require, they must first shew y this disposition was ordeined by Christ. For this purpose they alledge out of the law the hy priesthode, also the hy iudgement, which God did institute at Hierusalem. But it is easy to geue a solution, and that many wayes, if one way do not satisfie them. First no reason compelleth to extēde that to the whole world, which was profitable in one nation: yea rather, the order of one nation and of the whole world shall be farre different. Because the Iewes were on eche side compassed with idolaters: that they should not be diuersely drawn with varietie of religions, God appointed the place of worshipping him in the middest part of the lande: there he ordeined ouer them one head bishop, whom they should all haue regard vnto, that they might be y better kepte together in vnitie. Nowe, when religion is spred abroade into the whole world, who doth not see that it is altogether an absurdity, that the gouernment of the East and West be geuen to one man? For it is in effect as much as if a man should affirme, that the whole world ought to be gouerned by one ruler, because one peece of lande hath

no mo rulers but one. But there is yet an other reason, why that ought not to be made an exāple to be followed. No man is ignorant that that hy bishop was a figure of Christ. Nowe, sins the priesthode is remoued, that right must also be remoued. But to whom is it re-
 moued? Truly, not to the Pope (as he himselfe is so bold shame-
 lessly to boast) when he draweth this title to himselfe: but to Christ,
 which as he alone susteineth this office, without any vicar or suc-
 cessor, so he resigneth the honor to none other. For the priesthode
 consisteth not in doctrine onely, but in the appeasing of God, which
 Christ hath fully wrought by his death, and in that intercessiō which
 he nowe vseth with his Father.

3 There is therefore no cause why they should bind vs by this
 example, as by a perpetuall rule, which we haue sene to be enduring
 but for a time. Out of the newe testament they haue nothing to
 bring forth for prooffe of their opinion, but that it was sayed to one:
 Thou art Peter, & vpon this stone I will builde my Church. Againe,
 Peter, Louest thou me? Feede my shepe. But admitting that these be
 strong proues, they must first shewe, that he, which is commaunded
 to feede the flocke of Christ, hath power committed to him ouer all
 Churches: and that to binde and to lose is nothing els but to be
 ruler of all the world. But as Peter had receiued the cōmaundement
 of the Lorde, so he exhorteth all other priests to feede the Church.
 Hereby we may gather, that by this saying of Christ, there was either
 nothing geuen to Peter more then to the rest, or that Peter did
 egally communicate with other the power that he had receiued. But,
 that we striue not vainly, we haue in an other place a cleare exposi-
 tion out of the mouth of Christ, what is to binde and to lose: that is
 to say, to reteine and to forgeue sinnes. But the maner of binding
 and loosing, both the whole Scripture eche where sheweth, and Paul
 very well declareth, when he saith that the ministers of the Gospell,
 haue cōmaundement to reconcile men to God, and also haue power
 to punishe them that refuse this benefite.

4 Howe shamefully they wrest those places, that make mention
 of binding and loosing, I both haue already shortly touched, and a
 litle hereafter I shall haue occasion to declare more at large. Nowe
 it is good to se onely, what they gather of that famous aunswere of
 Christ to Peter. He promised him ȳ keyes of the kingdome of heauē:
 he sayed that whatsoeuer he bounde in earth, should be bounde in
 heauen. If we agree vpon the word keyes, and the maner of binding,
 all contention shall by and by cesse. For the Pope himselfe will gladly
 geue ouer the charge enioined to the Apostles, which being full of

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trauaile and grief, should shake from him his pleasures, without gaine. Forasmuch as the heauens are opened vnto vs by the doctrine of the Gospell, it is with a very fit metaphore expressed by the name of keyes. Nowe men are bounde and loosed in no other wise, but when faith reconcileth some to God, and their owne belefe bindeth other some. If the Pope did take this onely vpon him: I thinke there will be no man that would either enuie it or strue about it. But because this succession being trauailsome and nothing gainefull pleaseth not the Pope, hereupon groweth the beginning of the contention, what Christ promised to Peter. Therefore I gather by the very matter it selfe, that there is nothing meant by the dignitie of the office of an Apostle, which can not be seuered from the charge. For if that definition which I haue rehearsed, be receiued (which can not but shamelesly be reiected) here is nothing geuen to Peter, that was not also common to his other fellowes; because otherwise there should not only wrong be done to the persons, but the very maiestie of doctrine should halt. They crie out on the other side: what auaileth it, I pray you, to run vpon this rocke? For they shall not proue, but as the preaching of one same Gospell was enioined to all the Apostles, so they were also all alike furnished with power to binde & loose. Christ (say they) appointed Peter Prince of the whole Church, when he promised that he would geue him the keyes. But that which he then promised to one, in an other place he gaue it also to all the rest, and deliuered it as it were into their hâdes. If the same power were graunted to all, which was promised to one, wherein shall he be aboue his fellowes? Herein (say they) he excelleth, because he receiued it both in cōmon together with them, & seuerally by himselfe, which was not geuen to the other, but in common. What if I answer with Cyprian and Augustine, that Christ did it not for this purpose, to prefer one man before other, but so to set out y^e vnitie of the Church. For thus sayeth Cyprian, that God in the person of one gaue the keyes to all, to signifie the vnitie of all: and that the rest were the same thing that Peter was, endued with like partaking both of honor and power: but that the beginning is taken at vnitie, that the Church of Christ may be shewed to be one. Augustine sayeth: If there were not in Peter a mistery of the Church; the Lorde would not say to him, I will geue thee the keyes. For if this was sayed to Peter, the Church hath them not: but if the Church haue them, then Peter, when he receiued the keyes, betokened the whole Church. And in an other place. When they were all asked, onely Peter answered, thou art Christ: and it is said to him, I will geue thee the keyes, as though he alone had receiued

Mat. 18
20.
Ioh. 20.
23.

De sim.
cleri.

Homil.
in Io. 1.
Homil.
11.

ceiued

ceiued the power of binding and loosing: whereas both he being one said the one for all, and he receiued the other with all, as bearing the person of vnitie. Therefore one for all, because there is vnitie in all.

§ But this, Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will bilde my Church, is no where red spoken to any other. As though Christ spake there any other thing of Peter, than that which Paul and Peter himselfe speaketh of all Christians. For Paule maketh Christ the chiefe and corner stone, vpon which they are biled together that growe into a holy temple to the Lorde. And Peter biddeth vs to be liuely stones which being founded vpon that chosen and precious stone, do by this ioynt and coupling together with our God, cleaue also together among our selues. He (say they) about the rest: because he hath the name peculiarly. In deede I do willingly graunt this honor to Peter, that in the bilding of the Church he be placed among the first, or (if they will haue this also) the first of all the faithfull: but I will not suffer them to gather thereupon, that he should haue a Supremacie ouer y rest. For what maner of gathering is this? He excelleth other in feruentnesse of zeale, in learning, and courage: therefore he hath power over the. As though we might not with better colour gather, that Andrewe is in degree before Peter, because he went before him in time, and brought him to Christ. But I passe over this. Let Peter truly haue y first place: yet there is great difference betwene y honor of degree and power. We see that the Apostles commonly graunted this to Peter, that he should speake in assemblies, & after a certaine maner go before them with propounding, exhorting, and admonishing: but of his power we reade nothing at all.

6 Howbeit we be not yet come to dispute of that point: onely at this present I would proue, that they do to fondly reason, when by the onely name of Peter they would bilde an Empire ouer the whole Church. For those olde follies wherwith they went about to deceiue at the beginning, are not worthy to be rehearsed, much lesse to be cōfuted, that the Church was biled vpon Peter, because it was said vpon this rock. &c. But some of the Fathers haue so expounded it. But when the whole Scripture crieth out to the contrary, to what purpose is their authoritie alleged against God? Yea, why do we strue about the meaning of these wordes, as though it were darke or doutfull, whē nothing can be more plainly nor more certainly spokē. Peter had cōfessed in his owne and his brethrens name, that Christ is the sonne of God. Vpon this rocke Christ bildeth his Church: because it is (as Paule sayeth) the onely foundation, beside which there can be layed none other. Neither do I here therefore refuse the

Mat. 16.
18.Eph. 2.
20
1. Pet. 2.
5.Iohn. 1.
40 and
42.Mat. 16.
16.1. Cor.
3. 11.

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authority of the Fathers, because I wante their testimonies, if I listed to allege them: but (as I haue sayed) I will not with contending about so cleare a matter trouble the readers in vaine, specially sith this point hath bene long agoe diligently enough handeled and declared by men of our side.

7 And yet in deede no man can better affoile this question, than the Scripture it selfe, if we compare all the places, where it teacheth, what office and power Peter had among the Apostles, howe he behaued himselfe, and howe he was accepted of them. Runne ouer all that remaineth written, you shall finde nothing els, but that he was one of the xij. egall with the rest, and their fellowe, but not their Lorde. He doth in deede propounde to the councell, if any thing be to be done, and geuerli warning what is mete to be done: but therewithall he heareth other, and doth not onely graunte them place to speake their minde, but leaueth the iudgement to them: when they had determined, he followed and obeyed. When he writeth to the Pastors, he doth not commaunde them by authoritie, as Superior: but he maketh them his companions, and gently exhorteth them, as egalles are wont to do. When he was accused for that he had gone in to the Gentiles, although it were without cause, yet he aunswered & purged himselfe. When he was commaunded by his fellowes, to go with Iohn into Samaria, he refused not. Whereas the Apostles did send him, they did thereby declare that they helde him not for their superior. Wheras he obeyed and toke vpon him the embassage committed to him, he did thereby confesse, that he had a fellowship with them, and not an authority ouer them. If none of these things were, yet the only Epistle to the Galathiās may easily take all douting from vs: where almost in two whole Chapters together Paule trauaileth to proue nothing els, but that he himselfe was egall to Peter in honor of Apostleship. Then he rehearfeth that he came to Peter, not to professe subiection, but onely to make their consent of doctrine approved by testimonie to all men: and that Peter himselfe required no such thing, but gaue him his right hande of fellowship, to worke in common together in the Lordes vineyarde: & that there was no lesser grace geuen to him among the Gentiles, than to Peter among the Iewes: Finally that when Peter dealt not very faithfully, he was corrected by him, and obeyed his reprobuing. All these things do make plaine, either that there was an equalitie betweene Paule and Peter, or at least that Peter had no more power ouer the rest, than they had ouer him. And (as I haue already sayed) Paule of purpose laboureth about this, that none shoulde preferre before him in the

Apostle-

Apostleship either Peter, or Iohn, which were felowes not Lordes.

8 But, to graunt them that which they require concerninge Peter, that is, that he was the Prince of the Apostles, and excelled the rest in dignity: yet there is no cause why they should of a singular example make an vniuersall rule, and drawe to perpetuity that which hath bin once done: sith there is a farre differinge reason. One was chiefe among the Apostles: forsooth, because they were few in number. If one were the chiefe of twelue men, shall it therefore folow that one ought to be made ruler of a hundred thousande menne? It is no maruell that twelue had one amonge them that should rule them all: For nature beareth this, and the witte of men requireth this, that in euery assembly, although they be all egal in power, yet there be one as a gouernour, whome the rest may haue regarde vnto. There is no court without a Confull: no sessiō of iudges without a pretor, or propounder, no company without a ruler, no felowship without a maister. So shoulde it be no absurdity, if we confessed that the Apostles gaue to Peter such a supremacy. But y^e which is of force among few, is not by and by to be drawn to the whole world, to the ruling whereof no one man is sufficiēt. But (say they) this hath place no lesse in the whole vniuersality of nature, than in all the partes, that there be one soueraigne head of all. And hereof (and God will) they ferche a prooffe from cranes and bees, which alway choose to themselves one guide, not many. I allow in dede the exāples which they bring forth: but do bees resorte together out of all the worlde to choose them one kinge? euery seuerall king is content with his owne hye. So among cranes, euery heard hath their owne king. What else shall they proue hereby, but that euery Church ought to haue their own seueral bishop appointed them? Then they call vs to ciuile examples. They alleage y^e saying of Homere, It is not good to haue many gouernours: & such things as in like sense are red in prophane writers to the commendation of Monarchie. The answer is easie. For Monarchie is not praised of Vlysses in Homere, or of any other, in this meaninge, as though one ought to be Emperour of y^e whole world: but they meane to shew that one kingdom can not hold two kinges: & that power (as he calleth it) can abide no companion.

9 But let it be, as they will, that it is good and profitable that the whole worlde be holden vnder Monarchie, which yet is a very great absurdity: but let it be so: yet I will not therefore graunt that the same should take place in the gouernment of the Church. For the Church hath Christ her only head, vnder whose dominion we al cleaue together, according to that order and that forme of policy which he hath

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Eph. 4. prescribed: Therefore they do a great wronge to Christ, when by that
13. pretense they wil haue one man to be ruler of the vniuersal Church, because it cā not be without a head. For Christ is the head, of whom the whole body coupled and knit together in euery ioint, wherewith one ministreth to an other, according to the working of euery member in the measure therof, maketh encrease of the body. See you nor, how he setteth all mē without exception in the body, & leaueth the honor & name of head to Christ alone? See you nor how he giueth to euery member a certaine measure, & a determined & limited function: wherby both the perfection of the grace & the soueraigne power of gouernāce may remaine with Christ only? Neither am I ignorant what they are wont to caull, whē this is objected against them: they say that Christ is properly called the only hed, because he alone reigneth by his own authority & in his owne name: but that this nothing withstandeth, but that there may be vnder him an other ministerial heade (as they terme it) that may be his vicegerent in earth. But by this cauillation they preuaile nothing, vnlesse they first shew that this ministry was ordained by Christ. For the Apostle teacheth, that the whole ministratiō is dispersed through the members, & that the power floweth from the one heauenly head. Or if they wil haue it any plainer spoken, sith the Scripture testifieth that Christ is the hed, & claimeth that honor to him alone, it ought not to be transferred to any other, but whom Christ himself hath made his vicar. But y is not only no where red, but also may be largely confuted by many places.

Eph. 1. 10 Paul sometimes depainteth vnto vs a liuely image of y Church
23 & 4. of one head he maketh there no mention. But rather by his description we may gather, that it is disagreeing frō the institution of Christ.
15 & 5. Christ at his ascending tooke frō vs the visible presence of himselfe:
13. yet he went vp to fulfill all thinges. Now therefore the Church hath
Colos 1 him yet present, and alway shall haue. When Paule goeth about to
18 & 2. shew the meane wherby he presenteth himselfe, he calleth vs backe
10. to the ministeries which he vseth. The Lord (sayth he) is in vs all,
Eph. 4. according to y measure of grace y he hath giuen to euery mēber. Therefore he hath appointed some Apostles, some Pastors, some Euangelistes, other some Teachers &c. Why doth he not say, that he hath set one ouer all, to be his vicegerent? For the place required that principally, and it could by no meanes haue bin omitted, if it had bin true. Christ (sayth he) is with vs. How? by the ministry of men, whom he hath appointed to gouerne the Church. Why not rather by the ministerial head, to whom he hath cōmitted his stede? He nameth vnty: but in God, & in the faith of Chrst. He assigneth to men nothing but
7 & 11 common

common ministry, & to euery one a particular measure. In that commendatiō of vnity, after that he had sayd that there is one body, one Spirite, one hope of calling, one God, one Faith, one Baptisme, why hath he not also immediatly added one chiefe Bishop, that may hold the Church together in vnity? For nothing, could haue bin more fitly spoken, if it had bin true. Let that place be diligently weyed. It is no dout but that he meant there altogether to represent the holy & spirituall gouernment of the Church, which they that came after called Hierarchie. As for Monarchy among ministers, he not only nameth none, but also sheweth that there is none. It is also no dout but y^e he meant to expresse the maner of cōioyning, wherby the faithfull cleaue together with Christ their head. There he not only speaketh of no ministeriall head, but appointeth to euery of the mēbers a particular working according to y^e measure of grace distributed to euery one. Neither is there any reason why they shoulde suttelly dispute of the comparison of the heavenly and earthly Hierarchie. For it is not safe to know beyond measure of it. And in framing this gouernment we must follow no other figure, than the Lord himselfe hath painted out in his word.

11 Now although I graunt them an other thing, which they shal neuer winne by prooffe before sober men, that the supremacy of the Church was so stablished in Peter, that it shoulde alway remaine by perpetuall successiō: yet how wil they proue, that his seate was so placed at Rome, that whosoever is Bishop of that Church, shoulde be set ouer the whole world? By what right do they binde this dignity to the place, which is giuen without mention of place? Peter (say they) liued & died at Rome. What did Christ himselfe? Did not he, while he liued, exercise his Bishoprike, & in dying fulfill the office of Priesthooe, at Hierusalem? The Prince of Pastors, the soueraigne Bishop, the heade of the church, could not purchase honor to the place: & could Peter, that was farre inferior to him? Are not these follies more than childish? Christ gaue the honor of supremacy to Peter: Peter sate at Rome: therefore he there placed the see of Supremacy. By this reason, the Israelites in old time might haue set the seate of Supremacy in the desert, where Moses the chiefe Teacher and Prince of Prophets executed his ministry and died.

12 Let vs see howe trimly they reason. Peter (say they) hadde the Supremacy amonge the Apostles: therefore the Church where he sate ought to haue that priuilege. But where sate he first? At Antioche, say they. Therefore the Church of Antioche doth rightly claime to it selfe the supremacy. They cōfesse that it was in old time

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the first: but they say, that in removing thence, he removed to Rome the honor that he brought with him. For there is an Epistle vnder the name of Pope Marcellus to the bishops of Antioche, where he sayth thus: Peters seate was at the beginninge with you, which afterward by the Lordes commaundement was removed hither. So the Church of Antioche, which was ones the chiefe, hath giuen place to the see of Rome. But by what Oracle had that good mā learned, that the Lorde so commaunded? For if this cause be to be determined by the law, it is necessary that they answer, whether they will haue this priuilege to be personall, or reall, or mixt. For it must be one of these three. If they say that it is personall, then it belongeth nothing to the place. If they say that it is reall, then when it is once giue to the place, it is not taken away by reason either of the death or departure of the person. It remaineth therefore that they must say it is mixt: but then that place shal be not simply to be considered, vnlesse the person do also agree. Let them choose which soeuer they will, I will by and by inferre and easily proue, that Rome can by no meane take the supremacy vpon it selfe.

13 But be it, that as (they triflingly say) the supremacy was removed from Antioche to Rome: yet why did not Antioche keepe the second place? For if Rome haue therefore the first place, because Peter sate there to y end of his life: to whom shal the second place rather be graunted, than where he had his first seate? How came it to passe the, that Alexandria went before Antioch? How agreeth it, that y Church of one disciple should be aboue the seate of Peter? If honor be due to euery Church, accordinge to y worthines of y founder, what shall we say also of the other Churches? Paul nameth three, that semed to be pillars, Iames, Peter and Iohn. If the first place were giuen to the see of Rome in the honor of Peter: do not the sees of Ephesus, & Hierusalem, where Iohn & Iames sate, deserue the second & third place? But among the Patriarches Hierusalem had the last place: Ephesus could not sit so much as in the vttermost corner. And other Churches were left out, both all those that Paule founded, & those that the other Apostles were rulers of. The seate of Marcke, which was but one of their disciples, obtained the honor. Therefore they must either cōfesse that that was a preposterous order, or they must graūt vs that this is not a perpetuall rule, that there be due to euery Church the same degree of honor which the founder had.

14 Howbeit, as for that which they report of Peters sitting in the Church of Rome, I see not what credit it ought to haue. Truly that which is in Eusebius, that he ruled there fīue & twenty yeares, is very easily

easily confuted. For it is euident by the first and second Chapter to the Galathians, that about twenty yeares after the death of Christ, he was at Hierusalem, and that then he went to Antioche: where how long he was, is vncertaine. Gregory reckoneth seuen yeares, & Eusebius twenty & five. But from the death of Christ, to the end of Neroes Empire, (in whose time they say y he was slayne) there shalbe found but thirty and seuen yeares. For the Lord suffred vnder Tiberius, the eighteenth yeare of his Empire. If you rebate twenty yeres, duringe the which Paule is witnesse that Peter dwelt at Hierusalem, there will remayne but seuentie yeares at the most, which must nowe be deuided betwene two bishoprikes. If he taried longe at Antioche he coulde not sitte at Rome, but a very litle while. Which thinge we may yet also more plainly proue. Paule wrote to the Romines, when he was in his iourney going to Hierusalem, where he was taken and frō thense brought to Rome. It is not likely that this Epistle was written foure yeares before that he came to Rome. Therein is yet no mentiō of Peter, which should not haue bin left out, if Peter had ruled that Church. Yea and in the end also, when he rehearseth a great number of the godly, whom he biddeth to be saluted, where verily he gathereth together all those y he knew, he yet sayth vterly nothing of Peter. Neither is it nedeful here to make a long or curious demonstration to men of sounde iudgement: for the matter it selfe, and the whole argument of the Epistle crieth out, that he should not haue ouerpassed Peter, if he had bin at Rome.

15 Then Paule was brought prisoner to Rome. Luke reporteth that he was receiued of the brethren, of Peter he sayth nothing. He wrote from thense to many Churches: & in some places also he wryteth salutiōs in the names of certaine: but he doth not in one word shew that Peter was there at that time. Who, I pray you shall thinke it likely, that he could haue passed him ouer with silence, if he had bin present: Yea to the Philippians, where he sayd that he had none that so faithfully looked vnto the worke of the Lord, as Timothee, he complained that they did all seeke their owne. And to the same Timothee he maketh a more grieuous cōplaint, that none was with him at his first defense, but all forsooke him: where therefore was Peter then? For if they say that he was then at Rome, howe great a shame doth Paul charge him with, y he was a forsaker of the Gospel? For he speaketh of the beleuers: because he addeth, God impute it not vnto the. How long therefore, & in what time did Peter kepe that seate? But it is a constant opinio of writers, that he gouerned that Church euen to his death. But amonge the wryters themselues it is not certaine who

Gala. 1.
18.
Gala. 2.1

Rom. 15

Rom. 16

AA. 12th

Phil. 2.
20.

2. Tim. 4
16.

Cap.6.

Of the outward meanes

Aug ad
Sannar.

was his successor, because some say Linus, & other some say Clement. And they tell many fond fables, of the disputation had betwene him & Simon the magician. And Augustine sticketh not to confesse, when he entreateth of Superstitions, that by reason of an opinion rashely conceiued, there was a custome growen in vse at Rome, that they should not fast that day that Peter got the victory of Simon the magician. Finally the doings of that time are so entangled with diuersity of opinions, that we ought not rashly to beleue where we finde any thing written. And yet by reason of this cōsent of writers, I strue not against this, that he died there: but yet that he was Bishop there, and specially a long time, I can not be perswaded, neither do I much passe vpō that also: forasmuch as Paul testifieth that Peters Apostleship did peculiarly belonge to the Iewes, and his owne to vs. Therefore that that felowship which they couenanted betwene themselves, may be confirmed with vs, or rather that the ordinance of the holy Ghost may stand in force amonge vs, we ought to haue respect rather to the Apostleship of Paul than of Peter. For the holy Ghost so diuided the prouinces bewene them, that he appointed Peter to the Iewes, and Paul to vs. Now therefore let the Romanistes go and seeke their supremacy else where than in the word of God, where it is founde not to be grounded.

16 Now let vs come to the olde Church, that it may also be made to appeare plainely, y our aduersaries do no lesse cautelesly, & falsely boast of the consent therof, than they do of the witnesse of the word of God. When therfore they brag of that principle of theirs, that the vnity of the Church can not otherwise be kept together, but if there be one supreme head in earth, to whom al the members may obey, & that therfore the Lord gaue the supremacy to Peter, and from thence forth to the see of Rome by right of succession, that the same shoulde remaine in it to the end: they affirme, that this hath bin alway obserued from the beginning. But forasmuch as they wrongfully wrest many testimonies. I wil first say this aforehand, that I deny not but that the olde wryters do eche where giue great honor to the Church of Rome, & do speake reuerently of it. Which I thinke to be done specially for three causes. For y same opinion, which I wot not how was growen in force, that it was founded & ordained by the ministry of Peter, much auailed to procure fauour & estimatiō vnto it. Therefore in the East parts it was for honors sake called the see Apostolike. Secondly, when the heade of the Empire was there, & that therefore it was likely, that in y place were men more excellent both in learninge & wisdom, & skil, & experience of many things, than any where else:
there

there was worthily consideration had therof, that both the honor of the citie, and also the other more excellent giftes of God shoulde not seeme to be despised. There was beside these also a third thinge, that when the Churches of the East, and of Grecia, yea & of Affrica, were in tumultes among themselves with disagreements of opinions, the Church of Rome was quieter & lesse full of troubles thā the rest. So came it to passe, that the godly & holy Bishops, beinge driven out of their seates, did oftentimes flee thither as into a Sanctuary or certaine haven. For as the Welterne men are of lesse sharpenes & swiftnes of wit, than the Asians or Africans be, so much are they lesse desirous of alterations. This therfore added much authority to y^e Church of Rome, that in those doubtful times it was no so troubled as the rest, & did holde the doctrine once deliuered them, faster thā all the rest as we shal by and by better declare. For these three causes (I say) it was had in no small honor, & commended with many notable testimonies of the old wryters.

17 But when our aduersaries will thereupon gather that it hath a supremacie and soueraigne power ouer other Churches, they do too much amisse, as I haue already sayd. And that the same may the better appeare, I will first briefly shew what the olde fathers thought of this vnity which they enforce so earnestly. Hierome, wryting to Nepotianus, after that he had recited many examples of vnity, at the last descended to the Hierarchie of the Church. Eche Bishop of euery seuerall Church, eche Archpriest, eche Archdeacon, & all the ecclesiasticall order, do rest vpon their owne rulers. Here a Romaine Priest speaketh, he commendeth vnity in the ecclesiasticall order: why doth he not rehearse that all Churches are knitte together with one heade as with one bonde? Nothing could haue more fitly serued the matter y^e he had in hand: & it can not be said that it was for forgetfulness, that he omitted it: for he would haue done nothing more willingly if the matter had suffred him. He saw therfore without dout, that that is the true reason of vnity which Ciprian excellently wel describeth in these words: The bishoprike is one, whereof ech hath a part wholly: & the Church is one, which is with encrease of frutefulnesse more largely extended into a multitude. Like as there are many sunbeames & one light: and many branches of a tree, but one body grounded on a fast holding roote: and like as from one fountaine flow many streames, & though the multitude seme to be diuersly spread abroad with largenesse of ouerflowinge plenty, yet the vnity is kept whole in the originall: so the Church also being ouerspread with the light of the Lord, extendeth her beames abroad throughout y^e whole world, yet is it but

De sim-
pli. pre.

Cap. 7.

Of the outward meanes

one that is ech where poured forth, and the vnity of the body is not seuered: she spreadeth her branches ouer the whole worlde, she sendeth out her ouerflowinge streames: yet is there but one heade and one beginninge &c. Afterward The spouse of Christ can not be an adultresse: she knoweth one onely house, she keepeth the holinesse of one onely chamber with chaste shamefastnesse. You see how he maketh the vniuersall bishoprike to be Christ onely, which comprehendeth the whole Church vnder him: and sayth that all they that execute the office of bishop vnder this heade, haue their partes thereof wholly. Where is the supremacy of the see of Rome, if the whole bishoprike remaine with Christ only, & ech bishop hath his part therof wholly? These things therefore make to this purpose, that the reader may vnderstande by the way, that the olde fathers were vtterly ignorant of that principle, which the Romanistes do take for confessed & vndouted, concerning the vnity of an earthly head in the Hierarchie of the Church.

The vij. Chapter.

Of the beginninge and encreasinge of the Papacie of Rome, untill it aduanced it selfe to this height, vnder whereby both the liberty of the Church hath bin oppressed, and all the right gouernment thereof ouerthrowen.

AS concerning the auncientnesse of the supremacy of the see of Rome, there is nothing had of more antiquity to stablishe it, than that decree of the Nicene Synode, wherein the bishop of Rome both hath the first place among the Patriarches giuen vnto him, and is commaunded to looke vnto the Churches adioyning to the city. Whē the Council maketh such diuision betwene him and the other Patriarches, that it assigneth to euery one their boundes: truely it doth not appoint him the heade of all, but maketh him one of the chiefe. There were present Vitus and Vincentius in the name of Iulius, which then gouerned the Church of Rome: to them was giuen the fourth place. I beseeche you, if Iulius were acknowledged the head of the Church, should his Legats be thrust into the fourth seate? Should Athanasius be chiefe in the Council, where principally the image of the Hierarchicall order ought to be seene? In the Synode at Ephesus it appeareth, that Celestinus which was then bishoppe of Rome, vsed a crooked suttle meane, to prouide for the dignitie of his seate. For when he sent his deputies thither, he committed his steede to Cyrillus of Alexandria, which shoulde notwithstandinge otherwise haue bin the chiefe. To what purpose was that

that same committing, but that his name might by what means soever abide in the first place. For his Legates sate in a lower place, and were asked their opinion among the rest, & subscribed in their order: in the meane time y^e Patriarch of Alexandria ioyned Celestins name with his owne. What shall I say of the seconde councill at Ephesus: where when Leos Legates were present, yet Dioscorus Patriarche of Alexandria sate the chiefe as by his owne right. They wil take exception that it was no vpright council, by which both the holy mā Flavianus was condemned, & Eutyches acquitted; & his vngodlines allowed. But when the Synode was gathered, when the Bishoppes tooke their places in order, verily the Legates of the Bishop of Rome sate there among the rest none otherwise than in a holy & lawful Councell. Yet they stuned not for the first place, but yielded it to an other, which they wold neuer haue done, if they had thought it to be theirs of right. For the Bishops of Rome were neuer ashamed to enter into the greatest contentions for their honors, & for this only cause oftentimes to vex & trouble the Church with many and hurtfull strifes. But because Leo saw that it shoulde be a too much unreasonable request, if he should seke to get the chiefe place for his Legates, therefore he succeded in.

2 Then folowed y^e Councell of Chalcedon, in which by the graue of the Emperour y^e Legates of the Church of Rome sate in the chiefe place. But Leo himselfe cōfesseth that this was an extraordinary priuilege. For whē he made petition for it to the Emperour Marcianus, & Pulcheria the Empreſse, he did not affirme that it was due to him, but only pretended, that the Easterne Bishops, which sate as chief in the council at Ephesus, troubled all things, & ill abused their power. Whereas therefore it was nedeful to haue a graue gouernour, & it was nor likely that they shoulde be mete for it, which had once bin so light & disordered: therefore he prayed, that by reason of the default & vnfinesse of other, this office of gouerning might be remoued to him. Truly that which is gotten by singular priuilege and beside order, is not by common law. Where this only is pretended, that there nedeth some new gouernour, because the former gouernours had behaued themselves ill, it is euident that it neither was so before, nor ought to continue so for euer, but is done only in respect of present danger. The Bishop of Rome therefore had the first place in the Councell at Chalcedon: not because it was due to his see, but because the Synode was at that time destitute of a graue and fit gouernour, while they y^e ought to haue bin the chiefe, did through their owne intemperance & corrupt affectio, thrust themselves out of place. And this that I say, Leos

successour did in dede proue. For when he sent his Legates to the fift Synode at Constantinople, which was holden long time after, he brauled not for the first seate, but easily suffred Menna the Patriarche of Constantinople to sitte as chiefe. So in the councill at Carthage, at which Augustine was present, we see that not the Legates of the see of Rome, but Aurelius Archbishop of that place sate as chiefe: when yet the contention was about the authority of the Bishop of Rome. Yea there was also a generall counsel holden in Italy it selfe, at which y Bishop of Rome was not present. Ambrose was chiefe there, which was in very great authority with the Emperour, there was no mention made of the Bishop of Rome. Therefore at that time it came to passe by the dignity of Ambrose, that the see of Millain was more noble than the see of Rome.

3 As concerning the title of supremacy, and other titles of pride, wherupon it now maruelously boasteth it selfe, it is not hard to iudge, whē & in what sort they crept in. Ciprian oftentimes maketh mentio of Cornelius. He setteth him out with no other name, but by the name of brother, or fellow bishop, or fellow in office. But when he writeth to Stephen the successor of Cornelius, he doth not only make him egal with himselfe & the rest, but also speaketh more hardly to him, charging him sometime with arrogance, sometime with ignorance. Since Ciprian we haue what all the Church of Affrica iudged of that matter. The Councell at Carthage did forbid that any shoulde be called Prince of Priests, or chiefe bishop, but only bishop of the chiefe see. But if a man turne ouer the auncienter monumentes, he shal find that the bishop of Rome at that time was content with the comon name of brother. Certainly so long as the face of the Church continued true & pure, all these names of pride, where with since that time the see of Rome hath begon to waxe outrageous, were vtterly vnheard of: it was not knowen, what was the hiest bishop, & the only head of the church in earth. But if the bishop of Rome had bin so bold to haue takē such a thing vpon him, there were stout & wise men that woulde haue by- & by repressed his folly. Hierom forasmuch as he was a priest at Rome, was not ill willing to set out the dignity of his owne Church, so much as the matter & state of the time suffred: yet we see how he also bringeth it downe into fellowship with the rest. If authority (sayth he) be sought for, the world is greater thā a city. Why doest thou alleage to me the custome of one city? Why doest thou defend smalnes of number, out of which hath growē pride, against the lawes of the Church? Wherefoeuer there be a bishop, either at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, he is of the same merite & of the same

The
cōuēll
at Aquī
leia.

Lib. 3.
Epist. 2.
& lib. 4.
Epist. 6.

Cap. 47.

Epi. ad
Euag.

same Priesthoode. The power of riches or basenes of pouerty maketh not a bishop hier or lower.

4 About the title of vniuersal bishop the contention first began in the time of Gregory, which was occasioned by the ambition of Iohn bishop of Cōstantinople. For he (which thing neuer any man before had attempted) would haue made himselfe vniuersall bishop. In that contention Gregorie doth not alleage that the right is taken away which was due to himselfe: but stoutly crieth out against it, that it is a prophane name, yea ful of sacrilege, yea the forewarner of Antichrist. The whole Church (sayth he) falleth downe from her state, if he fall, which is called vniuersall. In an other place: It is very sorowefull, to suffer patiently, that our brother and fellow bishop, despising all other, should only be named Bishop. But in this his pride what els is betokened but y times of Antichrist nere at hand? because verily he foloweth him, that despising the fellowship of Angels, went about to climbe vp to the toppe of singularity. In an other place he wryteth to Eulolius of Alexandria, and Anastasius of Antioch. None of my predecessors at any time woulde vse that prophane word: for if one be called vniuersall Patriarch, the name of Patriarches is abated from the rest. But farre may this be from a christian minde, that any shoulde haue a will to take that vpon him, wherby he may in any part, be it neuer so litle, diminish the honor of his brethren. To consent in this wicked word is nothing else but to lese the faith. It is one thing (sayth he) that we owe to the preserving of the vnity of faith, and an other thing that we owe to the keeping downe of pride. But I say it boldly, because who soeuer calleth himselfe or desireth to be called vniuersall bishop, he doth in his proude aduācing runne before Antichrist, because he doth with shewing himselfe proude preferre himselfe aboue the rest. Again to Anastasius bishop of Alexandria: I haue sayd that he can not haue peace with vs, vnlesse he amēded the aduācing of the superstitious & proude word, which the first apostata hath inuēted. And (to speake nothing of the wrong done to your honor) if one be called vniuersal Bishop, the vniuersal Church falleth when that vniuersal one falleth. But whereas he writeth, that this honor was offred to Leo in the Synode at Chalcedō, it hath no colour of truth. For neither is there any such thing red in the actes of that Synode. And Leo himselfe, which with many Epistles impugneth y decree there made in honor of the see of Constantinople, without dout would not haue passed ouer this argumēt, which had bin most to be liked of al other, if it had bin true, that he refused that which was giuen him: & beinge a man otherwise too much desirous of honor, he woulde not haue omitted that which

Lib. 4.
epist. 76
Mauricio Augusto.
Lib. 4.
epist. 78
Cōstantino Augusto.
Lib. 4.
epist. 80

Lib. 4.
epist. 78
Auliano Diacono.
Lib. 7.
epi. 82
Mauricio Augusto.
Lib. 6.
epi. 188

made for his praise. Therefore Gregorie was deceiued in this, that he thought that that title was offered to the see of Rome by the Synode at Chalcedon, to speake nothinge, how sonde it is, that he both testified it to haue proceeded from the holy Synode, & also at the same time called it wicked, prophane, abhominable, proude, & full of sacrilege, yea deuised by the deuill, & published by the crier of Antichrist. And yet he addeth that his predecessor refused it, least all Priestes should be deprived of their due honor, when any thing were priuately given to one. In an other place: No man at any time hath willed to be called by that word. No mā hath taken to himselfe that presumptuous name: least if he should in the degree of bishoprike take to himselfe a glory of singularity, he shoulde seeme to haue denied the same to all his brethren.

Libr. 4.
Epi. 76.

Libr. 7.
Epi. 79.

5 Now I come to the iurisdiction, which the bishop of Rome affirmeth that he hath ouer all Churches. I know how great contentions haue bin in olde time about this matter: For there hath bin no time wherein the see of Rome hath not couered to gette an Empire ouer other Churches. And in this place it shall not be out of season, to search by what meanes it grew then by litle & litle to some power. I do not yet speake of that infinite Empire, which it hath not so long ago taken by force to it selfe: for we wil differre that to a place conuenient. But here it is good to shew briefly, how in old time & by what meanes it hath aduanced it selfe, to take to it selfe any power ouer other Churches. When the Churches of the East were diuided and troubled with the factions of the Arrians vnder the Emperours, Constantius & Constans the sonnes of Constantine the Great, & Athanasius the chiefe defendour there of the true faith was driven out of his see: such calamity compelled him to come to Rome, that with the authority of the see of Rome he might both after a sort repress the rage of his enemies, & confirme the godly that were in distresse. He was honorably receiued of Iulius then Bishop, and obtained that the Bishops of the West tooke vpon the defence of his cause. Therefore when the godly stood in great nede of foreine ayde, & saw that there was very good succour for them in the Church of Rome, they willingly gaue vnto it the most authority that they could. But all that was nothing else, but that the communion thereof should be hiey esteemed, & it should be compted a great shame, to be excommunicate of it. Afterward euill and wicked men also added much vnto it. For, to escape lawefull iudgements, they fled to this sanctuary. Therefore if any priest were condemned by his Bishop, or any Bishop by the Synod of his prouince, they by and by appelled to Rome. And the Bishops of
Rome

Rome receiued such appellatiōs more greedily thā was mete: because it seemed to be a forme of extraordinary power, so to entermedle with matters farre & wide about them. So when Eutyches was condemned by Flavianus Bishop of Constantinople, he complained to Leo that he had wronge done vnto him. Leo without delay, no lesse yndiscreetly thē suddenly, tooke in hand the defence of an euil cause: he grieuously inueyed against Flavianus, as though he had, without hearing the cause, condemned an innocent: and by this his ambition he caused that the vngodlinesse of Eutyches was for a certaine space of time strengthened. In Affrica it is euident y this oftētimes chaunced. For so soone as any lewd man had taken a foile in ordinary iudgement, he by and by flew to Rome, and charged his countreemen with many sleaūderous reports: & the see of Rome was alway ready to entermedle. Which lewdnes compelled the bishops of Affrica to make a law, that none vnder paine of excommunication should appelle beyond the sea.

6 But whatsoeuer it were, lette vs see what authority or power the see of Rome then had. Ecclesiasticall power is contained in these four pointes, ordering of Bishops, summoning of Councils, hearing of Appealles or iurisdiction, Chastising admonitions or censures. All the old Synodes commaund Bishops to be consecrate by their owne Metropolitānes: and they neuer bid the bishop of Rome to be called vnto it, but in his owne Patriarchie. But by litle and litle it grewe in vse, that all the Bishops of Italy came to Rome to fetch their consecration, except the Metropolitans, which suffred not themselves to be brought into such bondage: but when any Metropolitane was to be consecrate, the bishop of Rome sent thither one of his priests, which should only be present, but not president. Of which thinge there is an example in Gregorie: at the consecration of Constantius Bishoppe of Millain after the death of Laurence. Howebeit I do not thinke that that was a very auncient institution: but when at the beginninge for honor & good wils sake they sent one to an other their Legates, to be witnesses of the consecration, and to testifie their communion with them, afterward that which was voluntary, began to be holden for necessary. Howsoeuer it be, it is euident that in olde time the Bishop of Rome had not the power of consecrating. but in the province of his owne Patriarchie, that is to say in the Churches adioining to the city, as the canon of the Nicene Synode sayth. To the Consecration was annexed the sending of a Synodicall Epistle, in which he was nothing about the rest. For the Patriarches were wont immediatly after their consecration, by solempne wrytings to declare their sayth, whereby

Libr. 2.
epi. 68.
& 70.

Cap. 7.

Of the outward meanes

they professed that they subscribed to the holy & catholicke Con-
celles. So, rendring an accompt of their Fayth, they didde approue
themselves one to an other. If the bishoppe of Rome had receiued
of other, and not himselfe giuen this confession, he hadde thereby
bin acknowledged superior: but when he was no lesse bound to giue
it, than to require it of other, and to be subiect to the common lawe:
truely that was a token of fellowship, not of dominion. Of this thinge
there is an example in Gregories Epistle to Anatastius and to Cyria-
cus of Constantinople, and in other places to all the Patriarches to-
gether.

7 Then follow admonitions or censures: which as in old time the
bishops of Rome vsed toward other, so they did againe suffer them of
other. Ireneus grieuously reprobued Victor, because he vndiscretly for
a thing of no value, troubled the Church with a pernicious dissentio.
Victor obeyed, and spurned not against it. Such a liberty was then in
vire among the holy bishops, that they vsed a brotherly authority to-
ward the bishop of Rome, in admonishing and chastising him if he at
any time offended. He againe, when occasion required, did admonish
other of their duety: & if there were any fault, rebuked it. For Cyprian,
when he exhorteth Stephen to admonish the bishoppes of Fraunce,
fetcheth not his argumēt from the greater power, but from the com-
mon right that priestes haue among themselves. I beseech you, if Ste-
phen had thē bin ruler ouer Fraunce, would not Cyprian haue said:
Restraine them, because they be thine? but he sayth farre otherwise.
This (sayth he) the brotherly fellowship, wherewith we be bound one
to an other requireth that we should admonish one an other. And we
see also with how great sharpnes of words he being otherwise a man
of a mild nature inueyeth against Stephen himselfe, whē he thinketh
him to be too insolent. Therefore in this behalfe also there appeareth
not yet, y the bishop of Rome had any iurisdiction ouer thē that were
not of his owne prouince.

8 As concerning the calling together of Synodes, this was the of-
fice of euery Metropolitane, at certaine appointed times to assemble
a Prouinciall Synode. There the bishop of Rome had no authority.
But a Generall council the Emperour only might summon. For if any
of the bishoppes had attempted it, not only they that were out of his
prouince, would not haue obeyed his calling, but also there would by-
andby haue risen an vprore. Therefore the Emperour indifferently war-
ned them all to be present. Socrates in dede reporteth, that Iulius did
expostulate with the bishops of the East, because they called him not
to the Synode of Antioch, whereas it was forbidden by the Canons,
that

Lib. 1.
epist. 25
Lib. 6.
epist. 69
lib. 1. c.
pist. 24.

Epi. 13.
lib. 3.
Ad
pōp. cō
tra epi.
Stepha.

Tripar.
hist. li. 4

that any thing shoulde be decreed without the knowledge of the Bishop of Rome. But who doth not see that this is to be vnderstanded of such decrees as binde the whole vniuersal Church? Nowe it is no maruel, if thus much be graunted both to y^e antiquity & honor of the city, & to the dignity of the see, that there should be no generall decree made of religion, in the absence of the bishop of Rome, if he refuse not to be present. But what is this to y^e dominion ouer the whole Church? For we deny not, that he was one of the chiefe: but we will not graunt, that which the Romanistes now affirme, that he had a dominion ouer all.

9 Now remaineth the fourth kind of power, which stādeth in appealles. It is euident that he hath the chiefe power, to whose iudgement seate appellation is made. Many oftentimes appelled to the Bishop of Rome: and he himselfe also went about to draw the hearinge of causes to himselfe: but he was alway laughed to scorne, whē he passed his owne boundes. I will speake nothing of the East and of Grecia: but it is certaine that the bishops of Fraunce stoutly withstoode him, when he seemed to take to himselfe an empire ouer them. In Affrica there was longe debate about that matter. For where at the Mileuitane Councell, at which Augustine was present, they were excommunicate that appelled beyond the sea, the bishop of Rome traualled to bringe to passe, that that decree might be amended. He sent his legates to shew that that priuilege was given to him by y^e Nicene Councell. The Legates brought forth the acts of the Nicene Councell, which they hadde fetched out of the storehouse of their owne Church. The Affricans withstoode it, and denied that the bishops of Rome ought to be credited in their owne cause: and sayd that therefore they would send to Constantinople, & into other cities of Grecia, where copies were to be had y^e were lesse suspicious. It was found, that therein was no such thing written, as the Romans had pretended. So was y^e decree confirmed, which tooke the chiefe hearing of causes from the bishop of Rome: In which doing the lewde shamelesnesse of the Bishoppe of Rome himselfe appeared. For when he guilefully did thrust in the Synode at Sardos in stede of the Nicene Synode, he was shamefully taken in a manifest falsehood. But yet greater and more shamelesse was their wickednesse, that added a forged Epistle to the Councell, wherein I wote not what bishoppe of Carthage, condemning the arrogance of Aurelius his predecessour, for that he was so bold to withdraw himselfe from the obediēce of the see Apostolike, and yeldinge himselfe & his Church, humbly craueth pardon. These be the goodly monumentes of antiquity, whereupon the maiesty of

2. quest.
cap. 4.

the see of Rome is founded, while they so childishely lye, vnder the pretence of Antiquity, that very blinde men may finde it out by gropinge. Aurelius (sayth he) puffed vp with deuillish boldenesse and stubbornnesse, rebelled against Christ, and saint Peter, and therefore to be condemned with curse. What sayd Augustine? But what sayd so many fathers that were present at the Mileuitane Councell? But what neede is it to spende many wordes in confuting that foolish writing, which the Romanistes themselves, if they haue any face left, can not looke vpon without great shame? So Gratian: I can not tell whether of malice or of ignorance, where he rehearsed that decree, that they should be excommunicate that appele beyonde the sea, addeth an exception: Vnlesse peraduenture they appele to the see of Rome. What may a man do to these beastes, which are so voide of common reason, that they except that only thing out of y^e law, for whose cause euery man seeth that the lawe was made? For the Councell when it condemneth appelles beyond the sea, forbiddeth only this, that none should appele to Rome. Here the good expositor excepteth Rome out of the common law.

August.
epi. 162

10 But (to determine this question at once) one history shal make plaine what maner of iurisdiction the bishop of Rome had in old time. Donate of the blacke houses had accused Cecilian bishoppe of Carthage. The man accused was condemned, his cause not hearde. For when he knew that the bishops had conspired against him, he would not appeare. Then the matter came to the Emperour Constantine. He, forasmuch as he willed to haue the matter ended by ecclesiasticall iudgement, committed the hearinge of it to Melciades bishop of Rome. To whom he adioyned fellow commissioners many bishops of Italy, Fraunce and Spaine. If that belonged to the ordinary iurisdiction of the see of Rome, to heare an appele in an ecclesiastical cause: why doth he suffer other to be ioyned with him at the will of the Emperour? Yea why did he himselfe take the iudgement vpon him rather by the Emperours commaundement, than by his owne office? But let vs heare what happed afterward. There Cecilian got y^e victory. Donate of the blacke houses was condemned for schlander: he appelled: Constantine committed the iudgement of y^e appele to y^e bishop of Orleance. He sate as iudge, to pronounce what he thought, after the bishop of Rome. If the see of Rome hath y^e chief power without appellation: why doth Melciades suffer himself to receiue so great a shame, y^e bishop of Orleance should be preferred aboue him? And what Emperour doth this? euen Constantine of whom they boast y^e he employed not only al his endeauor, but in a maner al the riches of the empire to encrease

encrease the dignitie of their see. We see therefore now, howe farre the bishop of Rome was at that time by all meanes from that supreme dominio, which he affirmeth to be geuen vnto him by Christ ouer all Churches, and which he liengly sayeth that he hath in all ages possessed by the consent of the whole world.

11 I knowe howe many epistles there be, howe many writings and decrees, wherein the bishops do geue much, and boldly challenge much vnto it. But this also all men that haue but a very little wit and lerning do knowe, that the most part of those are so vsuarie, that by the first tast of them a man may soone find out of what shop they came. For what man of sounde wit and sobre, will thinke that that goodly interpretation is Anacletus his owne, which is in Gratian reported vnder the name of Anacletus: that is, that Cephas is a head? The Romanists do at this day abuse for defence of their see, many such trifies, which Gratian hath patched together without iudgement: and yet still in so great light they will sell such smokes, wherewith in olde time they were wout to mocke out the ignorant in darkness. But I will not bestowe much labor in confuting those things, which do openly confute themselves by reason of their vsuary folie. I graunt that there remain also true epistles of the olde bishops, wherein they set forth the honor of their see with glorious titles: of which sort are some epistles of Leo. For that man, as he was learned and eloquent, so was he also aboue measure desirous of glory and dominion: but whether the Churches then beleeued his testimonie when he so aduanced himselfe, that in deede is it that is in controuersie. But it appereth that many offended with his ambition, did also withstand his greedie desire. Sometimes he appointed in his steede the bishop of Thessalonica throughout Grecia and other countrees adioining: sometime he appointed the bishop of Orleans, or some other throughout Fraunce. So he appointed Hormisdas bishop of Hispalis to be his vicar in Spain, but euery where he excepteth, that he geueth out such apointments vpon this condition, that the Metropolitans may haue their auncient priuileges remaining safe and whole. But Leo himselfe declareth, that this is one of their priuileges, that if any dout happen about any matter, the Metropolitane should first be asked his aduise. Therefore those appointments of vicars in his steede were vpon this condition, that neither any bishop should be letted in his ordinary iurisdiction, nor any Metropolitane in being iudge of Appealles, nor any prouincial Councel in ordering of their Churches. What was this els but to abstaine from all iurisdiction: but to intermeddle to the appealing of discordes, onely so farre as

Dist. 12
cap. Sa-
crofact.

Vide e-
pist. 85.
Epist. 83

Episto.
89

the lawe and nature of the communion of the Church suffreth.

12 In Gregories time that auncient order was already much changed. For when the Empire was shaken, & torne in peeces, when Fraunce and Spaine were afflicted with many ouerthrowes receiued, Slaunonia wasted, Italic vexed, and Africa in a maner destroyed with continuall calamities: that in so great a shakinge of ciuill affaires, at least the integritie of faith might remaine, or yet not vterly perish, all the bishops from eche part did the rather ioine themselues to the bishop of Rome. Thereby it came to passe, that not only the dignity, but also the power of that see greatly encreased. Howbeit I do not so much passe by what meanes it was brought about. Truely it appeareth that it was then greater than in the ages before. And yet it then greatly differed from being an vnbridled dominion, that one man might beare rule ouer other after his owne will. But the see of Rome had this reuerence, that it might with her authoritie subdue and repress the lewde and obstinate that coulde not by the other bishops be kept within their dutie. For Gregorie deth oftentimes diligently testify this, that he doth no lesse faithfully preserue to other men their rightes, than he requireth his owne of them. Neither do I (saith he) prick on by ambition, plucke from any man that which is his right: but I desire in all things to honor my brethren. There is no saying in his writings wherein he doth more proudly boast of the largenesse of his Supremacie, than this: I knowe not what bishop is not subiect to the see Apostolike when he is founde in faulte. But he by and by adioineth, Where fault requireth not, all according to the order of humilitie are egall. He geueth to himselfe power to correct them that haue offended: if all do their dutie, he maketh himselfe egall with the rest. But he himselfe geueth himselfe this power: and they assented to it that would: and other that liked it not, might frely gaine say it, which it is well knowne that the most parte of them did. Beside that he speaketh there of the Primate of Constantinople: which when he was condemned by the prouinciall Synode, refused the whole iudgement. His fellowe bishops informed the Emperour of this stubbornesse of him. The Emperour willed Gregorie to be iudge of the cause. We see therfore that he both attempteth nothing, whereby he may breake the ordinary iurisdiction, and the same thing that he doth for the helping of other, he doth not but by the commaundement of the Emperour.

13 This therfore was then all the power of the bishop of Rome, to set himself against obstinate & vntamed heds, when there needed any extraordinary remedy: and that to helpe & not to hinder other bishops.

Libr. 1.
Episto.
68.

Libr. 2.
Epi. vii.
libr. 7.
epi. 64.

bishops. Therefore he taketh no more to himselfe ouer all other, than in an other place he graunteth to all other ouer himselfe, when he confesseth that he is redy to be corrected of all, to be amended of all. So in an other place he doth in deede commaunde the bishop of Aquileia to come to Rome, to pleade his cause in a controuersy of faith that was risen betweene him and other: but he doth not commaunde him of his owne power, but because the Emperor had so commaunded. Neither doth he geue warning that he alone shalbe iudge, but promised that he will assemble a Synode by whom the whole matter may be iudged. But although there was yet such moderatiō, that the power of the see of Rome had her certaine bounds, which it might not passe, and the bishop of Rome himselfe was no more aboute than vnder other: yet it appeareth howe much Gregory misliked such state. For he nowe and then complaineth, that vnder color of bishoprike he was brought backe to the world: and that he was more entangled with earthly cares, than euer he had serued them while he was a lay man: that he was in that honor oppressed with tumult of worldly affaires. In an other place: so great burdens (saith he) of businesse do holde me downe, that my minde can nothing at all be raised vp to things aboue. I am shake with many waues of causes: and after those leisures of rest I am tossed with tempestes of troublesome life: so that I may rightly say, I am come into y depth of the sea, and the tempeste hath drowned me. Hereby gather, what he would haue sayed, if he had happened to be in these times. Although he fulfilled not the office of a Pastor, yet he was doing it. He abstained from the gouernment of the ciuil Empire, and confessed himselfe to be subiect to the Emperor as other were. He did not thrust himself into the cure of other Churches, but being compelled by necessitie. And yet he thinketh himselfe to be in a maze, because he can not apply himselfe altogether onely to the office of a bishop.

14 At that time the bishop of Constantinople strued with the bishop of Rome for the Supremicie, as it is already said. For after that the seat of the Empire was stablished at Constantinople, the maiesty of the Empire seemed to require, that that Church also should haue the seconde place of honor after the Church of Rome. And truely at the beginning, nothing more auailed to cause the Supremicie to be geuen to Rome, but because the hed of the Empire was there at that time. There is in Gratian a writing vnder the name of Pope Lucinus, where he saith, that cities were no otherwise diuided, where Metropolitans and Primates ought to sit, than by the reason of the ciuil gouernment that was before. There is also an other vnder the name

Lib.2.
Episto.
37.
Epi. 16.

Lib.1.
epi. 5.

Lib.1.
epist. 7.
and 15.

Dist. 80
Cap. 4.

Cap. 7.

Of the outwarde meanes

of Pope Clement, where he saith, that Patriarches were ordained in those cities that had had the chiefe Flamines in the. Which, although it be false, yet is taken out of a truth. For it is certaine, that, to the ende there should be made as litle change as might be, the provinces were diuided according to the state of thinges that then were: and that Primates and Metropolitans were set in those cities that excelled the other in honors and power. Therefore in the Councell at Taurinū it was decreed, that those cities which in the ciuile government were the chiefe cities of euery province, should be the chiefe sees of bishops. And if it happened the honor of the ciuile government to be remoued from one citie to an other, that then the right of the Metropolitane citie should therewithall be remoued thether. But Innocentius bishop of Rome, when he sawe the auncient dignity of his citie to growe in decay, after that the seate of the Empire was remoued to Constantinople, fearing the abacement of his see, made a contrary lawe: wherein he denieth it to be necessary that the ecclesiasticall mother cities should be changed as the Imperiall mother cities change. But the authoritie of a Synode ought of right to be preferred aboue one mans sentence. Also we ought to suspecte Innocentius himselfe in his owne cause. Howsoever it be, yet by his owne prouiso he sheweth, that from the beginning it was so ordered, that the Metropolitane cities should be disposed according to the outwarde order of the Empire.

Cap. 1.

Socrat.
hif. tri-
part. li.
9. ca. 13.
Decret.
22 dist.

15 According to this auncient ordinance, it was decreed in the first councell at Constantinople, that the bishop of the citie should haue the priuileges of honor next after the bishop of Rome, because it was a newe Rome. But a long time after, when a like decree was made at Chalcedon, Leo stoutly cried out against it. And he not only gaue himselfe leaue to esteeme as nothing that which five hundred bishops or mo had decreed: but also bitterly taunted them, for that they toke from other sees that honor which they were so bolde to geue to the Church of Constantinople. I beseech you, what other thing could moue a man to trouble the world for so smal a matter, but mere ambition? He sayth that y ought to be inuiolable, which the Nicene Synode hath ones decreed. As though forsooth the Christian faith were endangered, if one Church be preferred before an other: or as though Patriarchies were there diuided to any other end, but for policies. But we know y policy receiueth, yea requirerh diuerse changes, according to the diuersity of times. Therefore it is fond that Leo pretendeth, that the honor, which by the authoritie of the Nicene Synode was geuen to the see of Alexandria, ought not to be geuen

to the see of Constantinople. For common reason telleth this, that it was such a decree, as might be taken away according to the respect of times. Yea none of the bishops of the East withstode it, whom that thing most of all concerned. Truly Proterius was present, whom they had made bishop of Alexandria in the place of Dioscorus. There were presente other Patriarches, whoes honor was diminished. It was their parte to withstand it, not Leos which remained safe in his owne place. But when all they holde their peace, yea assent vnto it, and onely the bishop of Rome resisteth: it is easy to iudge, what moueth him: that is, he foresaw that which not long after happened, that it would come to passe, that, the glory of olde Rome decaying, Constantinople not contented with the seconde place, would strue with Rome for the Supremicie. And yet with his crying out he did not so much preuaile, but that the decree of the councill was confirmed. Therefore his successors, when they sawe themselves overcome, quietly gaue ouer that stiffnesse: for they suffred that he should be accompred the seconde Patriarche.

16 But within a litle after, Iohn which in Gregories time ruled the Church of Constantinople, brake forth so farre that he called himselfe the vniuersall Patriarche. Here Gregorie, lest he should in a very good cause faile to defende his owne see, did constantly set himselfe against him. And truly both the pride and madnesse of Iohn was intolerable, which desired to make the boundes of his bishoprike egall with the boundes of the Empire. And yet Gregorie doth not claime to himselfe, that which he denieth to an other: but abhorreth that name as wicked, and vngodly, and abhominable, whosoever take it vpon him. Yea and also in one place he is angry with Eulolius bishop of Alexandria, which had honored him with such a title. Beholde (sayeth he) in the preface of the Epistle which ye directed to my selfe that haue forbidden it, ye haue cared to emprinte the word of proude calling, in naming me vniuersall Pope. Which. I pray that your holinesse will no more do because that is withdrawn from you, which is giuen to an other more than reason requireth. I compute no honor, when I se the honor of my brethren to be diminished. For my honor is the honor of the vniuersall Church, and the founde strength of my brethren. But if your holinesse call me the vniuersall Pope, it denieth it selfe to be that which it confesseth me to be wholly. Truly Gregorie stode in a good and honest cause. But Iohn holpen by the fauor of Maurice the Emperor, could neuer be remoued from his purpose. Cyriacus also his successor neuer suffered himselfe to be entreated in that behalfe.

Lib.7.
Episto.
30.

17 At the last Phocas, which when Maurice was slaine, was set in his place (I wrote not for what cause being more friendly to the Romaines, but because he was there crowned without strife) granted to Boniface the third, that which Gregorie neuer required, that Rome should be the head of all Churches. After this manner was the controuersy ended. And yet this benefite of the Emperor, could not so much haue profited the see of Rome, vnlesse other things also had afterwarde happened. For Grecia & all Asia were within a litle after cut of from the communion of Rome. Fraunce so much reuerenced him, that it obeyed no further than it list. But it was then first brought into bondage when Pipine vsurped the kingdome. For when Zacharie bishop of Rome had bene his helper to the breache of his faith, and to robbery, that thrusting out the lawefull king, he might violently enter vpon the kingdome as layed open for a pray: he receiued this rewarde, that the see of Rome should haue iurisdiction ouer the Churches of Fraunce: As robbers are wonted in parting to deuide the common spoile: so these good men ordered the matter betweene themselves, that Pipine should haue the earthly and ciuile dominion, spoiling the true king: and Zacharie should be made head of all bishops and haue the spirituall power: which, when at the beginning it was weake, (as it is wont to be in newe things) was afterward confirmed by the authority of Charles, in manner for a like cause. For he was also indetred to the bishop of Rome, for that by his endeuor he had attained to the honor of the Empire. But although it be credible, that Churches eche where were before that time much deformed, yet it is certaine that the olde forme of the Church was then first vterly defaced in Fraunce and Germanie. There remaine yet in the recordes of the court of Parise brefe notes of these times, which, where they entreate of the matters of the Church, make mention of the couenant both of Pipine and of Charles with the bishop of Rome. Thereby we may gather that then was an alteration made of the olde state.

18 Sins that time, when things did eche where daily fall from worse to worse, the tyranny of the see of Rome was nowe and then also stablished and encreased, and that partly by the ignorance, and partly by the slouthfulnesse of the bishops. For when one man toke all things vpon him, and without measure proceeded more and more to aduance himselfe against lawe and right: the bishops did not with such zeale as they ought, endeuor themselves to restraine his lust, & though they wanted not courage, yet they were destitute of true learning and knowledge: so that they were nothing fitt to attempte so
great

great a matter. Therefore we see what & howe Monstruous an vnholý
defiling of all holy things, & a scattering abroad of the whole order of
the Church, was in Bernardes time. He cõplaineth that there resort
by heapes to Rome out of all the world, ambitious men, couetous,
Simoniás, robbers of God, keepers of concubines, cõmitters of incest, Lib. 1.
de cõf.
ad Eug.
and all such monsters, to obtaine or reteine ecclesiasticall honors by
the Apostolike authority: & that fraud and vndermining, & violence
were growen in force. He saith that that maner of iudging which thẽ
was vsed, was abhominable, and vnseemly, not onely for the Church,
but also for a iudiciall court. He crieth out that the Church is full of
ambitious men: and that there is none that more dredeth to cõmit
mischeuous Actes, than robbers do in their caue, when they deuide
the spoiles of waifaring men. Fewe (sayeth he) do loke vnto the
mouth of the lawgeuer, but vnto his handes. But not without cause.
For those hádes do all the Popes businesse. What a thing is this, that
they are bought of the spoiles of Churches, that say to thee, oh well
done, well done? The life of the poore is sown in the stretes of the
riche: siluer glistereth in the mire: men run to it from all places: not
the poore, but the stranger taketh it vp, or he peraduenture that run-
neth fastest before. But this maner, or rather this death, came not of
thee, I would to God it might ende in thee. Among these things thou
a Pastor goest forward compassed with much and precious aray. If I
durst say it, these are rather the Pastors of deuils, than of shepe. For- Lib. 3.
soth Peter did thus, Paule played thus. Thy court is more accustomed
to receiue men good than to make them good. For the ill do not
there profit, but the good do decay. Nowe as for the abuses of ap-
pealles that he rehearseth, no godly man can reade them without
great horror. At the last he thus cõcludeth of that vnbrideled gredi-
nesse of the see of Rome in the vsurping of iurisdiction: I speake the
murmour and common complaint of the Churches. They crie out
that they be mangled and dismembred. There are either none or
fewe that do not either bewaile or feare this plague. Askest thou what
plage? The Abbotes are plucked from the bishops, the bishops from
the Archebishops, &c. It is maruelous if this may be excused. In so
doing ye proue that ye haue fulnesse of power, but not of righteous-
nesse. Ye do this, because ye can do it: but whether ye also ought to
do it, is a question. Ye are sett to preferue, not to enuie to euery man
his honor and his owne degree. These fewe things of many I listed
to reahearse, partly that the rede:s may see, how sore the Church was
then decayed, and partly that they may know in howe great sorowe
and mourning this calamitie helde all the godly.

19 But nowe, albeit that we graunte to the bishop of Rome at this day that preeminence and largenesse of iurisdiction, which that see had in the meane times, as in the times of Leo and of Gregory: what is that to the present state of the Papacie? I do not yet speake of the earthly dominion; nor of the ciuill power thereof, which we will afterwarde consider in place fit for it: but the very spirituall gouernment & they boss of, what hath it like to the state of those times? For they deeme the Pope none otherwise than the Supreme hed of the Church in earth, and the vniuersall bishop of the whole world. And the bishops themselves, when they speake of their owne authoritie, do with great stoutnesse of countenance, pronounce that to them belongeth the power to commaunde, & other are bounde to the necessitie to obey, that so all their decrees are to be holden as confirmed with the diuine voice of Peter: that the provinciall Synodes, are without force, because they want the presence of the Pope: that they may order clerkes of any Church that they will: and may call them to their see that haue bene ordered els where. Innumerable of that sorte are in Gratians packe, which I do not nowe rehearse, least I should be to tedious to the Reders. But this is the summe of them, that onely the bishop of Rome hath the Supreme hearing and determining of all ecclesiasticall causes, whether it be in iudging and defining of doctrines, or in making of lawes, or in establishing of discipline, or in executing of iudgements: It were also long and superfluous to rehearse the priuileges that they take to themselues in reservations, as they call them. But, (which is most intollerable of all other) they leaue no iudgement in earth to restraime and bridle their outrageous lust, if they abuse so immeasurable power. It is lawefull for no man (say they) to reuoke the iudgement of that see, because of the Supremacie of the Church of Rome. Againe. The iudge shalbe iudged neither by the Emperour, nor by kinges, nor by all the Clergie, nor of the people. That is in deede to imperiously done, that one man maketh himselfe iudge of all men, and suffreth himselfe to obey the iudgement of no man. But what if he vse tyranny over the people of God? if he scatter abroad and wast the kingdome of Christ? if he trouble the whole Church? if he turne the office of Pastor into robbery? Yea though he be neuer so mischeuous, he sayeth that he is not bounde to yelde accompte. For these be the sayings of the bishops: Gods wil was to determine the causes of other men by men, but he hath without question reserued the bishop of this see to his owne iudgement. Againe. The doinges of subiectes are iudged of vs: but oures, of God onely.

Decret.
17. que-
stion. 3.
ca. Ne
mini.
Innoc.
9. que. 3.
cap. ne
mo.
Syn. 9.
quest. 3.
Cap.
Alioru
Anther.
Ibid. c.
facta.

20 And that such decrees might haue the more weight, they haue falsly thrust in the names of the olde bishops, as though things had bene so ordained from the beginning: whereas it is most certaine, that it is newe & lately forged whatsoeuer the bishop of Rome geueth to himselfe more than we haue rehearsed to be geuen him by the auncient Councells. Yea they are come to so great shamelesnesse, that they haue set forth a writing vnder the name of Anastasius Patriarche of Constantinople, wherein he testifieth that it was decreed by the olde rules, that nothing should be done euen in the furthest prouinces, that were not first moued to the see of Rome. Beside this that it is certaine that this is most vaine, what man shall thinke it likely, that such a commendation of the see of Rome proceeded from the aduersary and enuier of the honor & dignitie thereof? But verily it behoued that these Antichristes should be carried on to so great madnesse and blindenesse, that their lewdenesse might be plaine for all men to see, at least so many as will open their eyes. But the decretall epistles heaped together by Gregorie the ix. againe the Clementines, and Extrauagantes of Martine, do yet more openly and with fuller mouth cheere where breath forth their outrageous fiercesnesse and as it were the tyrannie of barbarous kinges. But these be the oracles, by which the Romanistes will haue their papacie to be weyed. Hereupon arose those notable principles, which at this day haue euery where in the papacie the force of oracles: that the Pope can not erre: that the Pope is aboue the councells: that the Pope is the vniuersall bishop of all bishops, and the Supreme head of the Church in earth: I passe over the much absurder follies, which the foolish Canonistes babble in their scholes: to which yet the Romish diuines do not onely assente, but do also clap their handes at them, to flatter their idole.

21 I will not deale with them by extremity of right. Some other man would against this their so great insolence set the saying of Cypriane, which he vsed among the bishops, at whoes counsell he sate as chiefe. None of vs calleth himselfe bishop of bishops, or with tyrannous feare compelleth his fellowe bishops to necessitie to obey. He would obiekt that, which a litle afterwarde was decreed at Carthage. That none should be called Prince of Priests, or chiefe bishop. He would gather many testimonies out of Histories, Canons out of Synodes, and many sentences out of the booke of olde writers, by which the bishop of Rome should be brought downe into the fellowship of the rest. But I passe over all these, least I should seeme too precisely to presse them. But let the best patrones of the see of Rome

answer me, with what face they dare defende the title of vniuersal bishop, which they se so oft to be condemned with curse by Gregorie. If Gregories testimonie ought to be of force, they do thereby declare that Antichrist is their bishop, because they make him vniuersal. The name also of hed was no more vsuall. For thus he sayeth in one place. Peter is the chiefe member in the body, Iohn, Andrewe and Iames the hedges of particular peoples: yet they all are members of the Church vnder one hed: yea the holy ones before the lawe, the holy ones vnder the lawe, the holy ones vnder grace, are set among members, altogether making vp the body of the Lorde: and no man euer willed to haue himselfe called vniuersal. But whereas the bishop of Rome taketh vpon himselfe the power of commaunding, that thing smally agreeth with that which Gregory saith in another place, For whereas Eulolius bishop of Alexandria, had said that he was commaunded by him, he answered in this wise. I pray ye, take away this word of commanding from my hearing. For I knowe what I am and what ye be. In place, ye be to me brethren: in maners ye be to me fathers. Therefore I commanded not, but I cared to tell you those things that I thought profitable. Whereas he so extendeth his iurisdiction without end, he doth therein great & hainous wrong, not onely to the other bishops, but also to all particular Churches, which he so teareth and plucketh in peeces, that he may bilde his seat of their ruines. But whereas he exempteth himselfe from all iudgements, and will so reigne after the maner of tirantes, that he accompteth his owne onely lust for lawe, that verily is so hainous, and so farre from ecclesiasticall order, that it may in no wise be borne: for it vtterly abhorreth not onely from all feling of godlinesse, but also from all humanitie.

22 But that I be not cōpelled to go through & examine al things particularly, I do againe appelle to them, that will at this day be accounted the best and most faithfull patrones of the see of Rome, whether they be not ashamed to defende the present state of the papacie: which it is certaine to be a hundred times more corrupt, than it was in the times of Gregory and Bernard: which state yet did then so much displease those holy men. Gregory eche where cōplaineth, that he is to much diuersly drawen away with forain busines: that he is vnder the colour of bishoprike brought back to the world: wherein he serueth so many cares of the world as he neuer remembreth that he serued when he was a lay man: that he is pressed downe with tumulte of worldly affaires, that his minde is nothing raised vp to things aboue: that he is shaken with many waues of causes, and tossed with

tempe-

Libr. 4.
Ep. 92.

Libr. 7.
Episto.
28.

Libr. 1.
Epist. 5.
7. & 25.
& alibi.

tempestes of troublesome life : so that he may worthily say, I am come into the depth of the sea. Truly among those earthly busi-
nesses, he might yet teache the people with Sermons, priuately ad-
monishe and correct such as it behoued, order the Church, geue
counsell to his fellowe bishops and exhort them to their dutie : be-
side these things there remained some time to write : and yet he la-
menteth his calamitie, that he is drowned in the depest sea. If the
gouernement of that time was a sea : what is to be sayed of the pa-
pacie at this time ? For what likenesse haue they together ? Here be
no preachings, no care of discipline, no zeale to the Churches, no spi-
rituall doing, finally nothing but the world. Yet this maze is praised,
as though there could nothing be founde more orderly and better
framed. But what complaintes doth Bernarde poure out, what grones
doth he vtter, when he loketh vpon the faultes of his age ? What then
would he do, if he behelde this our age of iron, and worse if any be
worse than iron ? What obstinate wickednesse is this, nor onely stiffly
to defende as holy and diuine, that which all the holy men haue with
one mouth condemned : but also to abuse their testimonie to the de-
fense of the papacie, which it is certaine that they neuer knewe of ?
Howbeit of Bernardes time I confesse, that then the corruption of
all things was so great, that it was not much vnlike our time. But they
are without all shame, that fetch any pretense for it, out of that
meane age, that is the time of Leo, Gregory, & such other. For they
do like as if one, to stablishe the Monarchie of Emperours, would
praise the olde state of the Empire of Rome : that is, would borrowe
the praises of libertie, to set forth the honor of tyranny.

23 Finally, although all these things were graunted them : yet
there ariseth of fresh a newe strife for them, when we deny that there
is a Church at Rome, in which such benefites may be resident : when
we denie that there is a bishop, which may beare these priuileges of
dignitie. Admit therefore all those things to be true, (which yet we
haue already wroong from them) that Peter was by the mouth of
Christ appointed hed of the vniuersall Church : and that he left the
honor that was geuen him, in the see of Rome : that the same was
stablisht by the authoritie of the auncient Church, and confirmed
with long continuance : that the Supreme power hath bene alway
by one consent geuen of all men to the bishop of Rome : that he
hath bene the iudge of all both causes and men, and himselfe subiect
to the iudgement of none : let them haue also more, if they will : yet
I answere in one word, that none of these things auaille, vnlesse there
be at Rome a Church & a bishop. This they must needes graunt me,

that it can not be the morher of Churches, which is not it selfe a Church: that he can not be chiefe of bishops, which is not him selfe a bishop. Will they therfore haue the see Apostolike at Rome? Then let them shewe me a true and lawefull Apostleship. Will they haue the chief bishop? Then let them shewe me a bishop. But what? where will they shewe vs any face of a Church? They name one in deede, and haue it oft in their mouth. Truely the Church is knowne by her certaine markes: and bishoprike is a name of office. I speake not here of the people: but of the government it selfe, which ought continually to shine in the Church. Where is the ministerie in their Church, such as Christes institution requireth? Let vs call to remembrance that which hath before bene spoken of the office of Priests and of a bishop. If we shall bring the office of Cardinals to be tried by that rule, we shall confesse that they are nothing lesse than Priests. As for the chiefe bishop him selfe, I would faine knowe what one thing at all he hath bishoplike. First it is the principall point in the office of a bishop, to teach the people with the word of God: an other and the next point to that is, to minister the sacraments: the third is to admonish and exhort, yea and to correct them that offend, and to hold the people together in holy discipline. What of these things doth he? yea, what doth he faine him selfe to do: Let them tell therefore, by what meane they would haue him to be compted a bishop, that doth not with his little finger, no not ones so much as in outwarde shewe, touche any part of a bishops office.

24 It is not so of a bishop as it is of a king. For a king, although he do not execute that which belongeth to a king, doth neuertheless reteine the honor and title. But in iudging of a bishop respect is had to Christes commaundement, which alway ought to be of force in the Church. Therefore let the Romanistes loose me this knot. I denie that their hy bishop, is the chiefe of bishops, forasmuch as he is no bishop. They must needes proue this last point to be false, if they will haue the victorie in the first. But howe say they to this, that he not onely hath no propertie of a bishop, but rather all things contrarie? But here O God, where at shall I beginne? at his learning, or at his maners? What shall I say, or what shall I leaue vnsaide? where shall I make an ende? This I say: that whereas the world is at this day, stuffed with so many peruerse and wicked doctrines, full of so many kindes of superstitions, blinded with so many errors, drowned in so great idolatry: there is none of these any where, that hath not either flowd from thense, or at least bene there confirmed. Neither is there any other cause, why the bishops are caried with so greate
rage

rage against the doctrine of the Gospell newly springing vp againe, why they bend all their strengthes to oppresse it, why they kindle vp kings and princes to crueltie, but because they see that their whole kingdom decayeth & falleth down, so sone as the Gospell of Christ cometh in place. Leo was cruell: Clement was bloudie: Paule is a fierce murtherer. But nature hath not so much moued them to fight against the truth, as for that this was their onely meane to maintain their power. Therefore sith they can not be safe, till they haue driuen away Christ, they trauaile in this cause, as if they did fight for their religion and contries, and for their owne liues. What then? Shall that be to vs the see Apostolike, where we see nothing but horrible Apostasie? Shall he be Christes vicar, which by persecuting the Gospel with furious enterprises, doth openly professe himselfe to be Antichrist? Shall he be Peters successour, that rangeth with swerd and fire, to destroy all that euer Peter hath builded? Shall he be hed of the Church that cutting of & dismembring the Church from Christ the onely true head thereof, doth in it selfe plucke and teare it in pieces? Admitte verily that in the olde time Rome was the mother of all Churches: yet sins it hath begon to be the seate of Antichrist, it hath cessed to be that which it was.

25 We seeme to be to much euill speakers and railers, when we call the bishop of Rome Antichrist. But they that so thinke, do not vnderstande that they accuse Paule of immodestie, after whom we so speake, yea out of whoes mouth we so speake. And least any man obiecte, that we do wrongfully wrest against the bishop of Rome, these wordes of Paul that are spoken to an other intent, I will bresely shewe, that they can nor be otherwise vnderstanded, but of the Papacie. Paul writeth, that Antichrist shall sitt in the temple of God. In an other place also the Holy Ghost describing his image in the person of Antiochus, sheweth that his kingdome shal consist in haughtinesse of speche, and blasphemings of God. Hereupon we gather, that it is rather a tyrannic ouer soules, than ouer bodies, that is raised vp against the spirituall kingdom of Christ. Then, that it is such, as doth not abolish the name of Christ and the Church: but rather should abuse the pretēce of Christ, and lurke vnder the title of the Church, as vnder a disguised visour. But although all the heresies and sectes that haue bene from the beginning, belong to the kingdome of Antichrist: yet where as Paule prophecieth, that there shall come a departing, by this description he signifieth, that that seate of abomination shall then be raised vp, when a certaine vniuersall departing shall possesse the Church: howsoeuer many membres of the Church

2. The6

2.4.

Dan. 7^a

25.

here and there continue in the true vnitie of faith. But where he addeth, that in his time he began in a myſterie to ſette vp the worke of iniquitie, which he would afterward ſhewe openly: thereby we vnderſtand, that this calamitie was neither to be brought in by one man, nor to be ended in one man. Nowe whereas he doth ſet out Antichriſt by this marke, that he ſhould plucke away from God his due honor, to take it to himſelf: this is the chiefe token that we ought to followe in ſeeking out of Antichriſt, ſpecially where ſuch pride procedeth euen to the publike diſſipation of the Church. Sith therefore it is certaine, that the biſhop of Rome hath ſhameleſſely conueyed away to himſelfe that which was the chiefe propre thing to God alone & Chriſt, it is not to be doubted but that he is the capitaine and ſtanderbearer of the wicked and abhominable kingdome.

26 Nowe let the Romanists go, and obieſt an iquitie againſt vs: As if in ſo great alteration of all things, the honor of the See might ſtand where there is no ſee. Euſebius telleth, howe God, that there might be place for his vengeance, remoued the Church that was at Hieruſalem to Pella. That which we heate to haue bene ones doone, might be oſter donne. Therefore ſo to binde the honor of ſupremacy to a place, that he which is in deede the moſt hatefull enemy of Chriſt, the hieſt aduerſarie of the Goſpell, the greateſt waſter and deſtroyer of the Church, the moſt cruell ſlaughtermā & butcher of the ſaints, ſhould neuertheleſſe be accompted the vicar of Chriſt, the ſucceſſor of Peter, the chief biſhop of the Church, only becauſe he occupieth the ſee that was ones the chiefeſt of all: that verily is to much to be ſcorned and fooliſhe. I ſpeake not, howe great difference there is betwene the popes chauncerie, and a well framed order of the Church, Howbeit this one thing may well take away all dout of this queſtion. For no man that hath his right wit, will thinke the biſhoprike enclosed in leade and bulles: much leſſe, in that ſchoole of fraudes and deceites, in which thinges the Popes ſpiritual governement conſiſteth. Therefore it was very well ſaid by a certain man, that that Church of Rome which is boſted of, is long ago tourned into a court which onely is nowe ſeene at Rome. Neither do I here accuſe the faultes of men: but I ſhewe that the Papacie it ſelfe is direclly contrary to the true order of a Church.

27 But if we come to the perſones of men, it is well enough knowen what maner of vicars of Chriſt we ſhall finde. Iulius forſooth, and Leo, and Clement, and Paul, ſhalbe pillars of the chriſtian faith, and the chiefe expoſitours of religion, which neuer knewe any other thing of Chriſt, than that which he had learned in Lucians ſchole.

But

But why do I reckon vp thre or fower Popes? as though it were doubtful, what maner of forme of religion the Popes with their whole college of Cardinals haue fins long ago professed, & at this day do professe. For first this is the principall article of that secret Diuinity that reigneth among them, That there is no God: the seconde, That all things that are written and taught concerning Christ, are lies and deceits: the third, That the doctrine of the life to come, and of the last resurrection, are mere fables. They do not all thinke so: and fewe of them speake so. I graunt. But this hath long ago begon to be the ordinarie religion of Popes. Whereas this is very well knownen to all that knowe Rome, yet the Romishe Diuines ceasse not to boast, that by Christes priuilege it is provided, that the Pope can not erre, because it was said to Peter: I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith should not faint. What, I pray you, winne they by mocking so shamelessly, but that the whole world may vnderstand, that they are come to that extremitie of wickednesse, that they neither feare God, nor stande in awe of men? Luc. 22.
32.

28 But let vs imagine, that the vngodlines of those Popes whom I haue spoken of, is hidden, because they haue neither published it by preaching, nor by writings: but onely haue bewrayed it at their table, and in their chamber, or at least within walles of houses. But if they will haue this priuilege to be of force, which they pretēde, they must needs wipe Iohn the. xxij. out of the number of Popes, who openly affirmed that soules are mortall, and that they die together with the bodies vntil the day of resurrection. And, that you may perceiue that the whole See with her principall stayes was then wholly fallen: none of all the Cardinals withstode so great a madnesse, but the schoole of Parise moued the king of Fraunce to compell him to recant it. The kinge forbad his subiectes to communicate with him, vnlesse he did out of hande repent: and the same, as the maner is, he proclaimed by a heralde. The Pope compelled by this necessitie, abjured his error. This example maketh that I neede not to dispute any more with my aduersaries about this that they say, that y^e see of Rome and the bishops therof, can not erre in the faith, because it was saide to Peter, I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith may not fainte. Truly Luc. 22
32. he fell with so fowle a kinde of fall from the right faith, that he is a notable example to them that come after, that they are not all Peters which succede after Peter in the bishoprike. Howbeit this is also of it selfe so childish, that it needeth no aunswere. For if they will drawe 20 Peters successours whatsoever was spoken to Peter, it shall followe that they are all Satans, forasmuch as the Lorde said this also to Mat. 18
23.

Peter. Go behinde, thou Satan, because thou art an offence to me. For it shalbe as easy for vs to turne backe this latter saying against them, as it shalbe for them to obiekt the other against vs.

29 But I list not to strue with them in playing the foole. Therefore I returne thether from whence I made digression. So to bind the place, and Christ, and the Holy Ghost, and the Church together, that whosoever sit in that place, although he be the deuil, yet he must be iudged the vicar of Christ, and the hed of the Church, because it was ones the seate of Peter: I say this is not onely wicked & sclaunderous to Christ, but also to great an absurdity and against common reason. It is already long ago sins the bishops of Rome are either without al religion, or the greatest enemies of religion. Therefore they are no more made the vicars of Christ, by reason of the seate which they occupie, than an idoll, when it is set in the tēple of God, is to be taken for God. Nowe if their maners be to be iudged vppon, let the Popes themselues aunswere for themselues: what one thinge at all there is in them, wherein they may be knowen for bishops. First whereas there is such life at Rome, they not onely winking at it, but also as it were with secret countenance allowing it, this is viterly vnmete for bishops, whoes due tie is with seueritie of discipline to restraine the licētiousnesse of the people. But I will not be so rigorous against them, to charge them with other mens faultes. But whereas they themselues, with their owne household, with almost y whole college of Cardinals, with y whole flocke of their clergie, are so geuen forth to all wickednesse, filthinesse, vncleannesse, to all kundes of lewde and mischeuous doings, that they resemble rather monsters than men: therein truly they bewray thēselues to be nothing lesse thā bishops. And yet they neede not to feare least I should further disclose their filthinesse. For both I am wery to haue to do in so stinking mire, and I must fauour chaste eares, and I thinke that I haue already enough and more proued that which I went about: that is, that although Rome had in old time bene the head of Churches, yet at this day she is not worthy to be iudged one of the smallest toes of the Churches feete.

30 As concerning the Cardinals (as they call them) I can not tell howe it is come to passe, that they be so sodeinly risen vp to so great dignitie. This name in Gregories time belonged to bishops only. For so oft as he maketh mention of Cardinals, he meaneth it not of them of the Church of Rome, but of any other: so that bresely, a Cardinall Priest is nothing els but a bishop. In the writers before that age I finde not this name at all. But I see that they were then lesse than bishops, whom they be nowe farre aboue. This saying of Augustine
is well

is well known: Although according to the names of honor, which the vse of the Church hath already obtained, bishoprike is greater than priesthoode, yet in many things Augustine is lesse than Hierom. Here in deede he maketh difference betwene a priest of the Church of Rome and other: but he indifferently setteth them all behinde the bishops. And y^e was so long obserued, that in y^e Councel at Carthage, when there were present two legates of the see of Rome, the one a bishop, the other a priest, the priest was thrust back into y^e last place. But not to folow two old examples, there remaineth a Councel holden vnder Gregorie at Rome, at which the priestes sate in the lowest place, & subscribed seuerally by themselves, as for the Deacons, they had no place at al in subscribing. And truely they had then no office, but to be present and vnder the bishop at ministring of doctrine and of the sacraments. Now the case is so changed, that they are become the cousins of kings and Emperours. And it is no dout but that they grew vp by litle and litle together with their heade, till they were aduanced to this hie toppe of dignity. But this also I thought good to touch shortly by the way, that the readers might the better vnderstande, that the See of Rome, such as it is at this day, doth much differ from that auncient one, vnder pretense wherof, it doth now maintain and defende it selfe. But of what sort soeuer they were in old time, forasmuch as they haue now nothinge of the true and lawfull office in the Church, they retaine only a deceitful colour & vaine visour: yea forasmuch as they haue all thinges vtterly contrary, it was necessary that that should happen to them, which Gregorie wryteth so oft. I say it (sayth he) wepinge: I giue warninge of it, groning: y^e sith the order of priesthoode is fallen within, it shall also not be able to stand long without. But rather it behoued that this should be fulfilled in the which Malachie sayth of such: Ye haue gone backe out of the way, and haue made many to stumble in the law. Therefore ye haue made voide the couenant of Leui, sayth the Lord. Therefore beholde I haue giuen you out of estimation, and vile to all the people. Now I leaue it to all the godly to thinke of what sort is that supreme height of the Hierarchie of Rome, whereunto the Papistes with abhominable shamelesnesse sticke not to make subiect the very worde of God, which ought to haue bin honorable & holy both to heauen & earth, men and Angels.

Lib 4.
epist. 25
& 55.
Lib 5.
epist. 7.
Mala. 1.
8.

*Of the power of the Church as touching the articles of Faith: & wish
how unbridled licentiousnes it hath in the Papacy bin vvested
to corrupt all purenesse of Doctrine.*

NOW foloweth the third place, of the power of the Church, which partely consisteth in all the bishoppes, and partely in the Councelles, and those either prouinciall or generall. I speake onely of the spirituall power, which is proper to the Church. That consisteth either in doctrine, or in iurisdiction, or in makinge of lawes. Doctrine hath two partes, the authoritie to teache articles of Doctrine, and the expoundinge of them. Before that we beginne to discourse of euery one of these in specialty, we will that the godly readers be warned, that whatsoever is taught concerning the power of the Church, they must remember to applie it to that ende, whereunto (as Paule testifieth) it was giuen: that is, to edification, and not to destruction: which who so lawefully vse, they thinke themselues no more than the ministers of Christ, and therewithall the ministers of the people in Christ. Nowe of the edifyinge of the Church, this is the onely way, if the ministers themselues endeuour to preferue to Christ his authoritie, which can not otherwise be safe vlesse that be left vnto him, which he receiued of his Father: that is, that he be the onely schoolemaister of the Church. For it is wrytten, not of any other, but of him alone, Heare him. The power of the Church therefore is not to be sparingly set forth, but yet to be enclosed within certaine boundes, that it be not drawen hither and thither after the lust of men. Hereunto it shalbe much profitable to note, how it is described of the Prophetes and Apostles. For if we simply graunt vnto mē such power as they list to take vpon them, it is plaine to all men, what a slippery readinesse there is to fall into tyranny, which ought to be farre from the Church of Christ.

2 Therefore here it must be remembred, that whatsoever authority or dignity y^e holy Ghost in the scripture giueth either to the priests or to the Prophetes, or to the Apostles, or to the succellours of the Apostles, al that same is giuen, not proprely to the men themselues, but to the ministry ouer which they are appointed, or (to speake it more plainly in one word) whereof the ministry is committed to them. For if we go through them all in order, we shall not finde that they had any authority to teach or to answere, but in the name and word of the Lord. For when they are called to the office, it is also enioyned them, that

2. Cor.
12. 8. &
13. 10.

Mat. 17
5.

that they should bring nothing of themselves, but speake out of the mouth of the Lord. And he himselfe doth not bring them forth to be heard of the people, before that he haue giuen them instructions what they ought to speake, to the entent that they should speake nothing beside his word. Moses himselfe, the prince of all the Prophets, was to be heard about the rest: but he was first instructed with his cōmaundemētes, that he might not declare any thing at all, but frō the Lord. Therefore it is sayd, that the people when they embraced his doctrine, beleued in God and in his seruant Moses. Also that the authority of the priestes should not grow in contempt, it was stablished with most grieuous penalties. But therewithall the Lord sheweth vpon what condition they were to be heard, when he saith y he hath made his couenāt with Leui, that the law of trueth should be in his mouth. And a litle after he addeth: The lips of the priest shal kepe knowledge, & they shal require the law at his mouth: because he is the angell of the God of hostes. Therefore if the priest will be heard, let him shew himselfe the messenger of God: that is, let him faithfully reporte the cōmaundements that he receiued of his author. And where it is specially entreated of the hearing of them, this is expressly set, That they may answere according to the law of God.

3 What maner of power the Prophets generally had, is very well described in Ezechiel: Thou sonne of man (sayth the Lord) I haue giuen thee to be a watchman to the house of Isracell. Therefore thou shalt heare the worde out of my mouth, and thou shalt declare it to them from me. He that is commaunded to heare out of the mouth of the Lorde, is he not forbidden to inuent any thinge of himselfe? But what is to declare from the Lord, but so to speake as he may boldly boast, that it is not his owne, but the Lords word y he hath brought? The selfe same thing is in Hieremy, in other words. Let the Prophet (sayth he) with whom is a dreame, tell a dreame: & let him that hath my word speake my word true. Certainly he appointeth a law to the all. And that is such, that he permitteth not any to teach more than he is commaunded. And after he calleth it chaffe, all that is not come from himselfe only. Therefore none of the Prophets themselves opened his mouth, but as the Lord told him the wordes before. Wherevpon these sayings are so oft found among them: the word of the lord, the burden of the Lord, so sayth the Lord, the mouth of y Lord hath spoken. And worthily. For Esay cried out that he had defiled lips. Hieremy cōfessed that he could not speake, because he was a child: What coulde proceede from the defiled mouth of the one, and the foolish mouth of the other, but vncleane and vnwise, if they had spokē their

Exo. 3. 4

Exo. 14.

31.

Deu. 16

9.

Mala. 2.

4. & 6.

Deu. 17

10.

Eze. 3.

17.

Hier. 23

28.

Esa. 6. 5.

Ioh. 1. 6

Esa 6. 5

Ier. 1. 6.

Cap.8.

Of the outward meanes

owne spech? But his lips were holy and pure, when they began to be the instruments of the holy Ghost. When the Prophets are bounde with this religion, that they deliuer nothinge, but that which they haue receiued, then they be garnished with notable power and excellent titles. For when the lorde testifieth, that he hath set them ouer nations and kingdomes, to plucke vp and to roote out, to destroy and plucke downe, to build and to plant, he by and by adioyneth the cause: because he hath put his words in their mouth.

4 Now if you looke to the Apostles: they are in deede commended with many & notable titles, that they are the light of the world, and the salt of the earth, that they are to be hearde in stede of Christ, that whatsoeuer they binde or loose in earth shalbe bound or loosed in heauen. But in their very name they shew how much is permitted them in their office: that is, if they be Apostles, that they should not prate whatsoeuer they list: but should faithfully report his commaundements frō whom they are sent. And the words of Christ are plaine enough, in w^h he hath determined their embassage: whē he commaūded thē to go & teach all nations, all those things y^e he had cōmaūded. Yea & he himselſe also receiued this law, & laid it vpō himselſe, that it should be lawfull for no mā to refuse it. My doctrine (sayth he) is not mine, but his that sent me, my fathers. He that was alway the only & eternall counsellor of the Father, & he that was appointed by the Father the Lorde and schoolemaister of all men, yet because he executed the ministry of teaching, prescribed by his owne example to all ministers what rule they ought to folow in teaching. Therefore the power of the Church is not infinit, but subiect to the word of the lord, & as it were enclosed in it.

5 But sith this hath from the beginning bin of force in the church, & at this day ought to be in force, that the seruantes of God should teach nothing, which they haue not learned of him: yet according to the diuersity of times they had diuers orders of learning. But that order which is now, much differeth from those that were before. First if it be true which Christ sayeth, that none hath seene the Father, but the Sonne, and he to whom it hath pleased the Sonne to shew him: it behoued verily that they should be alway directed by that eternal wisdom of the Father, which would come to the knowledge of God. For how should they either haue comprehended in minde, or vttered the misteries of God, but by his teaching, to whom alone the secretes of the Father are opē? Therefore the holy fathers in old time knew God no other wise but beholding him in the Sonne as in a glasse. When I say this, I meane that God did neuer by any other meane disclose him selfe

selfe to men but by the Sonne, that is, his only wisdom, light, & truth. Out of this fountaine did Adam, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob & the other drawe all the knowledge that they had of heauenly doctrine. Out of the same fountaine haue also all the Prophets theselues drawn all the heauenly Oracles that they vttered For verily this Wisdom hath alway disclosed it selfe by moe waies than one. To the Patriarches he vsed secret reuelations: but therewithall to confirme their mindes, he adioyned such signes, that it could not be doubtful to them, that it was God that spake. The Patriarches conueied ouer frō hand to hand to posterity, that which they had receiued. For the Lord left it with them to this entent, that they should so spread it abroad. But the children and childrens children, by God secretly informing the, did know that that which they heard was from heauen, & not from the earth.

6 But when it pleased God, to raise a more apparant forme of a Church, he willed to haue his word put in wryting & noted, that the priestes should ferch from these what they might deliuer to the people, and that all the doctrine that should be taught should be tried by that rule. Therefore after the publishing of the law, when the priestes are commaunded to teache out of the mouth of the Lord, the meaning is, that they should teach nothinge straunge or differinge from that kinde of learning which the Lord comprehended in the lawe: & to adde and diminish was vnlawful for them. Then followed the Prophetes, by whom in dede the Lord published new oracles to be added to the law: but yet not so new, but that they came out of the law, & had respect vnto it. For, as touching doctrine, they were only expositors of the law, & added nothing vnto it, but prophecies of things to come. Those excepted; they vttered nothing else but a pure exposition of the law. But because it pleased the Lord that there should be a plainer & larger doctrine, that weake consciēces might be the better satisfied: he commaunded that the Prophecies also should be put in wryting, and accompted parte of his word. And hereunto were added the histories, which are also the works of the Prophets, but made by the enditinge of the holy Ghost. I reckon the Psalmes amonge the Prophecies, because that which we attribute to the prophecies is also common to the psalmes. Therefore that whole body compacted of the law, prophecies, psalmes & histories, was the word of y^e Lord to y^e old people, by the rule whereof the priestes & teachers euē vnto Christes time were bound to examine their doctrine: neither was it lawfull for them to swarue either to the right hand or to the left: because all their office was enclosed within these boundes, that they should aunswere

Mala. 2.
7.

Cap.8.

Of the outward meanes

Mal. 4. 4 the people out of the mouth of God. Which is gathered of a notable place of Malachie, where he biddeth them to be mindefull of the law, & to giue hede to it, euen to the preachinge of the Gospell. For therby he forbiddeth them all new found doctrines, & graunteth the no leaue to swarue neuer so litle out of the way which Moses hadde faithfully shewed the. And this is the reason why Dauid so honorably setteth out the excellency of the law, & rehearseth so many praises of it: that is, that the Iewes should couet no forein thing without it, sith within it was all perfection enclosed.

He. 1. 1. 7 But when at last the Wisdom of God was openly shewed in the fleshe, that same Wisdom with full mouth declared vnto vs all that euer can with mans witte be comprehended, or ought to be thought concerninge the heauenly Father. Nowe therefore, since Christ the sonne of righteousness hath shined, we haue a perfect brightnesse of the trueth of God, such as the clearenesse is wont to be at midde day, when the light was before but dimme. For verily the Prophete meant not to speake of any meane thinge, when he wrote that God in olde time spake diuersly & many wayes to the fathers by the Prophetes: but y in these last daies he began to speake to vs by his beloued Sonne. For he signifieth, yea he openly declareth, that God will not hereafter, as he did before, speake sometime by some and sometime by other, nor will adde Prophecies to Prophecies, or reuelations to reuelations: but that he hath so fulfilled all the partes of teachinge in the Sonne, that they must haue this of him for the last and eternall testimony. After which sort al this time of the new Testament wherein Christ hath appeared to vs with the preaching of his Gospell euen to the day of iudgement, is expressed by the last houre, the last times, the last daies: to the end verily that contented with the perfection of the doctrine of Christ, we should learne neither to faine vs any newe beside it, or receiue it fained of other. Therefore not without cause the Father hath by singular prerogative ordayned the Sonne to be our Teacher: commaunding him, and not any man, to be heard. He did indeede in few wordes set out his schoolemaistership vnto vs, when he sayd, heare him: but in which there is more weight and force than men commonly thinke. For it is as much in effect, as if leading vs away from all doctrines of men, he should bring vs to him only, and commaund vs to looke for al the doctrine of saluation at him alone, to hang vpon him alone, to cleaue to him alone, finally (as the very wordes do sound) to harkē to the voice of him alone. And truly what ought there now to be either looked for or desired at the hand of man, when the very worde of life hath familiarly and openly disclosed himselfe vnto

Mat. 17
5.

vnto vs? Yea but it is mete that the mouthes of all men be shut, after that he, in whom the heauenly Father willed to haue al the treasures of knowledge and wisdom to be hidden, hath once spoken, and so spoken as became both the wisdom of God (which is in no parte vn- perfect) and Messias at whose hande the reuelation of all things is hoped for: that is to say, that he left nothinge afterward for other to be spoken. Iohn. 4. 25.

8 Let this therfore be a stedfast principle: y there is to be had no other word of God, wherunto place should be given in the Church, than that which is contained first in the lawe & the Prophets, & then in the writings of the Apostles: and that there is no other maner of teaching rightly, but accordinge to the prescription and rule of that word. Hereupon also we gather, that there was no other thing graunted to the Apostles, but that which y Prophets had had in olde times: that is, that they shoulde expounde the olde Scripture, and shew that those things that are therein taught are fulfilled in Christ: and yet that they shoulde not do the same but of the Lord, that is to say, the Spirit of Christ going before them, and after a certaine maner enditinge wordes vnto them. For Christ limited their embassage with this condition when he commaunded them to go and teache, not such things as they themselues had rashely forged, but all those things that he had commaunded them. And nothing could be more plainly spoken, than that which he sayth in an other place: but be not ye called maisters, for onely one is your maister, Christ. Then, to emprint this more deeply in their minde, he repeateth it twise in the same place. And because their rudenes was such, that they could not conceiue those things that they had hearde & learned of the mouth of their maister, therfore the Spirit of trueth is promised them, by whom they should be directed to the true vnderstanding of all things. For that same restraining is to be diligently noted, where this office is assigned to the holy Ghost, to put the in mind of all those things y he before taught them by mouth. Mat. 23 20. Mat. 23 8. Iohn. 14. 26. & 16 13.

9 Therefore Peter who was very wel taught how much he might lawfully do, leaueth nothing either to himself or other, but to distribute the doctrine deliuered of God. Let him that speaketh (sayth he) speake as the words of God, y is to say, not douringly, as they are wont to tremble whose own conscience misgiueth them, but with sure confidence, w becōmeth the seruār of God furnished with assured instructions. What other thinge is this, but to forbid al inuentions of mans minde, from what head soeuer they haue proceded, y the pure word of God may be heard & learned in the church of y faithfull: to take away 1. Pet. 4. 11.

Cap.8.

Of the outward meanes

the ordinances or rather the fayned deuities of all men, of what degree soeuer they be, that the decrees of God onely may remaine in force? These be those spirituall armures, mighty through God to cast downe holdes : by which the faithfull seruantes of God may throwe downe counsellles , and all height that aduanceth it selfe against the knowledge of God , and may leade all knowledge captiue to obey Christ. Lo this is the soueraigne power, wherewith it behoueth the Pastors of the Church to be endued , by what name soeuer they be called, that is, that by the word of God they may with confidence be bold to do all thinges: may compell all the strength, glory, wisdom & height of the world to yelde and obey to his maiesty: being vpholden by his power , may commaunde all euen from the hiest to the lowest: may build vp the house of Christ and pull downe the house of Satan: may feede the sheepe and driue away the wolues: may instruct and exhort the willing to learne : may reprove, rebuke & subdue the rebellious and stubborne: may binde, and loose: finally may thunder and lighten, if nede be: but all thinges in the word of God. Howbeit there is, as I haue said, this difference betwene the Apostles and their successors, that the Apostles were the certaine and authentike secretaries of the holy Ghost, & therefore their wrytings are to be esteemed for the Oracles of God: but the other haue none other office, but to teach that which is set forth and written in the holy Scriptures. We determine therefore, that this is not nowe left to faithfull ministers, that they may coyne any new doctrine, but that they ought simply to cleaue to $\hat{y}$ doctrine, wherunto the lord hath made al mē without exception subiect. When I say this, my meaninge is not onely to shew what is lawfull for all particular men, but also what is lawfull for the whole vniuersall Church. Now as touchinge all particular men: Paule verily was ordained by the Lorde Apostle to the Corinthians: but he denieth that he hath dominion ouer their faith. Who nowe dare take a dominion vpon himselfe, which Paule testifieth that it belonged not to him? If he had acknowledged himselfe to haue this liberty of teaching, that whatsoeuer $\hat{y}$ Pastor teacheth he may therein of right require to be beleued: he would neuer haue taught the Corinthians this discipline, that while two or three Prophers speake, the rest should iudge, & if it were reuealed to any that sate, the first should holde his peace. For so he spared none, whose authority he made not subiect to the iudgement of the word of God. But, wil some man say, of the whole vniuersall Church the case is otherwise. I answere that in an other place Paule meeteth with this dout also, where he sayth, that Faith is by hearinge, and hearinge by the word of God. Truly if

Faith

2. Cor.
10. 4.

2. Cor. 14.

3. Cor.
14. 19.

Rom. 10

Faith hang of the word of God only, hath respect vnto & resteth vpon it alone, what place is there now left to y word of the whole world? For herin no mā may dout, y hath wel knowē what Faith is For Faith ought to be staid vpon such assurednes, wherby it may stand inuincible against Satan, & all the engines of the hels, & against the whole world. This assurednes we shal no where find but in the only word of God. Again, it is a generall rule which we here ought to haue respect vnto: that God doth therefore take from men the power to set forth a new doctrine, y he only may be our schoolemaister in heauēly learning, as he only is true which can neither lie nor deceiue. This rule belōgeth no lesse to y whole Church than to euery one of y faithfull.

10 But if this power of the Church, which we haue spoken of, be compared with that power, whereof the spiritual tyrantes, that haue falsly called theselues Bishops & Prelates of religion, haue in certaine ages past boasted theselues among the people of God, the agreement shalbe no better than Christ hath wth Beeliall. Yet it is not in this place my purpose to declare in what sort & with how wicked meanes they haue exercised their tyranny: I will but rehearse the doctrine, which at this day they defende, first with writings, & then with swerd & fire. Because they take it for a thing confessed, that a generall Councell is the true image of the Church, when they haue taken this principle, they do without dout determine, that such councels are immediatly gouerned of the holy Ghost, & that therefore they can not erre. But wheras they themselues do rule, the councels, yea & make them, they do in dede chalēge to themselues whatsoeuer they affirme to be due to the Councels. Therefore they will haue our Faith to stand & fall at their wil, that whatsoeuer they shal determine on the one side or the other, may be stablished & certaine to our mindes: so y if they allow any thing we must allow the same without douting: if they condemne any thing we must also hold it for cōdemned. In the meane time after their owne lust, & despising the word of God, they coyne doctrines, to which afterward they require by this rule to haue Faith giuen. For they also say that he is no Christian, that doth not certainly consent to all their doctrines as well affirmative as negatiue: if not with expressed yet with vnexpressed Faith: because it is in the power of the Church, to make new articles of the Faith.

11 First let vs heare by what argumentes they proue that this authority is giuen to the Church: and then we shall see how much that maketh for the which they alleage of the Church. The Church (say they) hath notable promises, that it shall neuer be forsaken of Christ her spouse, but that it shalbe guided by his Spirit into all truth. But of

Mat. 28

20.

Ioan. 14.

16.

the promises which they are wont to alleage, many are giue no lesse to euery one of the faithfull particularly, than to the whole Church vniuersally. For though the Lord spake to the twelue Apostles, when he said: Beholde I am with you euen to the end of the world: Agains I will aske my Father, & he shall giue you an other comforter, namely the Spirit of truth: yet he made the promise not only to the whole number of the twelue, but also to euery one of the: yea to the other disciples likewise, either those that he had already receiued, or those that should afterward be added to the. But when they expounde such promises full of singular comfort, as though they were giuen to none of the Christians, but to the whole Church together: what do they else, but take away from all Christians that confidence which they all ought to receiue thereby to encourage them? Yet I do not here deny, but that the whole fellowship of the faithfull furnished with manifold diuersity of giftes, is endued with much larger & more plentiful treasure of the heavenly wisdom, than eche one seuerally: neither is it my meaning, that this is spoken in common to the faithfull, as though they were all alike endued with the Spirit of vnderstanding and doctrine: but because it is not to be graunted, to y^e aduersaries of Christ, that they should for the defense of an euill cause wrest the Scripture to a wrong sense. But, omittinge this, I simply confesse that which is true, that the lord is perpetually present with his, & ruleth them with his Spirit. And that this Spirit is not the Spirit of error, ignorance, lying or darkenesse: but of sure reuelation, wisdom, trueth, & light, of whome they not deceitfully may learne those thinges that are giuen them, that is to say, what is the hope of their calling, & what be the riches of the glory of the inheritance of God in the saintes. But whereas the faithfull, euen they that are endued with more excellent giftes about the rest, do in this flesh receiue only the first frutes & a certaine tast of that Spirit: there remaineth nothing leeuier to them than knowing their owne weakenes, to holde themselves carefully within the boundes of the word of God: least, if they wander far after their owne sense, they bbandby stray out of the right way, insomuch as they be yet void of that Spirit, by whose only teachinge trueth is discerned from falshode. For all men do confesse with Paule, that they haue not yet attained to the marke. Therefore they more endeouour to daily profiting, than glory of perfection.

1. Cor. 1

12.

Ephe. 1.

18.

Phil. 3.

12.

12 But they wil take exceptiō, & say that whatsoeuer is particularly attributed to euery one of the holy ones, the same doth throughly & fully belong to the Church it selfe. Although this hath some seeming of trueth, yet I deny it to be true. God doth indeed so distribute to e-
uery

every one of the members the gifts of his Spirit by measure, that the whole body wanteth nothing necessary, when the giftes are giuen in common. But the riches of the Church are alway such, that there euer wanteth much of that hiest perfectiō, which our aduersaries do boast of. Yet the Church is not therefore so left destitute in any behalfe, but that she alway hath so much as is enough. For the Lorde knoweth what her necessity requireth. But, to holde her vnder humility & godly modesty, he giuerh her no more than he knoweth to be expedient. I know what here also they are wont to object, that is, that the Church is cleansed with the washing of water in the word of life, ^{Ephē. 5. 25.} that it might be without wrinkle & spot, & that therefore in an other ^{1. Tim. 3. 15.} place it is called the pillar & stay of truth. But in the first of these two places is rather taught, what Christ daily worketh in it, than what he hath already done. For if he daily sanctifieth, purgeth, polisheth, wipeth from spots all them that be his: truely it is certaine that they are yet besprinkled with some spots and wrinkles, and that there wanteth somewhat of their sanctification. But how vaine and fabulous is it, to iudge the Church already in euery part holy & spotlesse, wherof all the members are spotty and very vncleane? It is true therefore that the Church is sanctified of Christ. But onely the beginninge of that sanctifying is here seene: but the end and ful accomplishment shalbe, when Christ the holiest of holy ones shall truely and fully fill it with his holinesse. It is true also that the spottes and wrinkles of it are wiped away: but so that they be daily in wiping away, vntill Christ with his comminge do vtterly take away all that remayneth. For vnlesse we graunt this, we must of necessity affirme with the Pelagians, that the righteousness of the faythfull is perfect in this life: and with the Cathari and Donatistes we must suffer no infirmitie in the Church. The other place, as we haue else where seene, hath a sense vtterly differinge from that which they pretende. For when Paule hath instructed Timothee, and framed him to the true office of a Bishoppe, he sayth that he did it to this purpose, that he shoulde knowe how he ought to behaue himselfe in the Church. And that he should with the greater religiousnesse and endeuour bende himselfe thereunto, he addeh that the Church is the very pillar & stay of trueth. For what else do these words meane, but that the trueth of God is preserued in the Church, namely by the ministry of preaching? As in an other place he teacheth, that Christ gaue Apostles, Pastors & Teachers, that we shoulde no more be caried about with euery winde of doctrine, or be mocked of mē: but that being enlightened with the true knowledge of the Sonne of God, we shoulde altogether meete in vinity of Fayth,

Whereas therefore the truth is not extinguished in the world, but remaineth safe, that same cometh to passe because it hath y^e Church a faithfull keper of it, by whole help & ministry it is sustained. But if this keping standeth in the ministry of the Prophets & Apostles, it foloweth that it hangeeth wholly hereupon, if the word of the Lord be faithfully preserved and do kepe his purity.

13 But that the readers may better vnderstande, vpon what point this question chiefly standeth, I will in few wordes declare what our aduersaries require, and wherein we stand against them. Where they say that the Church can not erre, it tendeth hereunto, and thus they expounde it, that forasmuch as it is gouerned by the Spirit of God, it may go falsely without the word: that whether soeuer it goeth, it can not thinke nor speake any thing but truth: that therefore if it determine any thing without or beside Gods word, the same is no other wise to be esteemed than as a certaine Oracle of God. If we graunt that first point, that the Church can not erre in thinges necessary to saluation, this is our meaning, that this is therfore because forsaking all her owne wisdom, she suffereth her selfe to be taught of the holy Ghost by the word of God. This therefore is the difference. They set the authority of the Church without the worde of God, but we will that it be annexed to the worde, & suffer it not to be seuered from it. And what marvel is it, if the spouse & scholar of Christ be subiect to her husband & schoolemaister, that she continually & earnestly hangeth of his mouth? For this is the order of a well gouerned house, y^e the wife should obey the authority of the husband: & this is the rule of a well ordered schoole, that the teaching of the scholemaister alone should there be heard. Wherefore let the Church not be wise of her selfe, not thinke any thing of her selfe: but determine the ende of her wisdom where he hath made an end of speaking. After this maner she shall also distrust all the inuentions of her owne reason: but in those thinges wherein it standeth vpon y^e word of God, she shal wauer with no distrustfulnes or douting, but shal rest with great assurednes & stedfast constancy. So also trusting vpon the largenes of those promises that she hath, she shal haue whereupon abundantly to sustaine her faith: that she may nothinge doubt that the best guide of the right way the holy Spirit is alway present with her: but therewithall she shall kepe in memory what vnto the Lord would he haue vs to receiue of his holy

Ion. 16. Spirit. The Spirit (sayth he) which I wil send fro my Father, shal leade
7. & 13. you into al truth. But how? because (saith he) he shal put you in minde of all those things that I haue tolde you. Therefore he giueth warning that there is nothing more to be looked for of his Spirit, but that he should

should enlighten our mindes to perceiue the trueth of his doctrine. Therefore Chrysostome saith excellently well. Many (saith he) do boast of the holy Spirit: but they which speake their owne do falsly pretende that they haue him. As Christ testified that he spake not of himselfe: because he spake out of the law and the Prophets: so if any thing beside the Gospel be thrust in vnder the title of the Spirit, let vs not beleue it because as Christ is the fulfilling of the law & the Prophets: so is the Spirit, of the Gospel. These be his words. Now it is easie to gather how wrongefully our aduersaries do, which boast of the holy Ghost to no other ende, but to set forth vnder his name strange & foraine doctrines from the word of God: whereas he will with vn-speakeable knot be cōioined with the word of God, & the same doth Christ professe of him when he promisseth him to his Church. So is it truly. What sobriety y^e lord hath once prescribed to his church, y^e same he will haue to be perpetually kept. But he hath forbidden her, y^e she should not adde any thing to his word, nor take any thing frō it. This is the inuiolable decree of God & of y^e holy Ghost, which our aduersaries go about to abrogate, when they saie that the Church is ruled of the Spirit without the word.

14 Here againe they murmure against vs, and say that it behoued that the Church should adde some things to the writings of the Apostles, or that they theselues should afterward with liuely voice supply many things which they had not clearly enough taught, namely sith Christ said vnto thē. I haue many things to be said to you, which you can not now beare: & that these be the ordinances, which without the Scripture haue bin receiued onely in vse & maners. But what shamelesnesse is this? I graunt the disciples were yet rude, & in a manner vnapt to learne, whē the Lord sayd this vnto them. But were they then also holden with such dulnes, whē they did put their doctrine in wrytinge, that they afterward needed to supply with liuely voice that which they had by fault of ignorance omitted in their wrytings? But if they were already led by the Spirit of trueth into all trueth when they did set forth their wrytings: what hindred that they haue not therein contained & left written a perfect knowledge of the doctrine of the Gospel? But go to: let vs graunt them that which they require. Only let them point out what be those things that it behoued to be reuealed without writing. If they dare enterprise that, I wil assaile thē with Augustines wordes: that is. When the Lord hath sayd nothinge of them, which of vs dare say, these they be or those they be: or if any dare say so, whereby doth he proue it? But why do I strue about a superfluous matter? For a very childe doth know, that in the wrytinges

Sermo.
de san.
cto & a.
dorand.
Spiri.
Ioh. 12.
50. & 14
10.

Ioh. 16.
12.

Hom. in
Ioh. 96.

Cap.8.

Of the outward meanes

of the Apostles, which these men do make in a maner lame and but halfe perfect, there is the frute of that reuelatiō which the Lord did then promise them.

Mat. 18 15 What say they, did not Christ put out of controuersie whatsoever the Church teacheth & decreeth, when he commaundeth him
17. to be takē for a heathen man & a Publicane that dare say against her? First in that place is no mention made of doctrine, but onely the authority of the censures is established for correcting of vices, that they which haue bin admonished or rebuked should not resist her iudgement. But omitting this, it is much maruell, that these losels haue so litle shame, that they dare be proude of that place. For what shal they get therby, but that the cōsent of the Church is neuer to be despised, which neuer cōsenteth but vnto the trueth of the word of God? The Church is to be heard, say they. Who denieth it? forasmuch as it pronounceth nothing but out of the word of y Lord. If they require any more let them know that these words of Christ do nothing take their part therein. Neither ought I to be thought too much cōtentious because I stande so earnestly vpon this point, That it is not lawefull for the Church to make any new doctrine, that is, to teach & deliuer for an Oracle any more than y which the lord hath reueled by his word. For men of sounde wit do see howe great daunger there is, if so great authority be once graunted to men. They see also howe wide a window is opened to the mockings & cauellations of the wicked, if we say that that which mē haue iudged is to be taken for an Oracle among Christians. Beside that, Christ speaking according to the consideratiō of his owne time, giueth this name to the Sinagoge, that his disciples should afterward learne to reuerence holy assemblies of the Church. So should it come to passe that euery city & village should haue egall authority in coyning of doctrines.

16 The examples which they vse, do nothing helpe them. They say that the Baptisinge of infantes, proceeded not so much from the expresse commaudemēt of the Scripture as from the decree of the Church. But it were a very miserable succour, if we were compelled to flee to the bare authoritie of the Church for defense of the Baptisme of infantes: but it shal in an other place sufficiently appeare that it is farre otherwise. Likewise whereas they obiekt that y is no where founde in the Scripture, which was pronounced in the Nicene Synode, that the Sonne is consubstantiall with the father: therein they do great wrong to the fathers, as though they had rashly condemned Arrius, because he would not sweare to their wordes, when he professed all that doctrine which is comprehended in the writings of the
Prophets

Prophets & Apostles. This word, I graunt, is not in the Scripture: but when therein is so oft affirmed, that there is but one God, againe Christ is so oft called the true and eternall God, one with the Father: what other thing do the fathers of the Nicene council whē they declare that he is of one substance, but simply set out the natural sense of the Scripture? But Theodorite reporteth that Constantine vsed this ^{Histo.} preface in their assembly. In disputation (saith he) of diuine matters, ^{eccl. li. i} there is a prescribed doctrine of the holy Ghost: the bookes of the ^{cap. 5.} Gospels & of the Apostles, with the Oracles of the Prophets, do fully shew vs y^e meaning of God. Therefore laying away discorde, let vs take the discussinges of questions out of the wordes of the Spirit. There was at that time no man that spake against these holy monitions. No man tooke exception, that the Church might adde somewhat of her owne: that the Spirit reueled not all things to the Apostles, or at least vttered them, not to those that came after: or any such thing. If it be true which our aduersaries woulde haue: first, Constantine did euill, that tooke from the Church her authority: then, wheras none of the Bishops at that time rose vp to defend it, this was not without breach of their faith: for so they were betrayers of the right of the Church. But sith Theodorite rehearseth that they willingly embraced that which the Emperour sayd, it is certaine that this newe doctrine was then vterly vnknowne.

The ix. Chapter.

Of Councils and of their authority.

NOwe, although I graunt them all thinges concerninge the Church: yet they shall thereby not much preuaile for their intent. For whatsoever is sayd of the Church, the same they by and by giue to y^e Councils, forasmuch as in their opinion those represent the Church. Yea where they so stiffely contend for the power of the Church, they do it of no other purpose, but to giue all that they can get to the bishop of Rome & his gard. But ere I begin to discusse this question, I must nedes here make protestation of two things aforehand. First, that where I shall in this point be somewhat rough, it is not because I lesse esteeme the olde Councils than I ought to do. For I reuerence them from my hart, & wish them to be had in their due honor with all men. But here in is some meane, that is, that there be nothinge withdrawn from Christ. Nowe this is the right of Christ, to be the head in all Councils, & to haue no man fellow with him in this dignity. But I say that then only he is the head,

when he gouerneth the whole assembly with his worde & Spirit. Secondly, whereas I giue lesse to Councils than the aduersaries require, I do it not for this cause that I am afraid of the Councils, as though they did make for their side, & were against ours. For as we are abundantly furnished with the word of the Lord to the full prooffe of our owne doctrine fully, & to the ouerthrowe of the whole Papistry that we nede not much to desire any other thing beside it: so if the matter require, the old Councils do for a great part minister vnto vs so much as may suffice for both.

2 Nowe lette vs speake of the thing it selfe. If it be sought of the Scriptures, what is the authority of Councilles: there is no plainer promise than in this saying of Christ: Where two or three shalbe gathered together in my name, there I am in the middest of them. But that doth no lesse belong to euery particular assembly thā to a general Council. But the doubt of the question standeth not therein: but because there is a condition added, that God wil so only be in the middest of the Council, if it be gathered together in his name. Therefore although our aduersaries do a thousand times name Councils of bishops, they shal litle preuaile: neither shal they make vs to beleue that which they affirme, that is, that they be gouerned of the holy Ghost, vntil they haue proued that they are gathered together in the name of Christ. For it is as possible that wicked & euil Bishops may cōspire against Christ, as good & honest Bishops may come together in his name. For a very cleare prooffe hereof are many decrees that haue proceeded from such Councils. But this shalbe seen hereafter. Now I do but answere in one word, that Christ promisseth nothing, but to thē that are gathered together in his name. Let vs therefore define what that is. I deny that they be gathered together in the name of Christ, which casting away the cōmaundement of God, wherein he forbiddeth any thing to be added to his word, or taken from it, do decree euery thing after their owne wil: which beinge not contented with the Oracles of y Scripture, that is to say the only rule of perfect wisdom, do imagine some new thing of their own hed. Surely sith Christ hath not promised that he wil be present at all Councils, but hath adioyned a peculiar marke, wherby to make true & lawful Councils different from other: it is mete that we should not neglect this difference.

7. This is the couenant, which in old time God made with the Liuitical Priests. y they should teach out of his mouth. This he alway required of the Prophets: this law also we see to haue bin laid vpon y Apostles. Who so breake this couenāt, God doth not vouchsaue, to let thē haue the honor of Priestthoode, nor any authority. Let the aduersaries yndo

Mat. 18.
20.

Deut. 4.
2.
Reu. 22
18.

Mala. 2.
7.

me this knotte, if they will make my faith bonde to the decrees of men beside the word of God.

3 For wheras they thinke not that truth remaineth in the Church, vnlesse it be among the Pastours: & that the Church it selfe stāderh not, vnlesse it appeare in general Councils: that is farre from hauing bene alway true, if the Prophets haue left vnto vs true testimonies of their owne times. There was in the time of Esaie a Church at Hierusalem, which God had not yet forsaken. But of the pastors he saith thus: The watchmen are all blinde, neither knowe they any thing. They are all dumme dogges, neither are they able to barke. They lie along & slepe, and loue slepinge: and the Pastors themselues knowe nothing, nor do vnderstāde: and they do altogether lōke backe vnto their owne wayes. After the same maner Osee sayeth: The watchman of Ephraim with God, the snare of the fouler, hatred in the houle of God. Where ioining them with God by way of mockage, he teacheth y^e their pretense of the priesthod is vaine. The Church also endured vnto the time of Hieremie. Let vs heare what he sayeth of the Pastors. From the Prophet euen to the priest, euery one followeth lying. Againe. The Prophets do prophēcie a ly in my name, when I haue not sent them, nor commaunded them. And least we should be so long in reciting his wordes, let those things be red that he hath written in the whole. xxiiij. and. xl. chapters. At that time on the other side Ezechiel did no more gentily inuey against the same men. The conspiracie (sayeth he) of the Prophets in the middes of her as a roaring lyon, and that violently taketh his pray. Her priests haue broken my lawe, and haue defiled my holy things, and haue made no difference betweene holy and prophane: and the rest that he adioineth to the same effect. Like complaintes are euery where in the Prophets, so that nothing is ofter found in them.

4 But perhappes it might be that that was so among the Iewes: but our age is free from so great an euill. I would to God in deede it were so: but the Holy Ghost hath geuen warning that it shalbe farre otherwise. The wordes of Peter are plaine. As (sayeth he) there were in the olde people false Prophets, so shall there also be among you false teachers, slyly bringing in sectes of perdition. See you not howe he sayth, that there is daunger to come, not by men of the common people, but by them that shal boſt themselues with the title of teachers & Pastors? Moroeuer howe oft hath it bene fo^r espoken by Christ and his Apostles, that there should very great daungers hang ouer the Church by the Pastors? Yea Paule plainly sheweth, that Antichrist shall sit in no other place than in the temple of God.

Whereby he signifieth, that the horrible calamitie of which he there speaketh, shall come from no where els but from them that shall sit in steede of Pastors in y Church. And in an other place he sheweth, that y beginnings of so great a mischief are euen alredy nere at hād.

Act. 20. For when he speaketh to the bishops of Ephesus. I know (sayeth he) **19.** that after my departure there shall enter into you rauening wolues not sparing the flocke. And they shalbe of your owne selues, that shall speake peruerse things, to leade away disciples after them. Howe much corruption might a long course of yeares bring among Pastors, when they could so farre go out of kinde in so samall a space of time? And, not to fill much paper with reherling thē by name: we are admonished by the examples in a maner of all ages, that neither the truth is alway nourished in the bosome of the pastors, nor the safetie of the Church doth hang vpon their state. They ought in deede to haue bene the gouernours and kepers of the peace and safetie of the Church, for preservation whereof, they are ordeined: but it is one thing for a man to performe that which he ought, and an other thing to owe that which he performeth not.

5 Yet let no man take these our wordes in such part, as though I would euery where and rashely without any choise diminish the authoritie of Pastors. I do but onely admonish that euen among Pastors themselues there is a choise to bee had, that we should not immediately thinke them to be pastors that are so called. But the Pope with all his flocke of bishops, vpon none other reason, but because they are called pastors, shaking away the obedience of the word of God, do tumble & tosse al things after their own lust: & in the meane time they trauaile to persuaide, that they can not be destitute of the light of truth, that the spirit of God perpetually abideth in them, that the Church consisteth in them and dieth with them. As though there be nowe no iudgements of the Lord, whereby he may punish the world at this day with the same kinde of punishment, wherewith sometime he toke vengeance of the vnthankfulnessse of the olde people, that is, to strike the Pastors with blindnesse and amased dullnesse.

Zacha. 12. 4. Neither do they most foolish men vnderstande, that they sing the same song, which those in olde time did sing that warred against the word of God. For the enemies of Hieremie did thus prepare themselves against the truth: Come, & we will imagine imaginatiōs against Hieremie: forasmuch as the lawe shall not perish from the Priest, nor counsell from the wise man, nor the word from the Prophet.

6 Hereby it is easy to aunswer to that other obiection cōcerning generall counsell. It can not be denied but that the Iewes had a

true Church in the time of the Prophets. But if there had then bene a generall counsell gathered together of the priests, what maner face of the Church had there appered? We heare what God saith, not to ^{Hier. 4.} one or two of them but to the whole order: The priestes shalbe ^{9.} astonied, and the prophets shalbe made afraide. Againe, the lawe shall perish from the priest, and counsell from the Elders. Againe, ^{Ezec. 7.} Night shalbe to you in steede of a vision, and darkenesse in steede of ^{16.} prophecieng: and the sunne shall fall downe vpon the Prophets, and ^{Mich. 3.} be darkened vpon these dayes. &c. Well: if all such had then bene gathered together in one, what Spirit should haue gouerned in that assemblie? of that thing we haue a notable example in that counsell which Achab called together. There were present foure hundred ^{1 Kin.} Prophets. But, because they were come together of no other minde ^{22. 5. &} but to flatter the wicked king: therefore Satan was sent of the Lord to ^{22.} be a lying spirit in the mouth of the all. There by all their voices the truth was condemned Micha was condemned for an heretike, stricken and cast in prison. So was done to Hieremie, so to the other Prophets.

7 But let one example suffice for all, which is more notable then the rest. In that counsell which the bishops and Pharisees gathered ^{Ioh. 11.} at Hierusalem against Christ, what can a man say that there wanted, ^{47.} in so much as pertained to the outwarde shewe? For if there had not then bene a Church at Hierusalem, Christ would neuer haue communicate with their sacrifices and other ceremonies. There was made a solempne summoning of them together: the hy bishop sat as chief: the whole order of priests sat by him: yet Christ was there condēd, and his doctrine driuen away. This doing is a profe that the Church was not enclosed in that counsell. But there is no perill that any such thing should happen to vs. Who hath geuen vs assurance thereof? For it is not without fault of sluggishnesse, to be to carelesse in so great a matter. But where the Holy Ghost doth with expresse wordes prophecie by the mouth of Paule, that there shall come a departing ^{2. The 6} (which can not come but that the Pastors must be the first that shall ^{1. 3.} forsake God) why are we hering wilfully blinde to our owne destruction? Wherefore it is in no wise to be graunted, that the Church consisteth in the companie of Pastors, for whom the Lorde hath no where vndertaken that they shall perpetually be good, but he hath pronounced that they shall sometime be euill. But when he warneth vs of the daunger, he doth it to this entente to make vs the warer.

8 What then? wilt thou say: Shall the counsell haue no authoritie in determining? Yes forsooth. For neither do I here argue that all counsell are to be condemned, or all their actes to be re-

pelled, or (as the saying is) to be defaced with one blotte. But (thou wilt say to me) thou bringest them all into subiection, that it may be free for euery man to receiue or refuse that which the counsell haue determined. Not so. But so oft as y^e decree of any counsell is brought forth, I would haue it first to be diligently weyed, at what time it was holden, for what cause it was holden, what maner of men were present: and then the very thing that is intreated of, to be examined by the rule of the Scripture: and that in such sorte as the determination of the counsell may haue his force, and be as a foreiudged sentence, and yet not hinder the aforesaid examination. I would to God all men did kepe that moderation which Augustine prescribeth in the third booke against Maximinus. For when he minded briefly to put to silence this heretike cōtending about the Decrees of counsell: Neither (sayth he) ought I to obiekt against thee the Synode of Nice, nor thou against me the Synode of Ariminum, as to the entē to conclude one an other by foreiudged sentēce, neither am I bound by the authoritie of the one, nor thou of the other. By authorities of Scriptures, not such as are propre to either one, but such as are common to both, let there strue matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason. So should it come to passe, that counsell should haue the maiestie that they ought: but in the meane season the Scripture should be alone in the hier place, that there might be nothing that should not be subiect to the rule thereof. So these olde Synodes, as of Nice, of Constantinople, the first of Ephesus, of Chalcedon, and such other, which were holden for confuting of errors, we willingly embrace and reuerence as holy, so much as belongeth to the doctrines of faith: for they containe nothing but the pure and naturall expositiō of Scripture, which the holy fathers with spirituall wisdome applied to the subduing of the enemies of religion that then rose vp. In some of the later counsell also, we se to appere a true zeale of godlinesse, & plaine tokens of witt, learning, and wisdom. But as things arre wonte commonly to growe to worse, we may se by the later counsell, howe much the Church hath nowe and then degenerate from the purenesse of that golden age. And I doute not but that in these corrupter ages also, counsell haue had some bishoppes of the better sorte. But in these the same happened which the Senators themselues complained to be not well done in making of ordinances of the senate at Rome. For while the sentēces are numbred, not weyed, it is of necessitie that oftentimes the better part is overcome of the greater. Truly they brought forth many wicked sentences. Neither is it here needefull to gather the speciall examples,

either

either because it should be to long, or because other haue done it so diligently that there can not much be added.

9 Nowe, what neede I to reherse Councells disagreeing with councells? And it is no cause that any should murmure against me, and say, that of those councells that disagree the one is not lawefull. For, howe shall we iudge that? By this, if I be not deceiued, that we shall iudge by the Scriptures, that ſ̄ decrees thereof are not agreable with true doctrine. For this is the onely certaine lawe to discern them by. It is nowe about nine hundred yeares ago, ſins the Synode of Cōſtantinople gathered together vnder Leo the Emperour, iudged that images ſette vp in Churches ſhould be ouerthrowen, and broken in peeces. A littell afterward, the council of Nice, which Irene the Empreſſe aſſembled in ſpite of him, decreed that they ſhould be reſtored. Whether of theſe two ſhall we acknowledge for a lawefull council? The later which gaue images a place in Churches, hath preuailed among the people. But Auguſtine ſaith that that can not be done without moſt preſent perill of idolatrie. Epiphanius which was before in time, ſpeaketh much more ſharply: for he ſaith that it is wickedneſſe and abhominatiō to haue images ſeen in a Church of Chriſtians. Wolde they that ſo ſpeake, allowe that council, if they were aliue at this day? But if both the hiſtorians tell truth, and the very actes be beleued, not onely images themſelues, but alſo the worſhipping of them was there receiued. But it is euident that ſuch a decree came from Satan. Howe ſay you to this, that in deprauing and tearing the Scripture, they ſhewe that they made a mocking ſtocke of it? Which thing I haue before ſufficiently made open. Howeſoener it be, we ſhall no otherwiſe be able to diſcerne betwene contrarie and disagreeing Synodes, which were many, vnleſſe we trie them all by that balance of all men and angels, that is, by the word of the Lorde. So we embrace the Synode of Chalcedon, reſuſing the ſecōde Synode of Ephesus, becauſe in this latter one the wickedneſſe of Eutiches was cōfirmed, which the other former condemned. This thing holy men haue iudged none otherwiſe but by the Scripture: whom we ſo followe in iudging: that the worde of God which gaue light to them doth alſo nowe geue light to vs. Nowe let the Romanistes go and boalt, as they are wont, that the Holy Ghoſt is faſtned and bound to their councells.

10 Howbeit there is alſo ſomewhat which a man may well thinke to be wanting in thoſe auncient and purer councells: either becauſe they that then were at them, being otherwiſe learned and wiſe men, wholly bent to the buſineſſe then in hande, did not foreſee many

other things, or for that many things of lighter importance escaped them being busied with weightier and more earnest matters: or for that simply, as beying menne they might be deceiued with vnskillfulnesse: or for that they were sometime caried headlong with too much affection. Of this last point (which seemeth the hardest of all) there was a plaine example in the Nicene Synode, the dignitie whereof hath by consent of all men, as it was worthy, bine receiued with most hy reuerence. For when the principall article of our faith was there in daunger, Arrius the enemy was present in redinesse, with whom they must fight hande to hande, and the chiefe importance lay in the agremēt of them that came prepared to fight against the error of Arrius, this not withstanding, they carelesse of so great daungers, yea as it were hauing forgotten grauitie, modestie and all humanitie, leauing the battell that they had in hand, as if they had come thether of purpose to do Arrius a pleasure, began to wound themselves with inward dissentions, and to tourne against themselves the stile that should haue bene bet against Arrius. There were hearde fowle obiections of crimes, there were scattered booke of accusations, and there would haue bene no ende made of contentions, vntill they had with mutuall woundes one destroyed an other, vnlesse the Emperor Constantin had preuēted it, which professing that the examining of their life was a matter about his knowledge, and chastised such intemperace rather with praise than with rebuking. Howe many wayes is it credible that the other councells also failed, which followed afterward? Neither doth this matter neede long profe. For if a man reade ouer the actes of the councells, he shall note therein many infirmities: though I speake of nothing more greuous.

11 And Leo bishop of Rome sticketh not to charge with ambition and vnaduised rashnesse, the Synode of Chalcedon, which yet he confesseth to be sounde in doctrines. He doth in deede not denie that it was a lawfull Synode: but he openly affirmeth, that it might erre. Some man peraduenture will thinke me fonde, for that I busy my selfe in shewing such errors: forasmuch as our aduersaries do confesse, that councells may erre in those things that are not necessary to saluation. But this labor is not yet superfluous. For although because they are compelled, they do in deede confesse it in word: yet when they thrust vnto vs the determinacion of all councells in euery matter whatsoeuer it be, for an oracle of the Holy Ghost, they do therein require more than they toke at the beginning. In so doing what do they affirme, but that councells can not erre: or if they erre, yet it is not lawfull for vs to see the truth, or not to sooth their errors? And

I intend

I intend nothing els, but that it may thereby be gathered that the Holy Ghost so gouerned the godly and holy Synodes, that in the meane time he suffred somewhat to happen to them by the nature of men, lest we should to much trust to men. This is a much better sentence, thā that of Gregory Nazianzene, that he neuer saw agood end of any council. For he y affirmeth y all without exceptiō ended ill, doth not leaue them much authoritie. It is nowe nothing needfull to make mention seuerally of prouinciall councill: forasmuch as it is easy to iudge by the generall, how much authoritie they ought to haue to make newe articles of faith and to receiue what kinde of doctrine soeuer it pleaseth them.

12 But our Romanists, when they see that in defence of their cause all helpe of reason doth faile them, do resort to that extreme & miserable shift: that although the men themselues be blockish in wit and councill, and most wicked in minde & will, yet the word of God remaineth, which commaundeth to obey Rulers. Is it so? what if I denie that they be rulers that are such? For they ought to take vpon themselues, no more thā Iosua had, which was both a Prophet of the Lorde, and an excellent pastor. But let vs heare with what wordes he is set by the Lorde into his office. Let not (sayth he) the volume of *Iosua. 2.* this lawe depart from thy mouth: but thou shalt studie vpon it dayes 7. and nights. Thou shalt neither bowe to the right hand nor to the left: then shalt thou direct thy way and vnderstande it. They therefore shalbe to vs spirituall rulers which shall not bow from the lawe of the Lord, neither to y one side nor to the other. But if the doctrine of all pastors whatsoeuer they be is to be receiued without any douting, to what purpose was it that we should so oft & so earnestly be admonished not to harken to the speche of false prophetes. Here not (saith he by Hieremie) the words of the prophets that propheticie to you. *Hie. 23.* For they teach you vanitie, & not out of y mouth of the Lord. Again, *16* Beware you of false prophets, that come vnto you in shepes clothing, *Mat. 7.* but inwardly are rauening wolues. And Iohn should in vaine exhort vs, that we should proue the Spirits, whether they be of God. From *15.* which iudgement the very Angels are not exépted, much lesse Satan *1 Ioh. 4.1* with all his lies. What is to be said of this saying: if the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall into y ditch? Dorth it not sufficiēdy declare, that it is of great importance what maner of prophets be heard, and that not all are rashely to be heard? Wherefore there is no reason that they should make vs afraid with their titles, thereby to drawe vs into partaking of their blindnesse: forasmuch as we see on the other side, that the Lorde hadde a singular care to fray vs away from suffering

our selues to be led with other mens error, vnder what visor of name soeuer it lurketh. For if the aunswer of Christ be true, then all blinde guides, whether they be called fathers of the Church, or prelates, or bishops, can do nothing but drawe their partners into the same headlong downefall. Wherefore let no names of counsell, Pastors, bishops, (which may as well be falsely pretended as truly vsed,) hinder vs, but that being taught by lessons both of words and examples, we may examine all spirits of all men by the rule of the word of God, that we may proue whether they be of God or no.

13 Forasmuch as we haue proued that there is not geuen to the Church a power to set vp a newe doctrine, nowe let vs speake of the power which they attribute vnto it in expounding of Scripture. Truly we do willingly graunt, that if there happen debate about any doctrine, there is no better nor surer remedy than if a Synode of true bishops assemble together, where y^e doctrine in cōtrouersie may be discussed. For such a determination, wherunto the Pastors of Churches shall agree in common together, calling vpon the Spirit of Christ, shall haue much greater force, than if euery one seuerally should conceiue it at home, and so teach it to the people, or if a fewe priuate men should make it. Againe, when bishops are gathered in one, they do the more commodiously take aduise in common, what and in what forme they ought to teach, least diuersitie should brede offence. Thirdeley Paule prescribeth this order in discerning of doctrines: For whereas he geueth to euery seuerall Church a power to discerne, he sheweth what is the order of doing in weightier causes: that is, that the Churches should take vpon them a common triall of the matter together. And so doth the very feeling of godlinesse instructe vs, that if any man trouble the Church with an vnwonted doctrine, and the matter procede so farre that there be perill of greater dissention, the Churches should first meete together, and examine the question propounded; at last, after iust discussing had, bring forth a determination taken out of the Scripture, such as may both take away douring out of the people, and stoppe the monthes of wicked & greedy men, that they may not be so hardy to procede any further. So when Arius was risen, the Nicene Synode was gathered together, which with the authoritie thereof both did breake the wicked endeuors of the vngodly man, and restord peace to the Churches, which he had vexed, and defended the eternall godhead of Christ, against his blasphemous doctrine. When afterwarde Eunomius and Macedonius stirred vp newe troubles, their madnesse was resisted with like remedie by the Synode of Cōstantinople. In the council at Ephesus the wickednesse
of

1. Cor.

14. 29.

of Nestorius was banished. Finally this hath bene frō the beginning the ordinarie meane in the Church to preserue vnitie, so ofte as Satan began to worke any thing. But let vs remembre, that not in all ages or in all places are founde Athanasies, Basiles, Cyrilles, and such defenders of true doctrine whom the Lorde then raised vp. But let vs thinke what happened at Ephesus in the second Synode, where the heresie of Eutiches preuailed, the man of holy memory Flavianus was banished with certaine other godly men, and many such mischeues committed: euen because Dioscorus a seditious man and of a very naughty nature, was there the chief, and not the Spirit of the Lorde. But there was not the Church. I graunt. For this I determine viterly that the truth doth not therefore die in the Church, although it be oppressed of one councill: but that the Lorde meruailously preserueth it, that it may againe in due time rise vp, and get the ouerhande. But I denie that this is perpetuall, that that is a true and certaine exposition of scripture which hath bene receiued by consentes of a councill.

14 But the Romanists shoote at an other marke, when they teach that the power to expound the Scripture belōgeth to the councill, yea and that without appellation from them. For they abuse this colour, to call it an exposition of the Scripture whatsoever is decreed in the councill. Of purgatorie, of the intercession of Saintes, of auricular confession, & such other, there can not be founde one sillable in the Scriptures. But because all these things haue bene stablished by the authoritie of the Church, that is to say (to speake truly) receiued in opinion and vse, therefore euery one of them must be taken for an exposition of Scripture. And not that onely: But if a councill decree any thing, though Scripture crie out against it, yet it shall beare the name of an exposition thereof. Christ commaundeth all to drinke of the Cuppe, which he reacheth in the Supper. The councill Mat 26 of Constance forbade, that it should not be geuen to the lay people, 26. but willed that the priest onely should drinke of it. That which so directly fighteth against the institution of Christ, they will haue to be taken for an exposition of it. Paule calleth the forbidding of marriage, the hypocrisie of deuels: and the Holy Ghost in an other place pronounceth, that mariage is in all men holy and honorable. Where 1. Tim. 4. 1. as they haue afterwarde forbidden priests to marry, they require to Heb. 13. 4 haue that taken for the true and naturall exposition of the Scripture, when nothing can be imagined more against it: If any dare ones open his mouth to the contrary, he shalbe iudged an heretike: because the determination of the Church is without appellation: and to

doute of her exposition, that it is not true, is a hainous offence. Why should I inueye against so great shamelesnes? For the very shewing of it is an ouercoming of it. As for that which they teach of the power to allowe the Scripture, I wittingly passe it ouer. For in such sort to make the Oracles of God subiect to the iudgement of men, that they should therefore be of force because they haue pleased men, is a blasphemie vnworthy to be reherfed: and I haue before touched the same matter already. Yet I will aske them one thing: If the authoritie of the Scripture be founded vpon the allowance of the Church, what counsellis decree will they alledge of that matter? I thinke they haue none. Why then did Arrius iuffer himselfe to be ouercome at Nice with testimonies brought out of the Gospell of Iohn? For after these mens saying, it was free for him to haue refused them, forasmuch as there had no allowance of a generall counsell gone before. They alledge the olde rolle, which is called the Canon, which they say to haue proceded from the iudgemēt of the Church. But I aske them againe, in what counsell that Canon was set forth. Here they must needes be dumme. Howbeit I desire further to know, what maner of canon they thinke that was. For I se that the same was not very certainly agreed among the olde writers: And if that which Hierome sayeth ought to be of force, the bokes of Machabees, Tobie, Ecclesiasticus and such other shalbe thrust among the Apocrypha: which those canons do in no wise suffer to be done.

The x. Chapter.

Of the pouwer in making of lawes: vvhetherin the Pope and his haue vsed a most cruell tyranny and butcherie vpon soules.

NOwe followeth the second part, which they will haue to consist in making of lawes, out of which spring haue flowed innumerable traditions of men, euen so many snares to stragle poore soules. For they haue had no more cōscience, than had the Scribes and Pharisees, to lay burdens vpon other mens shoulders, which they themselues would not touch with one finger. I haue in an other place taught howe cruell a butcherie is that which they commaunde concerning auricular confession. In other lawes there appeareth not so great violence: but those which seeme the most tolerable of all, do tyrannously oppresse consciences. I leaue vnspoken howe they corrupt the worship of God, and do spoile God himselfe of his right, which is the onely lawmaker. This power is nowe to be entreated of, whether the Church may binde cōsciences with her lawes. In which discourse y order of policy is not touched,

but

but this only is intended, that God be rightly worshipped according to the rule which himselfe hath prescribed, and that the spirituall liberty, which hath regarde vnto God, may remaine safe vnto vs. Vse hath made that all those decrees be called traditions of men, whatsoever they be that haue concerning the worship of God proceeded from men beside his word. Against these do we striue, not against the holy and profitable ordinances of the Church which make for the preservation either of discipline or honestie or peace. But the ende of our striuing is, that the immeasurable and barbarous Empire may be restrained, which they vsurpe vpon soules, that would be compted pastors of the Church, but in very dede are most cruel butchers. For they say that the lawes which they make are spirituall, and pertaining to the soule, and they affirme them to be necessarie to eternall life. But so (as I euen now touched) the kingdome of Christ is invaded, so the libertie by him geuen to the consciences of the faithfull is vtterly oppressed and throwen abroad. I speake not now with howe great vngodlinesse they stablish the obseruing of their lawes, while out of it they teache men to seke both forgiuenesse of sinnes, and righteousness, and saluatiō, while they set in it the whole summe of religion and godlynesse. This one thing I earnestly holde, that there ought no necessitie to be layed vpon consciences in those things wherein they are made free by Christ, & vnlesse they be made free, as we haue before taught, they can not rest with God. They must acknowledge one onely king Christ their deliuerer, and be gouerned by one lawe of libertie, euen the holy word of the Gospell, if they will kepe still y grace which they haue ones obtained in Christ: they must be holden with no bondage, and bounde with no bondes.

These Solons do in dede faine that their constitutions are lawes of libertie, a swete yoke, a light burden: but who can not se that they be mere lies? They themselues in dede do fele no heauiness of their owne lawes, which casting away the feare of God, do carelessly and stoutly neglect both their owne and Gods lawes. But they that are touched with any care of their saluation, are farre from thinking themselues free so long as they be entangled with these snares. We se with how great warenesse Paul did deale in this behalfe, *1. Cor. 7. 25.* that he durste not so much as in any one thing lay vpon men any snare at all, and that not without cause. Truly he foresawe with howe great a wounde consciences should be stricken, if they should be charged with a necessitie of those things whereof the Lorde had left them liberty. On the other side the cōstitutions are almost innumerable, which these men haue most greuously stablished with threate-

ninge of eternall death, which they most seuerely require as necessarie to saluation. And among those there are many most hard to be kept, but all of them (if the whole multitude of them be layed together) are impossible: so great is the heape. Howe then shall it be possible, that they vpon whom so great a weight of difficultie lieth, should not be vexed in perplexitie with extreme anguish & terror? Therefore my purpose is here to impugne such constitutions, as tend to this ende, inwardly to binde soules before God, and charge them with a religion, as though they taught them of things necessary to saluation.

3 This question doth therefore encomber the most part of men, because they do not suttelty enough put difference betweene the outward court (as they call it) and the court of conscience. Moreouer this encreaseth the difficultie, that Paul teacheth that the Magistrat ought to be obeyed, not onely for feare of punishment, but for consciences sake. Wherupon followeth, that consciences are also bounde with the politike lawes. But if it were so, then all should fall that we haue spoken in the last chap. and entende nowe to speake concerning the spirituall gouernment. For the loosing of this knot, first it is good to learne what is conscience. The definition is to be gathered of the proper deriuation of the word. For, as when men do with minde and vnderstanding coceiue the knowledge of things, they are thereby said scire, to knowe, wherupon is deriued the name of science knowledges: so when they haue a feling of Gods iudgemēt as a wirtues adioined with them, which doth not suffer them to hide their sinnes, but that they be brought accused to the iudgement seate of God, that same feling is called conscience. For it is a certaine meane betwene God & man: because it suffreth not man to supresse that which he knoweth, but pursueth him so farre till it bring him to guiltinesse. This is it that
 Rom. 2. 15. Paule meaneth when he teacheth that conscience doth together witnesse with men, when their thoughtes do accuse or acquite them in the iudgemēt of God. A simple knowledge might remaine in man as enclosed. Therefore this feling which presenteth man to the iudgement of God, is as it were a keper ioined to man, to marke and watch all his secretes, that nothing should remaine buried in darkenesse. Wherupon also cometh that olde prouerbe, conscience is a thousand
 1 Pet. 3. 21. witnesses. For the same reason also Peter hath set the examination of a good conscience, for quietnesse of minde, when we being perswaded of the grace of Christ, do without feare present our selues
 Heb. 10. 2. to God. And the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues, vseth these wordes, to haue no more conscience of sinne, in steede of, to be deliuered or acquitted, that sinne may no more accuse vs.

4 Therefore as workes haue respect to men, so the conscience is referred to God: so that conscience is nothing els but the inwarde purenesse of the hart. In which sense Paul writeth that Charitie is the i. Tim. fulfilling of the lawe, out of a pure conscience, and faith not fained. 1.5. Afterwarde also in the same chap. he sheweth, howe much it differeth from vnderstanding, saying that some had suffered shipwracke from the faith, because they had forsaken good conscience. For in these words he signifieth, that it is a liuely affection to worship God, and a sincere desire to liue Godlily and holily. Sometime in deede it is referred also to men, as in Luke, when the same Paule testifieth, that he endeouored himself that he might walke with a good cōsciēce toward God and men. But this was therfore sayed, because the frutes of good cōsciēce do flowe, and come euen to men. But in speaking properly, it hath respect to God only, as I haue already said. Herupon cometh that a lawe is said to binde conscience, which simply bindeth a man, without regarde of men, or not hauing any cōsideration of them. As for example. God cōmaundeth not only to kepe the minde chaste and pure frō all lust, but also forbiddeth all maner of filthinesse of words and outward wantonnesse whatsoeuer it be. To y^e keping of this lawe my cōsciēce is subiect, although there liued not one man in y^e world. So he that behaueth himselfe intemperantly, doth not onely sinne in this that he geueth euill example to his brethren, but he hath his cōscience bounde with guiltinesse before God. In things y^e are of themselves meane, there is an other cōsideratiō. For we ought to abstaine from thē, if they brede any offense, but the conscience still being free. So Paul speaketh of fleshe cōsecrate to idoles. If any (saith he) make 1 Cor. 10.28. dout, touch it not, for cōsciēces sake. I say for conscience, not thine own, but y^e others. A faithful mā should sinne, which being first warned should neuertheless eate of such flesh. But howsoeuer in respect of his brother, it be necessary for him to abstaine, as it is prescribed of God, yet he cesseth not to kepe still y^e liberty of cōscience. We see how this lawe binding the outward worke, leaueth the conscience vnbounde.

5 Nowe let vs returne to the lawes of men. If they be made to this ende, to charge vs with a religion, as though the obseruing of them were of it selfe necessarie, then we say that that is layed vpon conscience which was not lawefull to be layed vpon it. For our consciences haue not to do with men, but with God onely: whereunto pertaineth that common difference betwene the earthly court and the court of cōscience. When the whole world was wrapped in a most thicke mist of ignorance, yet this smal sparcle of light remained, that they acknowledged a mans cōscience to be aboue all iudgements of

men. Howbeit the same thing that they did with one word confesse, they did afterwarde in deede ouerthrowe: yet it was Gods will that there should the also remaine some testimonie of Christian liberie, which might deliuer consciences from the tyranny of men. But that difficulty is not yet dissolued, which ariseth out of the words of Paul. For if we must obey Princes not onely for penalties sake, but also for conscience, it seemeth thereupon to followe that Princes lawes haue also dominion ouer conscience. If this be true, then the same also ought to be said of the lawes of the Church. I answered that first here we must put a difference betweene the generalltie and the specialtie. For though all speciall lawes do not touch the conscience, yet we are bounde by the generall cōmaundement of God, which commēdeth vnto vs the authoritie of magistrats. And vpon this point stādeth the disputation of Paule, that magistrats are to be honored because they are ordeined of God. In the meane time he teacheth not that those lawes that are prescribed by them, do belong to the inward gouernement of the soule: whereas he eche where extolleth both the worshipping of God & the spirituall rule of liuing righteously, aboue all the ordinances of men whatsoever they be. An other thing also is worthy to be noted, (which yet hāgeth vpon y former) that the lawes of men, whether they be made by the magistrat or by the Church, although they be necessarie to be kepte, (I speake of the good and righteous lawes) yet therfore do not by themselves binde cōscience, because the whole necessity of keping them is referred to the generall ende, but consisteth not in the things cōmaunded. From this sort do farre differ both those that prescribe a newe forme of y worshipping of God, & those that appoint necessariue in things y be at liberty.

6 But such are those that at this day be called Ecclesiasticall constitutiōs in the Papacie, which are thrust in, in steede of the true and necessarie worshipping of God And as they be innumerable: so are there infinite bondes to catch and snare soules. But although in the declaration of the lawe we haue somewhat touched them: yet because this place was fitter to entreate fully of them, I will nowe trauaile to gather together the whole summe in the best order that I can. And because we haue already discoursed so much as seemed to be sufficient, cōcerning the tyranny which the false bishops do take vpon themselves, in liberty to teach whatsoever they list, I will nowe omitt all that parte: and I will here tarry onely vpon declaring the power, which they say they haue, to make lawes. Our false bishops therfore do burden cōsciences with newe lawes, vnder this pretense, that they are ordeined of the Lorde spirituall lawmakers, fias the gouernemēt
of

of the Church is committed vnto them. Therefore they affirme that whatſoeuer they commaunde and preſcribe, ought neceſſarily to be obſerued of the Chriſtian people: & that he that breaketh it, is gilty of double diſobediẽce, for that he is rebellious both to God & to the Church. Cerrainly, if they were true biſhops. I would in this behalfe graunt to them ſome authoritie, not ſo much as they require, but ſo much as is requiſite to y well ordering of the policy of the Church. Nowe ſith they are nothing leſſe than that which they would be accompliſhed, they can not take any thing to them, be it neuer ſo little, but that they ſhall take to much. But becauſe this hath ben els where cõſidered, let vs graunt them at this preſent, that whatſoeuer power true biſhops haue, the ſame rightly belõgeth to them alſo: yet I deny that they be therefore appointed lawmakers ouer the faithfull, that may of themſelues preſcribe a rule to liue by, or compell to their ordinãces the people cõmitted vnto them. When I ſay this, I meane, that it is not lawfull for the, to deliuer to the Church to be obſerued of neceſſity, that which they haue deuifed of themſelues without the worde of God. Forasmuch as that authoritie both was vnknownen to the Apoſtles, and ſo oft takẽ away from the miniſters of the Church by the Lords owne mouth: I maruell who haue bene ſo bolde to take it vpon them, and at this day are ſo bolde to defende it, beſide the example of the Apoſtles, & againſt the manifeſt prohibition of God.

7 As touching that y pertained to the perfect rule of well liuing, the Lorde hath ſo cõteined all that in his lawe, that he hath left nothing for men that they might adde to that ſumme. And this he did firſt for this purpoſe, that becauſe the whole vprightneſſe of liuing ſtandeth in this point, if all works be gouerned by his will as by a rule, he ſhould be holden of vs y only maiſter and director of life: then, to declare that he requireth of vs nothing more than obediẽce. For this reaſon Iames ſaith: he y iudgeth his brother iudgeth the law: he that iudgeth the lawe, is not an obſeruer of the law, but a iudge. But there is one only lawmaker, that can both ſaue & deſtroy. We heare y God doth claime this one thing as proper to himſelfe, to rule vs with the gouernment and lawes of his worde. And the ſame thing was ſpoken before of Eſay. although ſomewhat more darkly: the Lord is our king, the Lord is our lawmaker, y Lord is our iudge, he ſhall ſaue vs. Truly in both theſe places is ſhewed, y he that hath power ouer the ſoule, hath y iudgemẽt of life & death. Yea Iames pronounceth this plainly. Nowe, no man can take that vpon him. Therefore God muſt be acknowledged to be the only king of ſoules, to whom alone belongeth the power to ſaue and deſtroy, as thoſe words of Eſaie expreſſe, & to

1. Pet. 5. be the king, and iudge, and lawmaker and Sauior. Therefore Peter,
2. when he admonisheth the Pastors of their dutie, exhorteth them so to feede the flocke, not as vsing a Lordship ouer the Clergy, by which word Clergie he signifieth the inheritance of God, that is to say the faithfull people. This if we rightly wey, that it is not lawfull, that that should be transferred to man, which God maketh his owne onely: we shall vnderstande that so all the power is cut of whatsoeuer it be that they challenge, which aduance themselues to commaunde any thing in the Church without the word of God.

8 Nowe, forasmuch as the whole cause hangeth thereupon, that if God be the onely lawemaker, it is not lawfull for men to take that honor to themselues: it is mete also therewithall to kepe in minde those two reasons which we haue spoken, why the Lord claimeth that to himselfe alone. The first is, that his will may be to vs a perfect rule of all righteousnesse and holinesse: and that to in the knowing of him may be the perfect knowledge to liue well. The other is, that (when the maner is sought howe to worship him rightly and well) he onely may haue authoritie ouer our soules, whom we ought to obey, and vpon whoes becke we ought to hang. These two reasons being well marked, it shalbe easy to iudge, what ordinances of men are contrary to the word of God. Of that sort be all those which are fained to belong to the true worshipping of God, and to the obseruing whereof consciences are bounde, as though they were necessary to be obserued. Let vs therefore remember that all lawes of men ought to be weyed with this balance, if we will haue a sure triall that may neuer suffer vs to erre. The first of these reasons Paul in the Epistle to the Colossiás vseth in contending against the false Apostles that attempted to oppresse the Churches with newe burdens. The second reason he more vseth with the Galatians in the like case. This therefore he trauaileth to proue in the Epistle to the Colossiás, that the doctrine concerning the true worshipping of God is not to be sought at mens handes: because the Lord hath faithfully and fully instructed vs howe he ought to be worshipped. To proue the same in y first chap. he saith that in the Gospell is contained all wisdome, whereby y man of God may be made perfect in Christ. In y beginning of the ij. chap. he saith, that all the treasures of wisdome & vnderstanding are hiddē in Christ. Therevpon he afterward concludeth, let y faithfull beware that they be not by vain Philosophie led from the flocke of Christ, according to the constitutiōs of men. But in the ende of the chapter, he doth yet with greater boldnesse condemne all Ethelothreskias, y is to say, all fained worshippings, which men deuise to themselues, or receiue of other, & what-

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whatsoever precepts they dare of themselves giue concerninge the worshippinge of God. We haue therefore, that all those ordinances are wicked, in obseruinge whereof the worshippinge of God is fained to be. As for the places in the Galatiās wherewith he earnestly affirmeth that consciences, which ought to be ruled of God only, ought not to be entangled with snares, they are open enough, specially in the fift Chapter. Therefore lette it be sufficient to haue but noted them.

9 But because the whole matter shall better be made open by examples, before that we go any further, it is good also to apply this doctrine to our own times. We say that y^e cōstitutions which they call Ecclesiasticall, wherewith the Pope and his do burden the Church, are pernicious and wicked: our aduersaries defende that they be holy & available to saluation. There be two kindes of the: for some concerne Ceremonies & rites, other some pertaine more to discipline. Is there then a iust cause to moue vs to impugne them both? Truly a iuster than we woulde. First do not the authors themselves clearly define, that the very worshippinge of God is cōtained in them? To what purpose do they apply their Ceremonies, but that God should be worshipped by them? And that commeth to passe not by the onely error of the ignorant multitude, but by their allowance that haue the place of teachinge. I do not touch the grosse abominations, wherewith they haue gone about to overthrow all godlines. But it shoulde not be imagined amonge them to be so hainous an offense, to haue failed in any of the least pety traditions, vnlesse they did make the worshippinge of God subiect to their fained deuises. What do we the offend, if at this day we can not beare that, which Paule taught to be intolerable, that the lawfull order of the worshippinge of God should be reduced to the will of men: specially when they commaund men to worship according to the elementes of this world, which Paule testifieth to be against Christ? Againe it is not vnknownen, with how precise necessity they binde consciences to kepe whatsoever they commaund. Here when we cry out to the contrary, we haue all one cause with Paul, which in no wise suffreth faithful consciences to be brought into bondage of men.

10 Moreouer this worst of all is added, that when religion hath once begon to be defined with such vaine inuentions, there euer followeth after that peruersenesse an other abominable frowardnesse, whereof Christ reproched the Pharisees that the commaundement of God is made voide for the traditions of men. I will not vse mine owne wordes in fightinge against our lawemakers at these daies. Let

Colos. 2
30.
Gal. 5.3

them haue the victory, if they can by any meane purge themselves from this accusation of Christ. But how should they excuse themselves, when amonge them it is thought infinitely more haynous, to haue omitted auricular confession when the time of yere cometh about, than to haue continued a most wicked life a whole yere together: to haue infected their tongue with a litle tasting of flesh on a Friday, than to haue defiled their body with whoredom al the daies of the weke? to haue put their hande to an honest worke vpon a day consecrate to I wote not what pety Saintes, than to haue continually exercised their members in most wicked offenses? for a Priest to be coupled with one lawefull mariage, than to be entangled with a thousand adulteries? not to haue performed a vowed pilgrimage, than to breake faith in al promises? not to haue wasted somewhat vpon monstrous & no lesse superfluous & vnprofitable excessiue gorgiousnes of temples, than to haue failed to help the extreme necessities of the poore? to haue passed by an idle without honor, than to haue despitefully entreated all kindes of men? not to haue mumbled vp at certaine houres a great number of wordes without vnderstanding, than neuer to haue conceived a true praier in their hart? What is to make voide the comaundement of God for the traditions of men, if this be not: when comending the keeping of Gods comaundements but coldly & as it were lightly by the way, they do no lesse earnestly & busily exact the obeying of their owne, than if they contained in themselves the whole pith of godlines? when reuenging the transgressing of Gods law, with light penalties of satisfactions, they punish the very least offence of one of their owne decrees with no lesse paine than with prisonment, banishment, fier or swerd? Beinge not so sharp & hard to entreate against the despisers of God, they persecute the despisers of themselves with vnappeaseable hatred to the extremity: and do so instruct all those, whose simplicity they hold captiue, that they would with more contented minde see the whole law of God ouerthrowen, than one smal title (as they call it) in the commaundments of the Church to be broken. First in this point is grievous offence committed, that for small matters, and such as (if it should be tried by Gods iudgement) are at liberty, one man despiseth, iudgeth & casteth away another. But now, as though that were not euil enough, those trifling elements of the world (as Paule calleth them in his wryting to the Galatians) are weyed of more value than the heauely Oracles of God. And he that is in a manner acquitted in adultery, is iudged in meate: he that hath leaue to vse a harlot, is forbidden to haue a wife. This profite verily is gotten by that transgressinge obedience, which is so much turned from God as it declineth to men.

Gal. 4.9.

11 There be also other two not sclēder faultes, which we disallow in the same ordināces. First, because they prescribe for the most part vnprofitable, & sometime also fond obseruations: then, because godly consciences are oppressed with the infinite multitude of them, & being rouled backe into a certain lewishnes, they so cleaue to shadowes, that they can not attaine to Christ. Whereas I cal them fond & vnprofitable, I know that that will not seeme credible to the wisdom of the flesh, which so wel liketh them, that it thinketh the Church to be vterly deformed when they be taken away. But this is it that Paul writeth of, to haue a resemblance of wisdom in counterfait worshipping, in humility, & in this that they thinke that with their sharpenes they be able to tame their flesh. This is truely a most wholesome admonition, such as ought neuer to slip away from vs. Mens traditions (sayth he) do deceiue vnder the shewe of wisdom, whense haue they this colour? because they are fained of men, therefore the wit of man doth therin acknow his owne, & acknowinge it doth more gladly embrace it, thā any thing were it neuer so good, that lesse agreed with his vanity. Again, they haue hereby an other cōmendation, because they seeme to be fit introductions to humility, for that with their yoke they hold the mindes of men pressed downe to the ground. Last of all, because they seeme to tend to this end to restraine the deintines of the flesh, & to subdue it with rigor of abstinēce, therefore they are thought to be wisely deuised. But what saith Paul to these things? doth he not shake of those visors, least the simple shoulde be deceiued with falsē pretense? Because he iudged this enough for cōfutation of them, that he had sayd that they were the inuentions of men. he passeth ouer all these things without confutation, as though he esteemed them for nothing. Yea, because he knew y all fained worshippings in the Church were condemned, and are so much more suspicious to the faithfull as they more delite the wit of man: because he knew that that fained image of outward humility doth so much differ from true humility, as it might easily be discerned: finally because he knew that that childish introduction was no more esteemed thā an exercise of the body: therefore he willed that the very same things shoulde be to the faithfull in steede of a confutation of mens traditions, by fauour of which they were commended among the ignorant.

12 So at this day not only the vnlearned commō people, but every mā as he is most puffed vp with worldly wisdom, so is he most maruelously delited with beholding of Ceremonies. But hypocrites & foolish women thinke that there can be nothinge deuised more glorious nor better. But they which do more depely searche, and more truely

were according to the rule of godlinesse, of what value so many and such Ceremonies are, do vnderstand, first that they are trifles, because they haue no profite: then, that they are deceites, because they do with vaine pompe beguile the eies of the beholders. I speake of those Ceremonies, vnder which y Romish maisters wil that there be great misteries: but we find them by experience to be nothing els but mere mockeries. And it is no maruel that the authors of them haue fallen so far as to mocke both themselues & other with trifling follies: because they partely tooke their examplar out of the dotages of the Genrils, & partly after the maner of apes did vndiscretely counterfaite the olde vsages of the lawe of Moses, which no more pertained to vs than the Sacrifices of beastes & such other things. Truly although there were none other argument, yet no man that hath his sound wit wil looke for any goodnes of a heape so il patched together. And the thinge it selfe plainly sheweth, that many Ceremonies haue no other vse but to amase the people rather thā to teach them. So in these new found Canons, that do rather peruert thā preserue discipline, the hypocrites repose great importance: but if a man do better looke into them, he shal finde that they are nothinge else but a shadowish & vanishing shew of discipline.

13 But nowe (to come to the other point) who doth not see that traditions with heaping one vpon an other, are ouergrown into so great a number, that the Christian Church may in no wise beare the? Hereby it is come to passe, that in Ceremonies there appereth I wote not what Iewishnesse, & the other obseruatōs bring a grieuous burchery to Christian soules. Augustine complained that in his time, the commaundementes of God neglected, all things were ful of so many presumptions, that he was more grieuously rebuked y in his vtas had touched the ground with bare foote, than he that had buried his wit with dronkennes. He complained that the Church, which the mercy of God willed to be free, was so burdened, that the state of the Iewes was much more tolerable. If that holy man had happened to liue in our age, with what complaintes would he haue bewailed the bondage that nowe is? For both the number is ten times greater, and euery smal tittle is a hundred times more rigorously looked vnto, thā at that time. So is wont to be done: when these peruerse lawemakers haue gotten the dominion, they make no end of bidding and forbiddinge, till they come to extreme peuisnesse. Which thing Paule hath also very wel declared in these wordes: If ye be deade to the world, why are ye holden as though ye were liuinge, with traditions, as eate not, tast not, handle not? For where as the Greeke word *apresthai*, signifieth both

Ad Ian.
Episto.
119.

Colo. 2.
20.

to eate and to touche, doubtlesse in this place it is taken in the first of these two significations, least there shoulde be a superfluous repetition. Therefore he doth here excellently well describe the proceedings of the false Apostles. They beginne at superstition, so that they do not onely forbid to eate, but also euen sclderly to chawe: when they haue obtained this, they the also forbid to tast. When this is also graunted them, they reckon it not lawfull so much as to touch with a finger.

14 This tyranny in the ordinances of men we do at this day worthily blame, by which it is come to passe that poore consciences are maruelously tormented with innumerable decrees and immeasurable exacting of keepinge of them. Of canons pertaining to discipline we haue spoken in an other place. Of the Ceremonies what shall I say, by which it is brought about that, Christ beinge halfe buried, we are returned to Iewishe figures? Our Lorde Christ (sayth Augustine) hath bound together the felowship of the new people, with Sacramentes very fewe in number, most excellent in signification, most easie in observing. How farre the multitude and diuersity of vsages wherwith at this day we see the Church to be entangled, doth differ from this simplicity, it can not be sufficiently declared. I know with what crafty shifte some suttle men do excuse this peruerseness. They say that among vs there are many as rude as they were in the people of Israel: that such introduction was ordained for their sakes, which although the stronger may well want, yet they ought not to neglect it, forasmuch as they see it to be profitable for the weake brethren. I answer, that we are not ignorant, what we owe to the weakenes of our brethren: but on the other side we take exception and say, that this is not the way whereby the weake may be provided for, y they should be overwhelmed with great heapes of Ceremonies. The Lorde did not in vaine put this difference betwene vs and the old people, that his will was to instruct them like children with signes and figures, but vs more simply without such outward furniture. As (sayeth Paule) a

Episto.
118. ad
Lanuat.

Gal. 4.3

childe is ruled of his schoolemaister, and kept vnder custody, according to the capacity of his age: so the Iewes are kept vnder the lawe. But we are like vnto full growen men, which being set at liberty from tutorship and gouernment, haue no more neede of childish introductions. Truly the Lorde did foresee what maner of common people there shoulde be in his Church, and howe they shoulde be ruled. Yet he did in this maner as we haue said, make difference betwene vs & the Iewes. Therefore it is a foolish way, if we will provide for the ignorant, in raisinge vp Iewishnes which is abrogate by Christ: Christ

also touched in his owne words this difference of the olde and new people, when he sayd to the woman of Samaria, that the time was come wherein the true worshippers shoulde worship God in Spirit and trueth. This verily had alway bin done: but the new worshippers differed from the olde in this point, that vnder Moses the spirituall worshipping of God was shadowed & in a maner entangled with many Ceremonies, which being abolished, he is now more simply worshipped. Therefore they that confound this difference, do ouerthrow the order institute & stablished by Christ. Shall there then (wilt thou say) no Ceremonies be giuen to the ruder sort to helpe their vnskilfulness? I say not so: for I verily thinke that this kinde of help is profitable for them. I do here trauaile onely that such a meane may be vfed, as may brightly set out Christ, & not darken him. Therefore there are giuen vs of God few Ceremonies, & those not laboursome, that they should shewe Christ beinge present. The Iewes had moe giuen them, that they should be images of him beinge absent. Absent I say he was, not in power, but in maner of signifying. Therefore, y^e meane may be kept, it is necessary to kepe that fewnesse in number, easines in obseruing, & dignity in signifying, which also consisteth in clearenes. What nede I to say that this hath not bin done? For the thing it selfe is in all menseies.

15 Here I omit with howe pernicious opinions mens mindes are filled, in thinking that they be sacrifices wherewith oblation is rightly made to God, whereby sinnes are cleansed, whereby righteousness & saluation is obtained. They wil deny that good things are corrupted with such forein errorrs: forasmuch as in this behalfe a man may no lesse offend in the very workes also cōmaunded of God. But this hath more hainousnes, that so much honor is giuen to works rashly fained by the wil of mā, that they are thought to be things deseruing eternal life. For the works cōmaunded of God haue reward therfore, because the lawmaker himselfe in respect of obedience accepteth them. Therefore they receiue not their value of their owne worthines, or of their own deseruinge, but because God so much esteemeth our obedience toward him. I speake here of that perfection of workes which is cōmaunded of God, & is not performed of men. For therefore the very workes of y^e law which we do, haue no thanke but of the free goodnes of God, because in them our obedience is weake & lame. But because we do not here dispute, of what value workes are without Christ, therefore let vs passe ouer that question. I come backe againe to that which

Hier. 7. properly belongeth to this present argument, that whatsoeuer commendation workes haue in them, they haue it in respect of the obedience

ence, which onely the Lord doth looke vpon, as he testifieth by the ^{Esa. 55.} Prophet: I gaue not commaundement of sacrifices & burnt offrings, ^{2 & 29.} but only that ye should with hearing, heare my voyce. But of fained ^{13.} workes he speaketh in an other place, saying: Ye weie your siluer and not in bread, Againe, they worship me in vaine with y precepts of me. ^{Mat. 15} This therfore they can by no wayes, excuse, that they suffer the silly ^{9.} people to seke in those outward trifles the righteousnes wherby they may stand against God, & vphold theselues before y heauenly iudgement seate. Morouer, is not this a fault worthy to be inuied against, that they shew forth Ceremonies not vnderstâded as it were a stage play, or a magical enchauntment? For it is certaine y all Ceremonies are corrupt & hurtful, vnlesse men be by them directed to Christ. But the Ceremonies that are vsed vnder the papacy, are seuered frô doctrine, that they may the more hold men in signes without all signification. Finally (such a cunning craftsman is the belly) it appeareth that many of the haue bin inuented by couetous sacrificing priestes, to be snares to catche money. But what beginninge soeuer they haue, they are all so giuen forth in common for filthy gaine, that we must needes cut of a great part of them, if we wil bring to passe that there be not a prophane market, and ful of sacrilege vsed in the Church.

- 16 Although I seeme not to teach a continual doctrine cōcerning the ordinances of men, because this speakinge is altogether applied to our own time: yet there is nothing spokē that shal not be profitable for all times. For so oft as this superstition crepeth in, that men will worshippe God with their owne fained deuises, whatsoeuer the lawes be that are made to y purpose, they do by and by degenerate to those grosse abuses. For the Lord threatneth not this curse to one or two ages, but to al ages of the world, that he will strike them with blindness and amased dulnes that worship him with the doctrines of men. This blinding continually maketh that they flee frô no kinde of absurdity, which despising so many warnings of God, do wilfully wrap them ^{Esa. 29.} ^{13.} selues in those deadely snares. But if, settinge aside circumstances, you wil haue simply shewed what be the mens traditions of all ages, which it is mete to be reiectēd of the Church, and to be disallowed of all the godly, that same shalbe a sure and plaine definition which we haue aboue set: that all lawes without the word of God are made by men to this ende, either to prescribe a maner of worshipping God, or to binde consciences with religion, as though they gaue commaundement of thinges necessary to saluation. If to the one or both of these there be adioyned other faultes: as, that with their multitude they darken the brightnesse of the Gospell: that they nothing edifie, but be rather

vnprofitable and trifling occupations than true exercises of godlinesse : that they be laid abroade to filthinesse and vnhonest gaine: that they be too hard to be kept: that they be defiled with euil superstitions: these shall be helpes that we may the more easily finde how much euill is in them.

17 I heare what they answer for themselves, that their traditions are not of themselves, but of God. For, they say that the Church is gouerned of the holy Ghost, that it can not erre and that the authority thereof remaineth with them. When this is obtained, it therewithall foloweth, that their traditions are the reuelations of the holy Ghost, which can not be despised but wickedly and with the contempt of God. And that they shoulde not seeme to haue attempted any thing without great authority, they will haue it beleued that a great parte of their obseruations came from the Apostles: and they
 A& 15. affirme that by one example is sufficiently declared what the Apostles
 20. & 29 did in other things, when being assembled in one Councell, they did by the decre of the Councell commaunde the Gentiles to abstaine from things offered to idols, from blood and strangled. We haue already in an other place declared, how falsly for boasting of themselves they lyingly vsurpe the title of the Church. So much as concerning this present cause: if, plucking away all visors, and deceitfull colours, we truely looke vpon that which we ought principally to care for, & which chiefly is for our behoofe, that is, what maner of Church Christ will haue, that we may fashion and frame our selues to the rule thereof: it shal easily be euident vnto vs, that it is not the Church, which passinge the boundes of the word of God, doth outrage and runne at riot in makinge of newe lawes. For doth not that lawe which was
 Deu. 19. once prescribed to the Church, remaine eternall? What I commaund
 32. thee, that thou shalt kepe that thou maist do it. Thou shalt not adde
 Pro. 30. any thing, nor take any thing fro it. And in an other place: Adde not
 6. to the word of the Lord, nor minish any thing: least he peraduenture reprove thee, and thou be founde a lyer. Sith they can not deny that this was spokē to the Church, which do they else but report the stubbornesse of that Church, what they boast to haue bin so bold as after such prohibitions neuertheless to adde & mingle of her owne with the doctrine of God? But God forbid that we shoulde assent to their lies, whereby they burden the Church with so great a sleaunder: but let vs vnderstande, that the name of the Church is fasly pretended, so oft as this lust of mens rashnesse is spoken of, which can not holde it selfe within the prescribed boundes of God, but that it wildly rangeth & runneth out into her owne inuētions? There is nothing entangled,
 nothing

nothing darke, nothing doutfull in these wordes, in which the whole Church is forbiddē to adde to the word of God, or to take any thing from it, when the worshippinge of God, and preceptes concerninge saluation, are entreated of. But this (say they) was spoken of the lawe only, after which folowed the prophecies & the whole ministration of the Gospel. I graunt in dede: and I adde also, which are rather fullingings of the law, than additions or diminishinges. But if the Lorde suffred nothing to be added to or taken from the ministry of Moses, which was (as I may so terme it) darke by reason of many doutfull enwrappings, till by his seruantes the Prophetes, and at length by his beloued Sonne, he ministred a clearer doctrine: why shoulde we not thinke it much more seuerely forbidden vs, that we should adde nothing to the law, the Prophetes, the Psalmes, and the Gospel? The Lorde is not gone out of kinde from himselfe, which hath longe ago declared, that he is with nothing so hiely offended, as whē he is worshipped with the inuentions of men? Whereof came those notable sayings in the Prophetes, which ought to haue continually sounded in our eares: I spake no words to your fathers, in y day that I brought them out of Ægipt, concerning sacrifice and burnt offringe. But this word I commaunded them, saying: With hearinge heare my voyce: and I will be your God, and you shalbe my people, & you shall walke in all the way that I shall commaunde you. Againe, I haue with protesting protested vnto your fathers, Heare my voyce. And other like sayings: but this is notable aboue the rest. Will God haue burnt offerings and sacrifices, and not rather that his voyce be obeied? For obedience is better than sacrifice, and to harken is better than to offer the fatte of rammes. For, to resist is as the sinne of soothsayinge: and not to obey is as the wickednesse of Idolatry. Therefore whatsoever inuentions of men are in this behalfe defended with the authority of the Church, forasmuch as the same can not be excused from the crime of vngodlinesse, it is easie to proue that it is falsly imputed to the Church.

Iere. 7.
22.Iere. 11.
1. Sa. 15
22.

18 After this sorte we freely inuieie against this tyranny of mens traditions, which is proudly thrust in among vs, vnder the title of the Church. For neither do we scorne the Church (as our aduersaries, to bring vs in hatred, do vniustly lye vpon vs) but we giue vnto her the praise of obediēce, than which she knoweth no greater praise. They rather are very sore wrong doers to the Church, which make her obstinate against her Lorde, while they faine that she hath proceeded further than she lawfully might do by y word of God: though I speake nothing how it is a notable shamelesnesse ioyned with as great ma-

lice, continually to crie out of the authority of the Church, & in the meane time dissemblingly to hide both what is commaunded her by the Lord, and what obedience she oweth to the commaundement of the Lord. But if we haue a minde, as it is mete we shoulde haue, to agree with the Church, this pertaineth rather to the purpose, to haue an eie vnto and remember what is commaunded by the Lorde both to vs and the Church, that we should with one agreement obey him. For there is no dout but we shall very well agree with the Church, if we do in all things thew our selues obedient to the Lord. But now to father vppon the Apostles, the originall of the traditions wherewith the Church hath bin hitherto oppressed, was a point of mere deceit: forasmuch as the doctrine of the Apostles trauaileth wholly to this end, that consciences should not be burdened with new obseruations, nor the worshipping of God be defiled with our inuentions. Moreouer if there be any faithfulness in histories and auncient monuments, the Apostles not onely neuer knew, but also neuer heard of this that they attribute vnto them. Neither let them prate, that the most part of their decrees were receiued in vse and in mens behauiours, which neuer were put in writing: euen those thinges forsooth, which, while Christ was yet liuing, they could not vnderstande, after his ascending they learned by the reuelation of the holy Ghost. Of the exposition of that place we haue else where already scene. So much as is sufficient for this present cause: truely they make themselves worthy to be laughed at, while they faine that those great misteries, which so long time were vnknown to the Apostles, were partly obseruations either Jewish or Gentile (of which all y^e one sort had bin long before published among the Iewes, and all the other sorte amonge the Gentiles) and partely foolish gesturings and vaine pety Ceremonies, which foolish sacrificing Priestes, that can neither skil of swimminge nor of letters, vse to do very trimly: yea such as children and fooles do so aptly counterfaite that it may seeme that there be no fitter ministers of such holy mysteries. If there were no histories at all: yet men that haue their sounde witte might consider by the thing it selfe, that so great a heape of Ceremonies and obseruations did not suddenly burst into the Church, but by litle and litle crept in. For when those holier Bishoppes, which were next in time to the Apostles, had ordained some thinges that belonged to order and discipline, afterward there folowed men, some after other, not discrete enough, and too curious and greedy: of which the later that euery one was, so he more strined with his predeceffours in foolish enuious counterfayinge, not to giue place in inuentinge of newe thinges. And because there

was perill least their deuises would shortly grow out of vse, by which they couered to gette praise among their posterity, they were much more rigorous in exact calling vpon the keeping of them. This wrongfull zeale hath bredde vs a great parte of these Ceremonies which they set out vnto vs for Apostolike. And this also the hystories do testifie.

19 Least in making a register of the we should be too tedious, we will be content with one example. In the ministringe of the Lordes supper, there was in the Apostles time great simplicity. The next successours, to garnish the dignity of the mystery, added somewhat that was not to be disallowed. But afterward there came those foolish counterfayers, which with now & then patching of peeces together, haue made vs this apparell of the priest which we see in the Masse, those ornamentes of the altar, those gesturings, and the whole furniture of vnprofitable thinges. But they obiekt, that this in olde time was the perswasion, that those thinges which were with one consent done in the vniuersall Church, came from the Apostles themselues, whereof they cite Augustine for witnesse. But I will bring a solution from no other where than out of the wordes of Augustine himselve. Those thinges (sayeth he) that are kept in the whole worlde, we may vnderstande to haue bin ordayned either of the Apostles themselues, or of the generall Councelles, whose authoritie is most healthfull in the Church: as, that the Lordspassion, and resurrection, and his ascending into heauen, and the comming of the holy Ghost, are celebrate with yearly solemnitie: and whatsoeuer like thinge be founde, that is kept of the whole Church, which way soeuer it be spread abroad. When he reckoneth vppe so few examples, who doth not see that he meant to impute to authors worthy of credit and reuerence, the observations that then were vsed, euen none but those simple, rare, and sober ones, with which it was profitable that the order of the Church shoulde be kept together? But howe farre doth this differ from that which the Romish maisters would enforce men to graunt, that there is no pety Ceremony amonge them that ought not to be iudged Apostolike.

20 That I be not too long, I will bring forth only one example. If any man aske the, whense they haue their Holy water: they by and by answere, from the Apostles. As though the hystories do not attribute this inuention to I wote not what Bishop of Rome, which truely, if he had called the Apostles to counsell, woulde neuer haue defiled Baptisme with a straunge and vnfitte signe. Albeit I do not thinke it like to be true, that the beginning of that halowing is so olde as it is there

Episto. 118. ad Ianu. wrytten. For, that which Augustine sayth, that certayne Churches in his time did shunne that solemne folowinge of Christes example in washinge of feete, least that vsage shoulde seeme to pertaine to Baptisme, secretly sheweth that there was then no kinde of washing that had any likenesse with Baptisme. Whatsoever it be, I will not graunt that this proceeded from an Apostolike Spirite, that Baptisme, when it is with a daily signe brought into remembrance, should after a certaine manner be repeated. And I passe not vpon this, that the selfe same Augustine in an other place ascribeth other thinges also to the Apostles. For sith he hath nothing but coniectures, iudgement ought not vpon them to be giuen of so great a matter. Finally admitte that we graunt them also, that those thinges which he rehearseth came from the time of the Apostles: Yet there is great difference betwene instituting some exercise of Godlinesse, which the Faythfull with a free conscience may vse, or if the vse of it shall not be profitable for them, they may forbear it: and making a law that may snare consciences with bondage. But now, from what author soeuer they proceeded, sith we see that they are sliddé into so great abuse, nothing withstandeth, but that we may without offence of him abolish them: forasmuch as they were neuer so commended, that they must be perpetually immouable.

21 Neither doth it much helpe them, that to excuse their tyranny they pretend the example of the Apostles. The Apostles (say they) & the elders of the first Church, made a decree beside the commaundement of Christ, wherein they commaunded all the Gentils to abstaine from things offred to idols, from strangled, & from blood. If that was lawful for the, why is it not also lawful for their successours, to follow the same so oft as occasiō so requireth? I would to God, they did both in all other thinges and in this thing folow them. For I deny that the Apostles did there institute or decree any new thinge, which is easie to be proued by a strong reason. For whereas Peter in that Councell pronounceth, that God is tempted, if a yoke be layd vpon the neckes of the disciples: he doth himselfe ouerthrow his owne sentence, if he afterwarde consent to haue any yoke layd vpon them. But there is a yoke layd, if the Apostles do decree of their owne authority that the Gentils should be forbidden, that they should not touch things offred to idols, blood, and strangled. In dede there yet remaineth a dout, for that they do neuerthelesse seeme to forbid. But this dout shall easily be dissolued, if a man do more nerely consider the meaning of the decree it selfe: in the order and effect wherof the chiefe point is, that to the Gentils their liberty is to be leste, and that they ought not to be troubled,

troubled, nor accombred about the obseruations of the law. Hitherto it very well maketh of our side. But the exception that immediatly foloweth, neither is any new law made by the Apostles, but y^e diuine and eternall commaundement of God, that charity ought not to be broken, nor doth diminish one title of that liberty: but only admonisheth the Gentils, how they should temper themselves to their brethré, that they abuse not their liberty to the offence of them. Let this therefore be the second point, that the Gentils should vse a harmlesse liberty, and without offence of their brethren. But yet they prescribe some certaine thinge: that is, they teach & appoint, so farre as was expedient for the time, by what things they might runne into y^e offence of their brethren, that they might beware of those thinges: but they adde no new thinge of their owne to the eternall law of God, which forbiddeth the offending of brethren.

22 Like as if the faithfull Pastors which gouerne the Churches not yet well reformed, shoulde commaunde all their people, that till the weake with whom they liue do grow stronger, they should not openly eate flesh on Friday, or openly labour vpon holy daies, or any such thinge. For although these thinges, settinge superstition aside, are by themselves indifferent: yet when there is added offence of brethren, they cā not be done without a fault. But the times are such, that the saythfull can not shewe such a sight to the weake brethren, but that they shall sore wounde their consciences. Who, but a cauiller, will say that so they make a new law, whereas, it is certaine that they do onely preuent offences, which are expressely enough forbidden of the Lord? And no more cā it be sayd of the Apostles, whose purpose was nothing else, but in takinge away the matter of offences, to call vpon the law of God concerninge the auoydinge of offence: as if they had sayd: It is the Lords cōmaundement y^e ye offend not a weake brother. Ye can not eate thinges offred to images, strangled and blood, but that the weake brethren shalbe offended. Therefore we commaunde you in the word of the Lord, that ye eate not with offence. And that the Apostles had respect to the same thinge, Paule himselfe is a very good witnesse, which writeth thus, verily none otherwise than according to the meaning of the Council: Concerning meates that are offered to Idols, we know that the Idole is nothing. But some with conscience of the Idole, do eate it as offred to Idols, and their conscience, forasmuch as it is weake, is defiled. See that your liberty be not made an offence to the weake. He y^e shall haue well weied these things, shall not afterwarde be deceiued with such a false colour as they make, that pretend the Apostles for defence of their tyranny, as though the

1. Cor. 8
1,

Apostles had begonne with their decree to breake the liberty of the Church. But, that they may not be able to escape, but be driuen euen with their owne confession to allowe this solution, lette them aunswere me, by what right they were so bolde to abrogate the same decree. Because there was no more peril of those offences & dissensions, which the Apostles meant to prouide for, & they know that the lawe was to be weyed by the end therof. Forasmuch as therefore this law was made in respect of charity, there is nothinge prescribed in it, but so much as pertaineth to charity. When they confesse that the transgressing of this law is nothing but a breaking of charity, do they not therewithall acknowledge, that it is not a forged addition to the lawe of God, but a naturall and simple appliance to the times and maners whereunto it was directed?

23 But although such lawes be a hundred times vniust & iniurious vnto vs, yet they affirme that they must be heard without exception: for they say that this is not here intended, that we shoulde consent to errors, but only that being subiects we should beare the hard commaundements of our gouernours, which it is not our partes to refuse. But here also the Lordē very well resisteth them with the trueth of his word, & deliuereth vs out of such bondage into the liberty, which he hath purchased for vs with his holy blood, the benefit whereof he hath more than once confirmed with his word. For that is not here only intended (as they maliciously faine) that we shoulde suffer some grieuous oppression in our body, but that our consciences being spoiled of their liberty that is of the benefit of the blood of Christ, shold be seruilely tormented. Howbeit let vs passe ouer this also, as though it made litle to the matter. But of how great importance do we think it is, that the Lordes kingdom is taken away from him, which he claimeth to himselfe with so great seuerity? But it is taken away so oft as he is worshipped with the lawes of mens inuentions, whereas he will be holden for the only lawmaker of his owne worship. And least any man shold thinke it to be a matter of nothing, let vs heare how much the Lord esteemeth it. Because (sayth he) this people hath feared me

Esai. 29. with the commaundement & doctrine of men: beholde I wil astonish
 13. them with a great & wonderous miracle. For wisdom shal perish from
 the wise men therof, & vnderstanding shal depart frō the elders. In an
 other place, They worship me in vaine teaching doctrines, the com-
 Matt. 15. maundements of mē. And truly wheras the children of Israell defiled
 9. theselues with many idolatries, the cause of al y euil is ascribed to this
 vnclean mixture, y transgressing the commaundements of God, they
 haue forged new worshippings. And therefore the holy History re-
 hearseth

beareth that the new strangers that had bin transplanted by the king
 of Babilon to inhabite Samaria, were torne in peeces & consumed of
 wilde beastes, because they knew not the iudgements or statutes of
 the God of that lande. Although they had nothinge offended in the
 Ceremonies, yet God would not haue allowed a vaine pompe: but in
 the meane time he ceased not to take vengeance of the defilinge of
 his worship, for that men did thrust in deuises strange from his word.
 Whereupon it is afterward said, that they being made afraid with that
 punishment, receiued the Ceremonies prescribed in the law: but be-
 cause they did not yet purely worship the true God, it is twise repea-
 ted that they did feare him and did not feare him. Whereupon we ga-
 ther, that the parte of reuerence which is giuen to him, consisteth in
 this, while in worshipping him we simply follow what he commaun-
 deth with mingling none of our inuentions. And therefore the godly ^{2. Kings}
 kings are oftentimes praised, because they did according to al the cō- ^{23.}
 maundements, & declined not to the right hande nor to the left. I go
 yet further: although in some fayned worshipping there do not opely
 appeare vngodlines, yet it is seuerely condemned of the holy Ghost,
 so soone as men depart frō the cōmaundemēt of God. The Altar of
 Achaz, the paterne wherof was brought out of Samaria, might haue ^{2. Kings}
 seemed to encrease the garnishment of the temple, whereas his deuise ^{16. 10.}
 was to offer Sacrifices thereupon to God onely, which he shoulde do
 more honorably than vpon the first & old Altar: yet we see how the
 Spirit detesteth that boldnesse, for none other cause but for that the
 inuentions of mē in y worshipping of God are vncleane corruptions.
 And howe much more clearly the will of God is opened vnto vs, so
 much the lesse excusable is our frowardnes to attēpt any thinge. And
 therfore worthily with this circumstance the crime of Manasses is en-
 forced, for that he builded a new altar in Ierusalē, of which God had ^{2. Kings}
 pronounced I will there set my name, because the authority of God ^{21. 3.}
 is now as it were of set purpose refused.

24 Many do maruell why God so sharply threatneth y he will do
 thinges to be wondred at to the people of whom he was worshipped
 with the commaundements of men, & pronounceth that he is wor-
 shipped in vaine with y precepts of men. But if they considered, what
 it is in the cause of religion, that is to say of heavenly wisdom, to hang
 vpo the only mouth of God, they would therewithal see, y it is no sclē-
 der reason why God so abhorreth such peruerse seruices, that are done
 to him accordinge to the lust of mans wit. For although they that o-
 bey such lawes for the worshipping of God, haue a certaine shew of
 humility in this their obedience, yet they are not hüble before God,

to whom they prescribe the same lawes which they themselves do kepe. This is the reason why Paul willeth vs so diligently to beware; that we be not deceived by the traditions of men & that which he calleth ethelothreskian that is, *Wilworship* inuented of men beside the doctrine of God. This is verily true, both our owne wisdom, & al mē wisdom must be foolishhe vnto vs, that we may suffer him alone to be wise. Which way they keepe not which do study with pety obseruations fained by the wil of men to commend themselves vnto him, & do thrust vnto him as it were against his wil a transgressinge obedience toward him, which is in dede giuen to men. As it hath bin done both in many ages heretofore, & in the time within our owne remembrance, & is also at this day done in those places where the authority of the creature is more esteemed than of the creator: where religiō (if yet the same be worthy to be called religion) is defiled with more & more vnfauory superstitions, than euer was any Paynime wickednes. For what could the wit of men brede but all things carnall & foolish and such as truely resemble their authors?

25 Wheras also the Patrones of superstitions alleage, that Samuel
 1. Sam. 7 Sacrificed in Ramatha, and although the same was done beside the
 17. law, yet it pleased God: the solution is easie, that it was not a certaine second altar to set against the one only altar: but because the place was not yet appointed for the arke of couenant, he appointed the towne where he dwelled for Sacrifices, as the most conuenient place. Truly the minde of the holy Prophet was not to make any innouation in holy things, wheras God had so streightly forbidden any thing to be added or minished. As for the example of Menoha, I say y it was an extraordinary and singular case. He being a priuate man offred sacrifice to God & not without the allowance of God: verily because he enterprised it not of a rash motiō of his own minde, but by a heauenly instinctiō. But how much the Lord abhorreth those things that mē deuise of themselves to worship him withall, an other not inferior to Gedeon is a notable example, whose Ephod turned to destruction not only to him and his family, but to the whole people. Finally eue-
 1. Iud. 8. ry new found inuention, wherwith men couet to worship God, is no-
 27. thing else but a defiling of true holinesse.

26 Why then (say they) did Christ will that those intolerable
 Mat. 23. burdens should be borne, which the Scribes and Pharisees bound v-
 3. & 16. pon men? But why in an other place did the same Christ will that men
 6. should beware of the leuē of the Pharisees: calling leuen (as Mathew the Euangelist expoundeth it) all their owne doctrine that they mingled with the purenes of the word of God? What would we haue
 more

more plaine, than that we be commaunded to flee and beware of all their doctrine? Whereby it is made most certaine vnto vs, that in the other place also the Lorde willed not, that the consciences of his should be vexed with the Pharisees owne traditions. And the very wordes, if they be not wrested, sounde of no such thing. For the Lord purposing there to enuey sharply against the maners of the Pharisees, did first simply instruct them that heard him, that although they sawe nothing in their life mere for them to followe, yet they should not cesse to do those things which they taught in wordes, while they sate in the chaire of Moses, that is, to declare the lawe. Therefore he meant nothing els but to prouide that the common people should not with the euill exāples of the teachers be brought to despise the doctrine. But forasmuch as many are nothing at all moued with reasons, but alway require authoritie, I will allege Augustines wordes, in which the very same thing is spoken. The Lordes shepefolde hath gouernours, some faithfull, and some hirelinges. The gouernours that are faithfull, are true Pastors: but heare ye, that the hirelinges also are necessarie: for many in the Church following earthly profits, do preach Christ, and by the voice of Christ is heard: and the shepe do followe, not a hireling, but the Pastor by the meanes of a hireling. Heare ye that hirelinges are shewed by the Lorde himselfe. The Scribes (saith he) and the Pharisees sitt in the chaire of Moses. Do ye those things that they say, but do not those things that they do. What other thing said he, but heare the voice of the Pastor by the hirelinges? For in sitting in the chaire they teach the lawe of God: therefore God teacheth by them. But if they will teach their owne, heare it not, do it not. This saith Augustine.

In Ioh.
Tract.
46.

27 But whereas many vnskillfull men, when they here that consciences are wickedly bounde and God worshipped in vaine with the traditiōs of men, do at ones blott out altogether all lawes whereby the order of the Church is set in frame: therefore it is conuenient also to mete with their error: Verily in this point it is easy to be deceiued, because at the first sight it doth not by and by appeare what difference is betweene the one sort and the other. But I will so plainly in fewe wordes sett out the whole matter, that the likenesse may deceiue no man. First let vs holde this, that if we see in euery fellowship of men some policie to be necessarie, that may serue to nourish common peace and to reteine concord: if we se that in the doing of things there is alway some orderly forme, which is behouefull for publike honestie and for very humanitie not to be refused: the same ought chiefly to be obserued in Churches, which are both

best maintained by a well framed disposition of all things, & without agreement are no Churches at all. Therefore if we will haue the safetie of the Church well provided for, we must altogether diligently procure that which Paule commaundeth, that all things be done comelily and according to order. But forasmuch as there is so great diuersitie in the maners of men, so great varietie in mindes, so great disagreement in iudgements and wittes: neither is there any policie stedfast enough, vnlesse it be stablished by certaine lawes, nor any orderly vsage can be obserued without a certaine appointed forme: Therefore we are so farre of from condemning the lawes that are profitable to this purpose, that we affirme that when those be taken away, Churches are dissolued from their sinewes, and vterly deformed and scattered abroad. For this which Paule requireth, that all things be done decently and in order, can not be had, vnlesse the order it selfe and comelinesse be stablished, with obseruations adioined as with certaine bondes. But this onely thing is alway to be excepted in those obseruations, that they be not either beleued to be necessary to saluation, and so binde consciences with religion, or, be applied to the worshipping of God, and so godlinesse be reposed in them.

28 We haue therefore a very good and most faithfull marke, which putteth difference betwene those wicked ordinances, by which we haue sayed that true religion is darkened and consciences subuerted, and the lawfull obseruations of the Church; if we remember that the lawfull obseruations tende alway to one of these two things or to both together, that in the holy assembly of the faithfull all things be done comely and with such dignitie as becometh: and that the very common fellowship of men should be kept in order as it were by certaine bondes of humanitie and moderation. For when it is ones vnderstode that the lawe is made for publike honesties sake, the superstition is nowe taken away, into which they fall that measure the worshipping of God by the inuentions of men. Again when it is knowen that it pertaineth to comon vse, then that false opinion of bond and necessitie is ouerthrowen, which did strike a great terror into consciences, when traditions were thought necessarie to saluation. For herein is nothing required but that charitie should with common dutiefull doing be nourished among vs. But it is good yet to define more plainely, what is comprehended vnder that comelinesse which Paule commendeth, and also what vnder order. The ende of comelinesse is, partly that when such Ceremonies are vsed as may procure a reuerence to holy things, we may by such helpes be stirred vp to godlinesse: partly also that the modestie and grauitie which ought

ought to be seen in all honest doings may therein principally appeare. In order, this is the first point, that they which gouerne may knowe the rule and lawe to rule well: and the people which are gouerned may be accustomed to obeying of God, and to right discipline: Then, that the state of the Church being well framed, peace & quietnesse may be prouided for.

29 Therefore we shall not say that comelinesse is, wherein shalbe nothing but vaine delectation: such as we se in that playerlike apparell which the Papistes vse in their ceremonies, where appeareth nothing els but an vnprofitable visor of gainesse, and excesse without frute. But we shall accompt that to be comelinesse which shall so be mete for the reuerence of holy misteries, that it be a fitt exercise to godlinesse, or at least such as shall serue to conuenient garnishing for the celebrating thereof: and the same not without frute, but that it may put the faithfull in minde with howe great modestie, religiousnesse and reuerence, they ought to handle holy things. Nowe, that ceremonies may be exercises of godlinesse, it is necessarie that they leade vs the streight way to Christ. Likewise we may not say that order consisteth in those trifling pompes that haue nothing els than a vanishing gainesse: but that it standeth in such an orderly framing as may take away all confusion, barbarousnesse, obstinacie, and all strifes & dissentions. Of the first sort are these examples in Paul: that prophane banquettings should not be mingled with the holy Supper of the Lorde: that women should not come abroad, but couered: and many other which we haue in common vse: as this, that we pray kneeling and bare hedded: that we minister the Lordes Sacraments not vnclenly, but with some dignitie: that in the burying of the dead we vse some honest shewe: and other things that are of the same sort. Of the other kinde are the houres appointed for publike prayers, Sermons, and celebrations of misteries: at Sermons, quietnesse and silence, places appointed, singing together of Hymnes, dayes prefixed for celebrating of the Lordes Supper, that Paule forbiddeth that women should teach in the Church, and such like. But specially those things that concerne discipline, as the teaching of the Catechisme, the censures of the Church, excommunication, fastings, and such as may be reckened in the same number. So all the constitutions of the Church, which we receiue for holy and holosome, we may referre to two chiefe titles: for some pertain to rites and ceremonies, and the other to discipline and peace.

30 But because here is perill, least on the one side the false bishops should thereby catch a pretense to excuse their wicked and tyrannous

lawes, & least on the other side there be some men to fearfull, which admonished with the afore said euels do leaue no place to lawes be they neuer so holy: here it is good to protest, that I allowe onely those ordinances of men, which be both grounded vpon the authoritie of God, and taken out of the scripture, yea and altogether Gods owne. Let vs take for an example the kneeling which is vsed in time of common prayer. It is demanded, whether it be a tradition of man, which euery man may lawfully refuse or neglect. I say that it is so of men, that it is also of God. It is of God, in respect that it is a part of that comelineffe, the care and keping whereof is commended vnto vs by the Apostle: it is of men, in respect that it specially berokeneth that which had in generalltie rather bene pointed to, than declared. By this one example we may iudge, what is to be thought of that whole kinde: verily because the Lord hath in his holy Oracles both faithfully contained and clerely set foorth both the whole summe of true righteousness, and all the partes of the worshipping of his diuine maiestie, and whatsoeuer was necessarie to saluation: therefore in these things he is only to be heard as our scholemaster. But because in outward discipline and Ceremonies his will was not to prescribe ech thing particularly what we ought to followe (because he foresaw this to hang vpon the state of times, and did not thinke one forme to be fitt for all ages) herein we must flee to those generall rules which he hath geuen, that thereby all those things should be tried which the necessitie of the Church shall require to be commaunded for order and comelineffe. Finally, Forasmuch as he hath therefore taught nothing expressely, because these things both are not necessary to saluation, and according to the maners of euery nation and age ought diuersly to be applied to the edifying of the Church: therefore as the profit of the Church shall require, it shalbe conuenient as well to change and abrogate those that be vsed, as to institute newe. I graunt in deede, that we ought not rashly, nor oft, nor for light causes to runne to innouation. But what may hurt or edifie, charitie shall best iudge: which if we will suffer to be the gouerneffe, all shall be safe.

31 Nowe it is the dutie of Christian people, to kepe such things as haue bene ordeined according to this rule, with a free conscience and without any superstition, but yet with a godly and easy redinesse to obey, not to despise them, not to passe them ouer with carelesse negligence: so farre is it of, that they ought by pride and obstinacie openly to breake them. What maner of libertie of conscience (wilt thou say) may there be in so great obseruation and warenesse? Yea, it shall stande excellently well when we shall consider, that they are
not

not stedfast and perpetuall stayed lawes, whereunto we be bounde, but outwarde rudements for the weakenesse of men: which although we do not all neede, yet we do all vse them, because we are mutually one bounde to an other, to nourish charitie among vs. This we may reknowledge in the examples aboue rehersed. What? Doth religion stande in a womans veile, that it is not lawfull to go out of dores with her hed vncouered? Is that holy decree of his concerning silence, such as can not be broken without most hainous offence? Is there any misterie in kneeling, or in burying of a dead carcase, that may not be omitted without sinne? No. For if a woman neede, for the helping of her neighbor, to make such hast as may not suffer her to couer her hed, she offendeth not if she runne thether with her hed vncouered. And it may sometime befall that it may be no lesse conuenient for her to speake, than at an other time to holde her peace. And there is no cause to the contrary, but that he which by reason of diseafe can not bowe his knees may pray standing. Finally, it is better to burie a dead man spedely in time, than when they lacke a winding shete, or when there be not men present to conuey him, to tarry till he rot vnburied. But neuerthelesse in these things there is somewhat which the maner and ordinances of the contree, and finally very naturall honestie and the rule of modestie appointeth to be done or auoided: wherein if a man swarue any thing from them, by vwarenesse, or forgetfulnesse, there is no crime committed: but if vpon contempt, such stubbornnesse is to be disallowed. Likewise the dayes themselves, which they be, and the houres, and howe the places be bilded, and what Psalmes be song vpon which day, it maketh no matter. But it is mete that there be both certaine dayes, and appointed houres, and a place fitt to receiue all, if there be regarde had of the preservation of peace. For howe greate an occasion of brawlings should the confusion of these things be, if it were lawfull for euery man, as he list, to change those things that belong to common state: forasmuch as it will neuer come to passe that one same thing shall please all men, if things be lefte as it were in the middest to the choise of euery man? If any man do carpe against vs, and will herein be more wise than he ought, let him se himselfe by what reason he can defende his owne precisenesse to the Lorde. As for vs, this saying of Paule ought to satisfie vs, that we haue not an vse to contend, nor the Churches of God.

1. Cor.

11.16.

32 Moreouer it is with great diligence to be endeouored, that no error crepe in, that may corrupt or obscure this pure vse. Which shalbe obtained, if all obseruations, whatsoeuer they shalbe, shall haue

a shewe of manifeste profit, and it very fewe be receiued, but principally if there be adioined a faithfull doctrine of the Pastor, that may stoppe vp the way to puerile opiniōs. This knowledge maketh, that in all these things euery man may haue his owne libertie preserved, and neuerthelesse shall willingly charge his owne libertie with a certaine necessitie, so farre as either this comelinesse that we haue spoken of, or the order of Charitie shall require. Secondly, that both we our selues should without any superstition be busied in the obseruing of those things, and should not to precisely require them of other, so as we should think the worshipping of God to be the better for the multitude of Ceremonies: that one Church should not despise an other for the diuersitie of discipline: last of all that setting herein no perpetuall lawe to our selues, we should referre the whole vse and ende of obseruatiōs to the edification of the Church, that, when it requireth we may without any offense suffer not onely somewhat to be changed, but all the obseruations that were before in vse among vs, to be altered. For this age is a present experience, that certaine rites, which otherwise are not vngodly nor vncomely, may according to the fit occasion of y^e matter, be conueniently abrogate. For (such hath bene the blindenesse and ignorance of the former times) Churches haue heretofore, with so corrupt opinion and with so stiffe affection, sticked in Ceremonies, that they can scarcely be sufficiently purged from monstrous superstitions, but that many Ceremonies must be taken away, which in olde time were peradventure ordeined not without cause, and of themselues haue no notable vngodlinesse in them.

The xj. Chapter.

*Of the iurisdiction of the Church, and the abuse thereof, such
as is seen in the Papacie.*

NOW remaineth the third part of the power of the Church, yea and the chiefe parte in a well ordered state, which we haue sayed to consist in iurisdiction. The whole iurisdiction of the Church pertaineth to the discipline of maners, of which we shall entrate by and by. Forasmuch as no citie, or no towne can stande without Magistrat and policy: so the Church of God (as I haue already taught, but nowe I am compelled to repete it againe) needeth her certaine spirituall policy: but such as is vterly seuered from the ciuile policie, and doth so nothing hinder or minish it, that it rather doth much helpe and further it. Therefore this power of iurisdiction shall in a summe be nothing els but an order framed for
the

the preferuation of spirituall policie. To this ende from the beginning were ordeined iudiciall orders in Churches, which might vse examinatio of maners, correct vices, & exercise the office of the keyes. This order Paul speaketh of in the Epistle to the Corinthians, when he nameth gouernements. Againe to the Romaines, when he saith: let him that ruleth, rule in carefulnesse. For he speaketh not to the magistrats, (for at that time there were no Christiā magistrats) but to them that were ioined with the Pastors for the spirituall gouernement of the Church. Also in the Epistle to Timothee, he maketh two sortes of Elders: some, that labor in the word: other some, that do not vse the preaching of the word, and yet do rule well. By this later sort it is no dout that he meaneth them that were appointed to loke vnto maners, and to the whole vse of the keyes. For this power, of which we nowe speake, hangeth wholly vpon the keyes which Christ gaue to the Church, in the xviij. Chap. of Mathewe: where he commaundeth, that they shoulde be sharply admonished in the name of the whole Church, that haue despised priuate monitions: but if they go forward in their obstinacie, he teacheth that they should be put out of the fellowship of the faithfull. But these monitions and corrections can not be without knowledge of the cause: therefore there needeth both some iudgement and order. Wherefore vnlesse we will make void the promise of the keyes, and take vtterly away excoḿmunication, solemne monitions, and all such things whatsoeuer they be: we must nedes geue to the Church some iurisdiction. Let the readers marke that that place entreateth not of the generall authoritie of doctrine, as in the. xvj. Chapt. of Mathewe, and the. xxj. of Iohn: but that the power of the Sinagoge is for the time to come transferred to the flocke of Christ. Vntill that day the Iewes had their order of gouerning, which Christ stablisheth in his Church, and that with great penaltie, so much as concerneth the pure institution of it. For so it behoued, forasmuch as otherwise the iudgement of an vnnoble and vnregarded congregation might be despised of rash and proude men. And that it should not encomber the reders, that Christ doth in the same words expresse things somewhat differinge one from the other, it shalbe profitable to dissolue this dout. There be therefore two places, that speake of binding and loosing. The one is in the. xvj. Chapter of Mathewe, where Christ, after that he had promised that he would geue to Peter the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, immediately addeth, that whatsoeuer he shall binde or loose in earth, shalbe confirmed in heauen. In which wordes he meaneth none other thing, than he doth by other wordes in Iohn, when sending

1. Cor.

12.21.

Rom.

12.3.

1. Tim.

5.17.

Ioh. 20.

23.

Mat. 16. his disciples to preache, after that he had breathed vpon them he
 19. said: whose sinnes ye forgeue, they shalbe forgeuen: and whoes ye
 reteine, they shalbe reteined in heauen. I will bring an exposition not
 suttile, not enforced, not wrested: but naturall, flowing, and offering it
 selfe. This commaundement of forgeuing and reteining sinnes, and
 that promise of binding and loosing made to Peter, ought to be re-
 ferred to no other thing but to the ministry of the word: which whē
 the Lorde committed to the Apostles, he did therewith also arme
 them with this office of binding and loosing. For what is the summe
 of the Gospell, but that we all being the bondseruantes of sinne and
 of death, are loosed & made free by the redemption that is in Christ
 Iesus: and that they which do not receiue nor acknowledge Christ
 their deliuerer and redemer, are damned & adiudged to euerlasting
 bondes? When the Lorde deliuered this message to his Apostles, to
 be carried into all nations: to approue that it was his owne and pro-
 ceeding from himselfe, he honored it with this noble testimonie: and
 that to the singular strengthening both of the Apostles themselues,
 and of all those to whom it should come. It behoued that the A-
 postles shoulde haue a stedfast and sounde certaintie of their prea-
 ching, which they should not only execute with infinite labors, cares,
 troubles and dangers, but also at the last seale it with their blood.
 That they might (I say) knowe the same to be not vaine nor voide,
 but full of power and force: it behoued that in so great carefulnesse,
 in so great hardnesse of things, and in so great dangers, they should
 be perswaded that they did the businesse of God: that when all the
 world withstode them and fought against them, they should knowe
 that God stode on their side: that hauing not Christ the author of
 their doctrine present by sight in earth, they should vnderstande him
 to be in heauen, to confirme the trueth of the doctrine which he had
 deliuered them. It behoued againe that it should also be most cer-
 tainely proued by testimony to the hearers, that that doctrine of the
 Gospell was not the word of the Apostles, but of God himselfe: not
 a voice bred in earth, but come downe from heauen. For these things,
 the forgeuenesse of sinnes, the promise of euerlasting life, the mes-
 sage of saluation, can not be in the power of man. Therefore Christ
 hath testified, that in the preaching of the Gospell there is nothing
 of the Apostles, but the onely ministry: that it was he himselfe that
 spake and promised all things by their mouths as by instruments: and
 therefore that the forgeuenesse of sinnes which they preached, was
 the true promise of God: and the damnatiō which they pronounced,
 was the certaine iudgement of God. But this testifying is geuen to all

ages, and remaineth in force, to certifie and assure all men, that the word of the Gospell, by what man soeuer it be preached, is the very sentence of God, published at the soueraigne iudgemēt seate, written in the booke of life, ratified, firme & fixed in heauen. Thus we see that in those places the power of the keyes is nothing but the preaching of the Gospell: and that it is not so much a power as a ministry, if we haue respect to men. For Christ hath not geuen this power properly to men, but to his owne word, whereof he hath made men ministers.

2 The other place which we haue said to be, concerning the power of binding and loosing, is in the. xviii. chapter of Mathewe, where Christ saith: If any brother heare not the Church, let him be to thee as a heathē man or a publicane. Verily I say vnto you: whatsoeuer ye bind vpon earth, shalbe bound also in heauen: whatsoeuer ye loose shalbe loosed. This place is not altogether like the first, but is a litle otherwise to be vnderstanded. But I do not so make them diuerse, that they haue not great affinitie together. This first point is like in both, that either of them is a generall sentence: that in both there is alway all one power of binding and loosing, namely by the word of God, all one commaundement, all one promise. But herein they differ, that y first place peculiarly belongeth to preaching, which the Ministers of the worde do execute: this later place to the discipline of Excommunication, which is committed to the Church. The Church bindeth, whome she excōmunicateth: not that she throweth him into perpetuall ruine and desperation, but because she condemneth his life and maners, and vnlesse he repent, doth already warne him of his damnation. She looseth whom she receiueth into communion: because she doth make him as it were partaker of the vnitie which she hath in Christ Iesus. Therefore that no man should obstinately despise the iudgement of the Church, or litle regarde that he is condemned by the consenting voices of the faithfull: the Lord testifieth that such iudgement of the faithfull is nothing els but a publishing of his owne sentence: and that whatsoeuer they do in earth, is cōfirmed in heauen. For they haue the word of God, whereby they may condemne the peruerse: they haue the word, whereby they may receiue the repentant into grace. And they can not erre, nor dissent from the iudgement of God: because they iudge not but after the lawe of God, which is not an vncertaine or earthly opinion, but the holy will of God, and a heauenly Oracle. Out of these two places, which I thinke I haue both bresely and familiarly and truely expounded, those furious men without difference as they be caried with their owne giddinesse, go about to stablish sometime cōfession,

Mat. 18.
17.

sometime excommunication, sometime iurisdiction, sometime the power to make lawes, sometime pardons. But the first place they allege to stablish the supremacie of the See of Rome: they can so well skill to fitt their keyes to all lockes and doores, that a man may say they haue practised smithes craft all their life.

3 For whereas many thinke that those things endured but for a time, when the Magistrats were yet strangers from the profession of our religion: they are deceiued in this, that they consider not, howe great difference and what maner of vnlikenesse there is of the Ecclesiasticall and ciuile power. For the Church hath not the power of the sword to punish or restrain, no empire to commaunde, no prison, no other pains which the Magistrat is wont to lay vpon men. Again, it tendeth not to this end, that he that hath sinned should be punished against his will, but should with willing chastisement professe his repentance. Therefore there is a farre diuers order: because neither doth the Church take to it selfe any thing which properly belongeth to the Magistrat, nor the magistrat can execute that which the Church doth. This shalbe made plainer by an example. Is any man dronke? In a well ordered citie prison shalbe his punishment. Hath he committed fornication? He shall haue like, or rather greater punishment. So shall both the lawes, and the magistrat, and outward iudgemēt be satisfied. But it may be that he shall geue no signification of repentance, but rather murmur & grudge against it. Shall the Church in this case do nothing? But such can not be receiued to the Supper, without doing wrong both to Christ and his holy institution. And reason requireth this: that he which offendeth the Church with an euill example, should with solempne declaration of repentance take away the offence which he hath raised. The reason which they bring that are of contrary opinion, is to colde. Christ say they committed these doings to the Church, when there was no magistrat to execute them. But it happeneth oftentimes that the magistrat is more negligent, yea sometime peraduenture that himselfe is to be chastised, which happened to the Emperor Theodosius. There may beside this asmuch be said of the ministerie of the word. Nowe therefore after their sentence, let Pastors cesse to blame manifest wicked doings, let them cesse to chide, to reprove, to rebuke: for there be Christian magistrates, which ought to correct these things with the lawes and with the sword. But as the Magistrat ought by punishing, and by restraining with force, to purge the Church of offences: so likewise the minister of the word for his part ought to helpe the magistrat that there may not so many offende. So ought their workings to be conioined,
that

that the one may be a helpe, not a hindrance to the other.

4 And truly if a man more nerely wey the wordes of Christ, he shall easily perceiue that in these places, is described a stayed state, and a perpetuall order of the Church, not such as endureth but for a time. For is not mete that we should accuse them to the magistrat, that will not obey our monitions: which yet should be necessary if the magistrat succeded into the office of the Church. What is this promise? Shall we say that it is a promise of one or a few yeres? Verily verily I say vnto you, whatsoeuer ye bind in earth? Moreouer Christ did here institute no newe thing, but followed the custome alway obserued in the auncient Church of his owne nation: whereby he signified that the Church can not want the spirituall iurisdiction, which hadde bene from the beginning. And this hath bene confirmed by the consent of all times. For when Emperors and magistrats began to professe Christ, the spirituall iurisdiction was not by and by abolished: but onely so ordred, that it should diminish nothing of the ciuile iurisdiction, or be confounded with it. And rightfully. For the magistrat, if he be godly, will not exempt himselfe frō the common subiection of the children of God, whereof it is not the last part to submit himselfe to the Church, iudging by the word of God: so farre it is of, that he ought to take away that order of iudgement. For what is more honorable (saith Ambrose) for the Emperor, than to be called the sonne of the Church? For a good Emperor is within the Church, not aboue the Church, Therefore they, which to honor the Magistrat do spoile the Church of this power, do not onely with false exposition corrupt the sentence of Christ, but also do not scenderly condemne so many holy Bishops which haue bene from the time of the Apostles, that they haue by false pretence vsurped the honor and office of the Magistrat.

Episto.
32. ad
Valent.

5 But on the other side it is good to see this, what was in olde time the true vse of the iurisdiction of the Church, and howe great abuse is crepte in, that we may knowe what is to be abrogate, and what is to be restored of antiquitie, if we will ouerthrowe the kingdome of Antichrist, and set vp the true kingdome of Christ againe. First this is the marke to be shotte at, that offences be preuented, and if any offence be risen vp, that it may be abolished. In the vse two things are to be considered: first, that this spirituall power be altogether seuered from the power of the swerd: then, that it be not executed by the will of one man, but by a lawfull assembly. Both these things were obserued in the purer Church. For the holy Bishops did not exercise their power with fines, or emprisonments, or other ciuile punishments: but

they vsed the onely word of the Lorde, as they ought to do. For the seuerest reuenge, and as it were the vttermoſt thunderbolt of the Church is excommunication, which is not vsed but in neceſſitie. But this requireth neither force nor ſtrong hande, but is cōtent with the power of the word of God. Finally the iuriſdictiō of the olde Church was nothing els but a declaration in praſtiſe (as I may ſo call it) of

2. Cor. 10. 4. that which Paul teacheth concerning the ſpirituall power of Paſtors. There is (ſaith he) power geuen to vs, whereby we may throwe down ſtrong holdes, wherby we may make low all height that liſteth vp it ſelfe againſt the knowledge of God, whereby we may ſubdue all thought, and may leade it captiue into the obedience of Chriſt, and we haue in readineſſe a reuenge againſt all diſobedience. As this is done by the preaching of the doctrine of Chriſt: ſo, leaſt the doctrine ſhould be ſcorned, according to that which is taught ought they to be iudged which profeſſe themſelues of the houſhold of faith. But that can not be done, vnleſſe there be ioined with the miniſterie a power to call them that are to be priuately admoniſhed, or to be more ſharply corrected, and alſo a power to exclude them from the communion of the Supper, which can not be receiued without prophaning of ſo great a miſterie. Therefore when in an other place he ſaith, that it belongeth not to vs to iudge ſtrangers, he maketh the children ſubiect to the cenſures of the Church, which may chaſtiſe their faultes: and he ſecretely ſignifieth that there were then iudiciall orders in force from which none of the faithfull was free.

6 But ſuch authority (as we haue declared) was not in the power of one man, to do euery thing according to his owne will: but in the power of the aſſembly of the Elders, which was the ſame thing in the Church that a Senate is in a City. Cyprian, when he maketh mention by whom it was exerciſed in his time, vseth to ioin the whole Clergie with the biſhop. But in an other place alſo he ſheweth, that the very clergy ſo gouerned, that in the meane time the people was not excluded from the hearing of matters. For thus he writeth: Sins the beginning of my biſhoprike I haue determined to do nothing without the counſell of the clergy and conſent of the people. But this was the common and vſuall maner, that the iuriſdiction of the Church ſhould be exerciſed by a Senate of Elders: of whom (as I haue ſayed) there were two ſortes: For ſome were ordeined to teaching, & other ſome were onely iudges of maners. By little and little this institution grewe out of kinde from the firſt beginning of it: ſo that euen in the time of Ambroſe onely clerkes were iudges in eccleſiaſtical iudgements. Which thing he himſelfe complaineth of in theſe

Episto.
14. & 9.
lib. 2.

In. 5. ca
pi. 1. ad
Tim.

these wordes: The olde Sinagoge (saith he) and sins that time the Church hath had Elders, without whoes counsell nothing was done. Which by what negligence it is growen out of vse, I knowe not, vnlesse peraduenture by the slouthfulnesse or rather the pride of the teachers, while they alone would be thought to be somewhat. We see howe much the holy man is displeased, that any thing of the better state is decayed, when notwithstanding they had yet continuing an order that was at the least tolerable. What then would he do if he sawe these deformed ruines that shewe almost no signe of the olde bilding? What bewayling would he vse? First against lawe and right, the Bishop hath claimed to himselfe alone, that which was geuen to the whole Church. For it is like as if the Consul, driuing out the Senate, should take the empire vpon himselfe alone. But as he is about the rest in honor, so in the whole assemblie is more authoritie than in one man. Therefore it was to wicked a deede, that one man, remouing the cōmon power to himselfe, hath both opened an entrie to tyrannous lust, and hath taken from the Church that which belonged vnto her, and hath suppressed and put away the assemblie ordeined by the Spirit of Christ.

7 But (as of one euill alway groweth an other) Bishops disdain-
ing it as a thing vnworthie of their care, haue committed it ouer to
other. Hereupon are created Officials to serue that roome: I do not
yet speake what kind of men they be, but onely this I say, that they
nothing differ from prophane Iudges. And yet they still call it a spi-
rituall iurisdiction, where men contende about nothing but earthly
matters. Although there were no more euell, with what face dare
they call a brawling court the iudgement of the Church? But there
are monitions, there is excommunication. So verily they mocke with
God. Doth a poore man owe a little money? he is cited: if he appeare,
he is condemned. When he is condemned, if he do not satisfie it, he
is monished: after the seconde monition they procede one steppe
toward excommunicatiō: if he appeare not, he is monished to come
& yeld himselfe to iudgement: if he then make delay, he is monished,
and by and by excommunicate. I besech you, what is there any thing
like either to the institution of Christ, or to the auncient maner, or to
an Ecclesiasticall order? But there is also correction of vices. But howe?
verily they not onely suffer but with secret allowance do after a cer-
taine maner cherish and confirme adulteries, wantonnesse, drunken-
nesse and such kinde of milcheuous doinges: and that not onely in
the cōmon people, but also in the clergie themselues. Of many they
call a fewe before them, either that they should not seeme slouthfull

in winking at them, or that they may milke out some money. I speake not of the pillages, robberies, briberies, & sacrileges that are gathered thereby, I speake not what maner of men are for the most parte chosen to this office. This is enough and too much, that when the Romanistes do boast that their iurisdiction is spirituall, it is easie to shewe that there is nothinge more contrary to the order institute of Christ, and that it hath no more likenesse to the auncient custome than darkenesse hath to light.

8 Although we haue not spoken all things that might be alleaged for this purpose, and those things that we haue spoken of are knit vp in fewe wordes: yet I trust that we haue so fought it out, that there is now no more cause why any man should doubt, that the spirituall power whereof the Pope with all his kingdome proudly glorieth, is wicked against God, and an vniust tyranny ouer his people. Vnder the name of spirituall power I comprehend both boldenesse in framing new doctrines, wherewith they haue turned away y^e fily people from the naturall purenesse of the word of God, and the wicked traditions wherewith they haue snared them, and also the false ecclesiasticall iurisdiction which they execute by Suffraganes and Officials. For if we graunt vnto Christ a kingdome among vs, it is not possible but that all this kind of dominion must immediatly be ouerthrowen and fall downe. As for the power of the swerd which they also geue to them selues, because it is not exercised vppon consciences, it pertaineth not to our present purpose to entreate of it. In which behalfe yet it is also to note, that they be alway like theselues, verily nothing lesse than that which they would be taken for, that is to say, Pastours of the Church. Neither do I blame y^e peculiar faults of men, but the common wickednesse of the whole order, yea the very pestilence of the order: forasmuch as it is thought that the same should be maimed, vnlesse it be gloriously set forth with wealth and proude titles. If we require the authoritie of Christ concerning this matter, it is no doubt but that his minde was to debarre the ministers of his worde from ciuile dominion and earthly gouernement, when he sayd, The kings of the Gentiles beare rule ouer them: but you shall not so. For he signifieth not onely that the office of Pastor is distinct from the office of a Prince, but that they be things so seuered, that they can not mete together in one man. For wheras Moses did beare both the offices together: First, that was done by a rare miracle: againe, it was but for a time till things were better sett in order. But when a certaine forme was ones prescribed of God, the ciuile gouernement was left vnto him, and he was commaunded to resigne the priesthode to his brother.

brother. And worthily. For it is aboue nature, that one man should suffice to beare both burdens. And this hath in all ages bene diligently obserued in the Church. And there was neuer any of the Bishops, so long as the true forme of the Church endured, that ones thought of vsurping the power of the swerd: so that this was a common proverbe in the time of Ambrose, that Emperors rather coueted the priesthode, than priests the empire. For this which he afterward saith, was emprinted in the mindes of all men: that palaces pertained to the Emperor, and Churches to the priest. Ex 18.
16.
Homil.
de Basil.
traden.

9 But sins that a way hath bene deuised, whereby bishops might holde the title, honor and richesse of their office without burden or care: least they should be leste altogether idle, y power of the swerde was geuen them, or rather they did by vsurpation take it vpon themselves. By what color will they defend this shamelesnesse? Was this the dutie of bishops to wrappe themselves with iudiciall hearing of causes, with the gouernements of cities and prouinces, and through large circuites to meddle in busineses so vnpertaining to them: which haue so much worke and businesse in their owne office, that if they were wholly and cōtinually occupied in it, and were withdrawn with no callings away from it, yet they were scarcely able to satisfie it? But (such is their waiwardnesse) they sticke not to boast, that by this meane the Church doth flourish according to her worthinesse, and that they themselves in the meane time are not too much drawn away from the duties of their vocation. As touching the first point: if this be a comely ornament of the holy office, that they be aduanced to such heighth, that the hiest monarches may stand in feare of them: then they haue cause to quarell with Christ, which hath in such sort greuously pinched their honor. For, at leste in their opinion, what could haue bene spoken more dishonorably than these words: The kings of the Gentiles and princes beare rule ouer them, but you shall not so? And yet he laid no harder lawe vpon his seruantes than he first laid and receiued vpon himselfe. Who (saith he) hath made me a iudge or diuider among you? We see that he plainly putteth away from himselfe the office of iudging, which he would not do if it were a thing agreeing with his office: will not the seruantes suffer themselves to be brought into that order, whereunto the Lorde hath yielded himselfe subiect? As for the other point, I would to God they could so proue it in experience as it is easy to speake it. But forasmuch as the Apostles thought it not good, to leaue the worde of God and minister at tables: thereby, because they will not be taught, they are conuincid, that it is not all one mans worke to be both a good

Bithoppe and a good Prince. For if they (which according to the largenesse of the giftes wherewith they were endued, were able to satisfie mo & greater cares than any men that haue bene borne since them) haue yet confessed that they can not at ones applie the ministerie both of the word & of tables, but that they should faint vnder the burden: howe could these that be men of no valor in comparison of the Apostles a hundred folde excell the industrie of the Apostles? Truly, to attempt it was a point of most shameles & to presumptuous boldnesse: yet we see that it hath bene attempted: but with what successe, it is euident. For it could not otherwise come to passe, but that forsaking their own office they should remoue into other mens charge.

10 And it is no dout but that of smal beginning they haue by litle & litle growen to so great encreases. For it was not possible that they should at the first step clime vp so hie. But sometime with subtiltie and crooked crafty meanes they priuily auanced themselues, so as no man could foresee that it would come to passe till it was done: sometime when occasion serued they did by terror and threatenings wring from princes some augmentation of their power: sometime when they sawe Princes not hard laced to geue, they abused their fonde and vnadvised gentlenesse. In olde time if any controuersie happened, the godly, to escape the necessitie of going to lawe, committed the arbitrement to the Bishop, because they douted not his vprightnesse. With such arbitrementes the olde Bishops were oftentimes encōbred, which in dede greatly displeased them (as Augustine in one place testifieth) but least the parties should runne to contentious lawing, they did though against their willes take that encumbrance vpon them. These men haue of voluntarie arbitrementes, which were altogether differing from the noise of iudiciall courtes, made an ordinarie iurisdiction. In a litle while after when cities and contrees were troubled with diuerse harde distresses, they resorted to the protection of Bishops, to be sauegarded by their faithfull succour: the bishoppes by marueilous sattelty, of protectors made themselves Lordes. Yea and it can not be denied that they haue gotten the possession of a great parte by violence seditious partakinges. As for the Princes, that willingly gaue iurisdiction to Bishops, they were by diuerse affections moued therunto. But, admitting that their gētlenesse had some shewe of godlinesse: yet with this their wrongfull liberality they did not very well prouide for the profit of the Church, whoes auncient & true discipline they haue so corrupted, yea (to say truth) haue vtterly abolished. But, those bishops that haue abused such goodnesse of princes to their own cōmodity, haue by shewing of this
one

one example enough & too much testified that they are not bishops. For if they had had any sparcke of an Apostolike spirite, they would without dout haue answered out of y^e mouth of Paul: The weapōs of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual. But they being rauished with blind gredines, haue destroied both themselues, their successours, & the Church.

11 At length the Bishop of Rome not cōtented with meane lordships, first laid hand vpon kingdomes, & afterward vpon the very empire. And that he may with some colour whatsoeuer it be retaine the possession gottē by mere robbery, he somtime boasteth that he hath it by the law of God, he somtime pretendeth the gift of Constantine, sometime some other title. First I answere with Bernard: Admit y^e he do by any other reson whatsoeuer, claime this vnto him, yet he hath it not by Apostolike right. For Peter coulde not giue y^e which he had not; but he gaue to his successors y^e which he had, y^e care of churches. But when the Lord and maister sayth, that he is not appointed iudge betwene two, a seruant and scholar ought not to thinke scorne if he be not iudge of all men. But Bernard speaketh of ciuile iudgements: For he addeth: Therefore your power is in crimes, not in possessions: because for those and not for these ye haue receiued the keyes of the kingdom of heauen. For which seemeth to thee the greater dignity to forgiue sinnes, or to diuide landes? There is no comparison. These base and earthly thinges haue Kinges and Princes of the earth their iudges. Why do ye inuade the boundes of other? &c. Again. Thou art made a superior: (he speaketh to Pope Eugenius) but wherunto? Not to beare lordship, I thinke. Therefore how much soeuer we thinke of our selues, let vs remember that there is a ministry laid vpon vs, not a lordship giuen vs. Learne that thou hast nede of a wedehoke, not of a scepter, that thou maist do the worke of a Prophet. Againe, it is plaine: Lordship is forbidden to the Apostles. Go thou therefore, and presume to vsurpe to thy selfe either beinge a Lord, an Apostleshipe: or beinge an Apostle, a Lordship. And by and by after: the forme of an Apostleshipe is this, Lordship is forbidden them, ministry is bidden them. Whereas these things are so spoken of a man, that it is euident to all men, that the very trueth speaketh them, yea where as the very thinge it selfe is manifest without all wordes: yet the Bishoppe of Rome was not ashamed in the Councell at Orleance to decree, that the supreme power of both the swerdes belong to him by the law of God.

Lib.
De cō.
fid. 25.

Conci.
lium A-
relatēs.

12 As for the gift of Constantine, they that be but meanly practised in the histories of those times neede not to be taught how much

this is not only fabulous, but also to be laughed at. But to passe ouer
 Epist. 5. histories, Gregory himselfe is both a sufficient and most full witnesse
 lib. 2. hereof. For so oft as he speaketh of y^e Emperour, he calleth him most
 Epi. 20. noble Lord, and himselfe his vnworthy seruant. Againe in an other
 lib. 3. place: But let not our Lord by the earthly power be the sooner angry
 Epi. 61. with the priestes: but with excellent consideration, for his sake whose
 lib. 2. seruantes they be, let him so rule ouer them, that he also giue them
 Epist. 31. due reuerence. We see how in common subiection he would be ac-
 lib. 4. counted as one of the people. For he there pleadeth not any other
 Epi. 34. mans cause, but his owne. In an other place, I trust in the almighty
 lib. 4. God, that he will giue a longe life to our godly Lordes, and will dis-
 pose vs vnder your hande accordinge to his mercy. Neither haue I
 therefore alleaged these thinges, for that it is my purpose throughly
 to discusse this question concerning the gift of Constantine: but only
 that the Readers should se by the way how childishly the Romanistes
 do lye, when they go about to challenge an earthly Empire to their
 Bishop. And so much the more fowle is the shamelesnesse of Augu-
 stine Steuchus, w^h in such a despeired cause hath bin so bolde to sell
 his trauaile and tongue to the bishoppe of Rome. Valla (as it was not
 hard for a man learned and of a sharp wit) had strongly confuted that
 fable. And yet (as a mā litle exercised in ecclesiastical matters) he had
 not sayd all that might haue made for that purpose. Steuchus burst
 in, and scattered stinking trifles to oppresse the cleare light. And true-
 ly he doth no lesse coldly handle the cause of his maister, than if some
 mery conceited felow faining himselfe to do the same, would in dede
 take Vallas parte. But verily it is a worthy cause, for which the Pope
 should hyre such patrones for money: and no lesse worthy are those
 hyred losells to be deceiued of their hope of gayne, as it happened to
 Eugubinus.

13 But if any man require to know the time, since this fained Em-
 pire began to rise vp, there are not yet passed fīue hūdred yeres, since
 the bishoppes yet remained in subiection of the Princes, neither was
 the Pope created without the authority of the Emperour. The Em-
 perour Henry the fourth of that name, a light & rash man, and of no
 forcast, of great boldnes & dissolute life, gaue first occasiō to Gregory
 the seuenth to alter this order. For when he had in his court the bi-
 shoprikes of al Germany partly to be sold, & partly laid opē for spoiles
 Hildebrand, which had receiued displeasure at his hand, caught hold
 of a goodly colour to reuenge himselfe. But because he seemed to
 pursue an honest and a godly cause, he was furthered with the fauour
 of many. And Henry was otherwise, by reason of his insolent maner.

of governing, hated of the most part of Princes. At the length Hildebrand, which called himself Gregory the seuenth, as he was a filthy & naughty man, bewrayed the malice of his hart: which was the cause that he was forsaken of many that hadde conspired with him. But he thus much preuailed, that his successours might freely without punishment not onely shake of the yoke, but also bringe Emperours in subiection to them. Hereunto was added that from these torth there were many Emperours liker to Henry than to Iulius Cesar: whome it was no hard thing to subdue, while they sate at home carelesse of all things and slouthfull, when they had most nede with verrue and lawfull meanes to repressse, the gredinesse of the bishoppes. Thus we see with what colour that same goodly gift of Constantine is shadowed, whereby the Pope saineth that the Empire of the West was deliuered vnto him.

14 In the meane time the Popes cessed not, sometime with fraude, sometime with treason, and sometime with force to inuade other mens dominions: and the very city it selfe, which before was free, within a hundred and thirty yeares, or there about they brought into their subiection: till they grew to the same power which they haue at this day: and for the obtaining or encreasing whereof, they haue so troubled Christendome by the space of two hundred yeares (for they beganne before that they tooke to them the dominion of the city) that they haue almost destroyed it. In the olde time when vnder Gregorie the keepers of the goodes of the Church, did take possession of the landes which they reckned to belong to the Church, & after the manner of seasing to the vse of the Prince did set titles vpon them for token of claime, Gregory assembling a Councell of bishops, inueyinge sore against that prophane maner, asked whether they did not iudge that Clerke accursed which did of his owne wil by writing of any title attempt to enter vpon any possession They all pronounced, accursed. If to claime a peece of ground by writing of a title be in a Clerke an offense worthy of accursing: when whole two hundred yeares together Popes do practise nothing else but battells, shedding of blood, destructions of armies, sackings of some cities, rasing of other, ouerthrowes of nations, wastings of kingdomes, onely that they might catch hold of other mens possessions: what cursinges can be enough to punish such examples. Truly it is very plaine that they seeke nothinge lesse than the glory of Christ. For if they of their owne will do wholly resigne all the secular power that they haue, therein is no daunger to the glory of God, no daunger to sounde doctrine, no daunger to the safety of the Church: but they are caried blinde and headlong with only

Reg li. 4
cap. 88.

Exe. 34. 4. gredinesse of dominion : because they thinke nothinge safe, vnlesse they may beare rule with rigoroufnesse (as the Prophet saith) & with power.

15 To iurisdiction is annexed immunity, which the Romish Clergy tooke to themselues. For they thinke it against their dignity, if they aunswere in personall causes before a temporall iudge: and therein they thinke both the liberty and dignity of the Church to consist, if they be exempt from common iudgements and lawes. But the olde bishops, which otherwise were most rigorous in defending the right of the Church, iudged themselues & their order to be nothing hurt, if they were subiect to the. And the godly Emperours, without gaine-sayinge of any man, did alway call Clerkes to their iudgement seates so oft as neede required. For thus sayth Constantine in his Epistle to the Nicomedians: If any of the bishops shall vndiscretly disorder himselfe, his boldnesse shalbe restrained by the execution of the minister of God, that is by my execution. And Valentiniā sayth: good bishops do not speake against the power of the Emperour, but do sincerely both kepe the commandementes of God the great kinge, and also obey our lawes. At that time all men were perswaded of this without controuersie. But Ecclesiastical causes were referred to the iudgement of the Bishop. As if any Clerke had offended nothinge against the lawes: but onely was accused by the Canons: he was not cited to the cōmon iudgemēt seate, but in y cause had y bishop for his iudge. Likewise if there were a question of Faith in controuersie, or such a matter as properly pertained to the Church, the iudgement thereof was committed to the Church. So is that to be vnderstanded, which

Epist. 31 Ambrose writeth to Valentinian: Your father of honorable memory, not onely aunswered in word, but also decreed by lawes, that in a cause of Faith he ought to be iudge that is neither vnfit in office nor vnlike in right. Againe: If we haue regard to the Scriptures or olde exāples, who is there that can deny that in a cause of Faith, in a cause (I say) of Faith, bishops are wont to iudge of Christian Emperours, and not Emperours of bishops? Againe: I would haue come, O Emperour, to your consistory, if either the bishops or the people would haue suffred me to go: saying, that the cause of Faith ought to be debated in the Church before the people. He affirmeth verily that a spirituall cause, that is to say the cause of religiō, ought not to be drawn into the temporall courte where prophane causes are pleaded, Worthily do all men praise his cōstance in this behalfe. And yet in a

Homel. de bafi. lic. trad. good cause he proceedeth but thus farre, that if it come to violence and strong hand, he sayth that he will giue place. Willingly (sayth he)

I will not forsake the place committed vnto me : but when I am enforced, I know not how to resist: for our armour are prayers & tears. Let vs note the singular modesty and wisdom of the holy man, ioynd with stoutnesse of courage and boldnesse. Iustina the Emperours mother, because she could not draw him to the Arrians side, practised to driue him frō the gouernment of the Church. And so should it haue come to passe, if he had come when he was called to the palace to pleade his cause. Therefore he denieth the Emperour to be a competent iudge of so great a controuersie. Which maner of doinge both the necessity of that time, and the continuall nature of the matter required. For he iudged that he ought rather to die, than that such an example should by his consent be giuen to posterity: & yet if violence be offered, he thinketh not of resistance. For he denieth it to be bishoplike, to defend the Faith & right of the Church with armes. But in other causes he sheweth himselfe ready to do whatsoeuer the Emperour shall commaunde him. If he demaunde tribute, (sayth he) we denie it not: the landes of the Church do pay tribute. If he aske landes, he hath power to claime them, none of vs resisteth. After the same manner also speaketh Gregory. I am not ignorant (sayth he) of the minde of our most noble soueraigne Lorde, that he vseth not to entermeddle in causes pertaininge to Priestes, least he shoulde in any thinge be burdened with our sinnes. He doth not generally exclude the Emperour from iudging of Priestes: but he sayth that there be certaine causes, which he ought to leaue to the iudgement of the Church.

Lib. 3.
Epi. 20.

16 And by this very exception the holy men sought nothing else, but that Princes lesse zealous of religion shoulde not with tyrannous violence and wilfulnes interrupt the Church in doing her office. For neither did they disallow, if Princes sometime did vse their authority in Ecclesiasticall matters, so that it were done to preserue the order of the Church, not to trouble it, to stablishe discipline, not to dissolue it. For sith the Church hath not the power of compelling, nor ought to require it (I speake of ciuile constraininge:) it is the office of Godly kinges & Princes to maintaine religion with lawes, proclamations, and iudicial proceedings. After this maner, when the Emperour Maurice had commaunded certaine bishops that they should receiue their fellow Bishops that were their neighbours and driuen out by the barbarous nations: Gregory confirmeth that commaundement, and exhorteth them to obeye it. And when he himselfe is admonished by the same Emperour to come to atonement with Iohn the bishop of Constantinople, he doth in deede render a reason why he ought not

Lib. 1.
Epi. 43.

Lib. 4.
Epi. 32.
& 14.

Cap. 12.

Of the outward meanes

Lib. 7. to be blamed: yet he doth not boast of immunity frō the secular court,
Epi. 39. but rather promifeth that he will be obedient, fo farre as his conscience will giue him leaue: and therewithall he sayth this, that Maurice did as became a godly Prince, when he gaue fuch commaundements to the Priestes.

The xij. Chapter.

Of the discipline of the Church, whereof the chiefe vse is in the censures and excommunication.

THe discipline of the Church, the entreating wherof we haue differred vnto this place, is briefly to be declared, that we may at length passe ouer to the rest. But that same for the most parte hangeth vpon the power of the keyes and spiritual iurisdiction. That this may be the more easily vnderstode, let vs diuide the Church into two principall degrees, that is to say the Clergy, and the people. Clerkes I call by the vsuall name those that execute publike ministry in the Church. First we will speake of common discipline, to which all ought to be subiect: then we will come to the Clergie, which beside that common discipline, haue a seuerall discipline by themselues. But because many for hatred of discipline do abhorre the very name thereof, let them heare this? If no felowship, yea no house though it haue but a small householde, can be kept in right state without discipline, the same is much more necessary in y church, whose state ought to be most orderly of all. Therefore as the doctrine of Christ which bringeth saluation is the soule of the Church, so discipline is in steede of sinewes therein: whereby it is brought to passe, that the members of the body hang together euery one in his fit place. Wherefore whosoever do either desire to haue discipline taken away, or hinder the restoringe thereof, whither they do it of set purpose or by vnadvisednesse, verily they seeke the extreme dissipatio of the Church. For what shall betide, if what is lustfull be lawefull to euery man? But so would it be, if there were not with the preaching of doctrine adioyned priuate admonishments, corrections, & such other helps which sustaine doctrine & suffer it not to be idle. Discipline therefore is as it were a bridle wherewith they may be holden backe and tamed which coltishly resist against Christ: or as it were a pricke, wherewith they that are not willing enough may be stirred vp: and sometime, as a fatherly rod, wherewith they which haue more greuously fallē may be chastised mercifully & according to the mildnesse of the Spirite of Christ. Sith therefore we do nowe see at hande certaine beginninges of a horrible wastnesse in the Church, because
there

there is no care nor order to keepe the people in awe, very necessity crieth out that there is nede of remedy. But this is the only remedy, which both Christ hath commaunded, & hath alway bin vsed amog the godly.

2 The first fundation of discipline is, that priuate monitions should haue place: that is to say, that if any man of his owne accorde do not his duety, if he behaue himselfe licentiously, or liue not honestly, or haue committed any thing worthy of blame, he should suffer himselfe to be admonished: and that euery man shoulde study to admonish his brother when occasiō shal require. But specially let the Pastors and Priestes be watchfull to do this, whose office is not only to preach to the people, but in euery house to admonish and exhort if at any time they do not sufficiently preuaile by generall doctrine: as Paule teacheth, when he rehearseth that he taught priuately and in houses, and protesteth that he is cleane from the blood of all men, because he hath not ceased with teares day & night to admonish euery one. For doctrine doth then obtaine force and authority when the minister not only doth declare to al together what their duety is to Christ, but also hath power and order to require the keeping therof of them whom he marketh to be either not obedient to doctrine, or slothfull. If any man do either stubbornly refuse, or in going forward in his faultes, do despise such admonishments: when he hath bin the second time admonished with witnesses called to it, Christ commaundeth them to be called to the iudgement of the Church, which is the assembly of Elders: and that there they shoulde be more greuously admonished as it were by publike authority, that if he reuerence the Church he may submit himselfe & obey. But if he be not hereby subdued, but do continue in his wickednes, then he commaundeth him, as a despiser of the Church, to be put away from the felowship of the faithfull.

3 But because he speaketh here onely of secrete faultes, we must make this diuision: that some sinnes be priuate, and some publike or openly manifest. Of the first sorte Christ sayth to euery priuate man, Reproue him betwene thee and him alone. Of manifest sinnes Paule sayeth to Timothee, Reproue him before all men, that the rest may haue feare. For Christ had said before, If thy brother haue offended against thee. Which words, (against thee) vnlesse thou wilt be contentious, thou canst not otherwise vnderstande than vnder thine owne secrete knowledge, so that there be no moe priuie to it. But the same thing which the Apostle teacheth Timothee concerning the rebuking of them openly that sinne openly, he himselfe folowed in Peter.

Cap. 12.

Of the outward meanes

Gala. 1. For when Peter sinned euen to publike offence, he did not admonish
14. him apart by himselfe, but brought him forth into the sight of the Church. Therefore this shalbe the right order of doing, if in secrete faultes we go forward accordinge to those degrees that Christ hath set: but in manifest faultes, we immediatly proceede to the Churches solemne rebuking, if the offense be publike.

4 Let this also be an other distinction: that of sinnes some be defaultes, other some be wicked doinges, or hainous offences. To the correcting of this later sort, not only admonishment or rebuking is to be vsed, but also a seuerer remedy: as Paule sheweth which not onely
1. Cor. 5 chastised with wordes the Corinthian that had committed incest, but
4. also punished him with excommunication, so soone as he was certified of his wicked deede. Now therefore we beginne better to see how the spirituall iurisdiction of the Church, which punisheth sinnes accordinge to the word of the Lord, is the best maintenance of health, & fundation of order, & bonde of vnity. Therefore whē the Church doth banishe out of her cōpany manifest adulterers, whoremongers, theeues, robbers, seditious persons, periured men, false witnessses, and such other, againe, obstinate men, which beinge orderly admonished euen of small faultes do scorne God & his iudgement: she taketh nothinge vpon her selfe without reason, but executeth the iurisdiction giuen her of the Lorde. Moreouer, that none shoulde despise such iudgemēt of the Church, or lightly regard that he is condemned by the consenting voices of the faithfull: the Lord hath testified, that the
Mat. 16 same is nothinge else but a pronouncing of his owne sentence, & that
19. & 18 whatsoeuer they do in earth is confirmed in heaven. For they haue
18. the word of the Lord, wherby they may condemne the froward: they
1oh. 20. haue the word, whereby they may receiue the repentant into fauour,
23. They I say that trust that without this bonde of discipline Churches may long stande, are deceiued in opinion: vnlesse perhappes we may want that helpe which the Lord foresaw that it shoulde be necessary for vs. And truly how great is the necessity therof, shalbe better perceived by the manifold vse of it.

5 There be three endes which the Church hath respect vnto in such corrections and excommunication. The first is, that they shoulde
Eph. 5. not, to the dishonor of God, be named amonge Christians, that leade
25. a filthy & sinful life, as though his holy Church were a conspiracy of naughty and wicked men. For sith the Church is the body of Christ,
Colo. 1. it can not be defiled with such filthy & rotten members, but that some
24. shame must come to y head. Therefore that there should not be any such thing in the Church, wherby his holy name may be spotted with
 any

any reproch, they are to be driue out of her household, by whose dishonesty any sclaunder might redounde to the name of Christians. And herein also is consideratiō to be had of the Supper of the Lord, that it be not profaned with giuinge it to all without choise. For it is most true, that he to whom the distribution of it is committed, if he wittingly & willingly admit an vnworthy man whom he might lawfully put backe, is as gilty of Sacrilege, as if he did giue abroade the Lords body to dogges. Wherefore Chrysostome greuously inueyeth against the Priesttes, which while they feare the power of great men, dare debarre no man. The blood (sayth he) shalbe required at your handes. If ye feare man, he shall laugh you to scorne: but if ye feare God, ye shalbe reuerenced also among men. Let vs not feare maces, nor purple, nor crownes: we haue here a greater power. I verily will rather deliuer mine owne body to death, and suffer my blood to be shed, than I will be made partaker of this defilinge. Therefore least this most holy mystery be spotted with sclaunder, in the distributinge the of choise is greatly requisite: which yet cā not be had but by the iurisdiction of the Church. The second ende is, least (as it is wont to come to passe) with the continuall company of the euill, the good should be corrupted. For (such is our redy inclination to go out of the way) there is nothing easier than for vs to be ledde by euill examples from the right course of life. This vse the Apostle touched, when he cōmaunded the Corinthians to put the incestuous man out of their company. A litle leuen (saith he) corrupteth the whole lump of doae. And he foresawe herein so great daunger, that he forbade him euen from all felowship. If any brother (sayth he) among you be named either a whoremonger, or a couctous man, or a worshipper of Idoles, or a dronkarde, or an euill speaker, with such a one I graunt you not leaue so much as to eate. The thirde ende is, that they themselues confounded with shame may beginne to repent of their filthinesse. So it is profitable for them also, to haue their owne wickednes chastised, that with feeling of the rod they may be awaked, which otherwise by tender bearing with thē would haue become more obstinate. The same thing doth the Apostle meane whē he saith thus: If any do not obey our doctrine, marke him, and kepe no company with him, that he may be ashamed. Againe in an other place, when he writeth that he hath deliuered the Corinthian to Sathan, that his Spirit might be saued in the day of the Lord: that is (as I expound it) that he went into a damnation for a time, that he might be saued for ever. But he therefore sayth that he deliuereth him to Sathan, because the deuill is out of the Church, as Christ is in the Church. For whereas

Homil.
in Mat.

3.

Eze. 4.

18. & 33

10.

1. Cor. 5

6. & 11.

1. The 1.

3. 14.

1. Cor. 5

5.

Aug. de

verb. 2.

post

hom. 58

some do referre it to a certaine vexinge of the flesh, I thinke that to be very vncertaine.

6 When these endes be set forth, now it remaineth to see how the Church executeth this part of discipline which consisteth in iurisdiction. First let vs kepe the diuision aboue set, that of sinnes some be publike, and other some be priuate or more secreete. Publike are those that haue not only one or two witnesses, but are committed openly & with the offense of the whole Church. Secret I call those, not which are altogether hidden from men, as are the sinnes of Hypocrites, for those come not into the iudgement of the Church, but those of the meane kinde which are not without witnesses, and yet are not publike. The first kinde requireth not those degrees which Christ re-heareth: but when any such thing appeareth, the Church ought to do her duty in calling the sinner & correcting him according to the proportion of the offense. In the seconde kinde according to the rule of Christ, they come not to the Church till there be also obstinacy added. When it is once come to knowledge, then is that other diuision to be noted betwene wicked doings and defaultes. For in lighter sinnes there is not to be vsed so great severity, but chastisement of words sufficeth, & the same gentle & fatherly, which may not harden nor confound the sinner, but bring him home to himselfe, that he may more reioyce than be sory that he was corrected. But it is mete that hainous offenses be chastised with sharper remedy. For it is not enough, if he that by doing wicked dede of euill example hath greuously offended the Church, should be chastised only with words, but he ought for a time to be depriued of the communion of the Supper, till he haue giuen assurance of his repentance. For against the Corinthian Paule vs-
 1. Cor. 5
 5. feth not only rebuking of words, but driueth him out of the Church, and blameth the Corinthians that it had so long borne him. The old and better Church kept this order, when rightfull gouernment flourished. For if any man had done any wicked dede whereupon was grown offense, first he was commaunded to abstaine from partaking of the holy Supper, then both to humble himselfe before God, & to testifie his repentance before the Church. There were also certaine solemne vsages, which were enioyned to them that had fallen, to be tokens of their repentance. When they had so done, that the Church was satisfied, then by laying on of hands he was receiued into fauour. Which receiuing is oftentimes called of Ciprian peace, who also briefly describeth this vsage. They do penance (sayth he) in a certaine full time: then they come to confession, & by the laying on of handes of the bishop & the Clergy they receiue power to come to the communion.

Epist. 3.
 Lib. 1.
 Lib. 3.
 Epi 14.
 & 26.

nion. Howbeit the bishop & his clergy had so the ruling of reconciliation, that they did therewithall require the consent of the people: as he sheweth in an other place.

7 From this discipline there was no man exempted, that euen the Princes together with the common people did submit themselves to beare it. And rightfully, sith it was euident that it was the discipline of Christ, to whom it is mete that all scepters and crownes of kinges be submitted. So when Theodosius was deprivied by Ambrose of power to come to the communion because of the slaughter committed at Theffalonica, he threw downe all the royall ornament wherewith he was clothed: he openly in the Church bewailed his sinne, which had crept vpon him by fraude of other men: he craued pardon with groining & teares. For great kinges ought not to thinke this to be any dishonor to them, if they humbly throw downe themselves before Christ the king of kinges, neither ought it to displease the that they be iudged by the Church. For sith in their court they heare nothinge else but mere flatteries, it is more than necessary for the to be rebuked of the Lorde by the mouth of the Priestes. But rather they ought to wish, that the Priestes should not spare them, that the Lord may spare the. In this place I omit to speake, by whom this iurisdiction is to be exercised, because it is spoken of in an other place. This onely I adde that that is the lawful maner of proceeding in excommunicatinge a man, which Paul sheweth: if the Elders do it not alone by themselves, but with the Church knowing and allowing it: that is, in such sort that the multitude of the people may not gouerne the doinge, but may marke it as a witnes & a keeper that nothing should be done of a few by wilfull affection. But the whole maner of doing, beside the calling vpon the name of God, ought to haue such grauity, as may resemble the presence of Christ: that it may be vndouted that he there sitteth for ruler of his owne iudgement.

8 But this ought not to be passed ouer, that such seuerity becometh the Church as is ioined with y Spirit of mildenes. For we must alway diligently beware (as Paul teacheth) that he which is punished be not swallowed vp of sorrowe: for so shoulde of a remedy be made a destruction. But out of the end may better be gathered a rule of moderation. For whereas this is required in excommunication that the sinner should be brought to repentance, & euill examples take away, least either the name of Christ should be euill spokē of, or other men be prouoked to folow them: if we shall haue an eie to these things, we shalbe able easily to iudge how far seuerity ought to procede & where it ought to end. Therefore when the sinner giueth a testimony of his

Ambro.
in lib. 1.
Epist 3.
in orat.
habita
in func.
Theo-
dosij.

1. Cor. 1
7.

repentāce, & doth by his testimony, as much as in him lieth, blot out the offense: he is not to be enforced any further: but if he be enforced, rigorousnesse doth then exceede measure. In which behalfe the immeasurable seuerity of the olde fathers can not be excused, which both disagreed from the prescribed order of the Lord, and also was maruelously dangerous. For whē they charged a sinner with solemne penance, & deprivation frō the holy communion sometime for seuen yeres, sometime foure yeres, sometime three yeres, sometime for their whole life: what other thing could folow thereof but either great hypocritie or most great desperation? Likewise wheras no man that had fallen the seconde time was admitted to seconde penance but was cast out of the Church euen to the end of his life: that was neither profitable nor agreeing to reason. Therefore whosoever shal wey the matter with sound iudgement, shall herein perceiue want of their discretion. Howbeit I do here rather disallow the publike maner, thā accuse all them that vsed it; whereas it is certaine that many of thē misliked it: but they did therefore suffer it, because they coulde not amend it. Truly Ciprian declareth, how much beside his owne will he was so rigorous. Our paciēce⁹ (sayth he) and easines and gentlenes is redy to thē that come. I wish all to returne into the Church: I wish all our felowfoldiars to be enclosed within the tentes of Christ and in the houses of God y^e father. I forgiue al things, I dissemble many things: for zeale and desire to gather brotherhoode together, I examine not with full iudgement those things that are committed against God: in pardoninge defaultes more than I ought, I am my selfe almost in default: I do with ready and full loue embrace them that returne with repentance, cōfessing their sinnes with humble & plaine satisfaction. Chrysostome is somewhat harder, and yet he sayth thus: If God be so kinde, why wil his Priest seme so rigorous? Moreover we know what gentlenesse Augustine vsed toward the Donatistes, insomuch that he stucked not to receiue into bishoprike those that had returned from schisme, euen immediatly after their repentance. But because a contrary order had growen in force, they were compelled to leaue their owne iudgement to folow it.

9 But as this mildnes is required in the whole body of the church, that it shoulde punishe them that are fallen, mercifully & not to the extremity of rigor, but rather according to the precept of Paul, should confirme charity toward thē: so euery priuate man for himselfe ought to temper himselfe to this mercifulnesse & gentlenes. Therefore it is not our part to wipe out of the number of the elect such as are driuen out of the Church, or to despeire of them as though they were already

dy lost. We may in dede iudge them straungers from the Church, & therefore strangers from Christ: but that is only during the time that they abide in diuorce. But if then also they shewe a greater resemblance of stubbornnes than of gentlenes, yet let vs commit them to the iudgement of the Lord, hopinge better of them in time to come than we see in time present, and let vs not therefore cease to pray to God for them, & (to comprehend all in one worde) let vs not condemne to death the person it selfe, which is in the hand & iudgemēt of God alone, but let vs rather weie by the law of the Lord of what sort euery mans workes be. Which rule while we folowe, we rather stand to the iudgemēt of God than pronounce our owne. Let vs not take to our selues more liberty in iudging, vnlesse we will binde the power of God within boundes, & appoint a law to his mercy, at whose pleasure when he thinketh it good, very euill mē are turned into very good, straungers are graffed & foreins are chosen into the church. And this the Lord doth, thereby to mocke out the opinion of men, & rebate their rashnesse: which if it be not restrained, presumeth to take to it selfe power of iudging more than it ought.

10 For where as Christ promisetht that that shalbe bound in hea- Mat. 18.
 uen, which they that be his shall binde in earth, he limiteth the po- 18.
 wer of bindinge, to the Censure of the Church: by which they that
 are excommunicate are not throwen into euerlastinge ruine & dam-
 nation: but hearing their liues & maners to be condemned, they are
 also certified of their owne euerlastinge condemnation, vnlesse they
 repent. For excommunication herein differeth from accursinge, that
 accursinge taking away al pardon doth condemne a man and adiudge
 him to eternall destruction: excommunication rather reuengeth and
 punisheth maners. And though the same do also punish the man, yet
 it doth so punish him, that in forewarning him of his damnation to
 come, it doth call him backe to saluation. If that be obtayned, re-
 conciliation and restoringe to the communion is ready. But accur-
 singe is either very seldome or neuer in vse. Therefore although ec-
 clesiasticall discipline, permitteth not to liue familiarly, or to haue
 frēdly conuersation with them that be excommunicate: yet we ought
 to endeouour by such meanes as we may, that returninge to amende-
 ment, they may returne to the feloship & vnity of the Church: as the
 Apostle also teacheth. Do not (saith he) thinke them as enemies, but
 correct them as brethren. Vnlesse this gentlenes be kept as well pri- 2. The. 3
 uately as in common, there is daunger least from discipline we forth- 15.
 with fall to butchery.

11 This also is principally required to y moderation of discipline,

which Augustine entreateth of in disputinge against the Donatistes: that neither priuate mē, if they see faults not diligently enough corrected by the Councell of Elders, should therefore by and by departe from the Church: nor the Pastors themselues, if they can not according to their hartes desire purge all things that nede amendment, shoulde therefore throw away the ministry, or with vnwonted rigorousnes trouble the whole Church. For it is most true which he wryteth: that he is free & discharged from curse, whosoever he be that either by rebuking amendeth what he can: or what he can not amend, excludeth, sauing the bond of peace: or what he can not exclude, sauing the bond of peace, he doth disallow with equity, and beare with stedfastnesse. He rendreth a reason thereof in another place: because all godly order and manner of ecclesiasticall discipline ought alway to haue respect vnto the vnity of the Spirit in the bond of peace: which the Apostle commaundeth to be kept by our bearing one with another: and when it is not kept, the medicine of punishment beginneth to be not only superfluous, but also hurtfull, & therefore ceaseth to be a medicine. He that (saith he) doth diligently thinke vpon these things doth neither in preferuinge of vnity neglect the seuerity of discipline, nor doth with immeasurablenesse of correction breake the bonde of felowship. He graunteth in dede that not only the Pastours ought to trauaill to this point, that there may remaine no fault in the Church, but also y^e every man ought to his power to endeouour thereunto: & he plainly declareth that he which neglecteth to monish, rebuke, & correct the euill, although he do not fauour them, nor sinne with the, yet is guilty before the Lord. But if he be in such degree, that he may also seuer them from the partaking of sacramentes, and doth it not, now he sinneth not by an others euill, but by his own. Only he willeth it to be done, with vsing of discretion, which the Lord also requireth, least while the tares be in rooting out, the corne be hurt. Hereupon he gathereth out of Ciprian, Let a man therefore mercifully correct what he can: & what he can not, let him patiently suffer, and with loue grone and lament it.

12 This he saith because of the precisenes of the Donatistes, who when they saw faultes in the Churches which the bishops did in dede rebuke with wordes, but not punishe with excommunication, (because they thought that they coulde this way nothinge preuaile) did sharply inuey against the bishops as betraiers of discipline, & did with an vngodly schisme deuide themselues from the flocke of Christ. As the Anabaptistes do at this day, which when they acknowledge no congregation to be of Christ, vnlesse it do in euery point shine with angelike

Lib. 2.
contra
parm.
cap. 1.

Lib. 3.
cap. 16.

Cap. 2.

Cap. 1.

Mat. 17.
29.

angelike perfection, do vnder pretense of their zeale ouerthrowe all edification. Such (saith Augustine) not for hatred of others mēs wickednes, but for desirē to maintaine their own contentions, do couet either wholly to drawe away, or at least to diuide the weake people snared with the boasting of their name: they swelling with pride, mad with stubbornes, traiterous with sleanders, troublesome with seditions, least it should opēly appeare that they want the light of trueth, do pretend a shadow of rigorous seuerity: & those thinges which in scripture are commaūded to be done with moderate healing for correcting of the faults of brethren, preserving the sincerenes of loue, & keeping the vnity of peace, they abuse to sacrilege of schisme & occasion of cutting off. So doth Satan transforme himselfe into an angell of light, when by occasiō as it were of iust seuerity he persuadeth vnmmercifull cruelty, coueting nothinge else but to corrupt & breake the bond of peace & vnity: which bond remaining fast, among Christians all his foes are made weake to hurt, his trappes of treasons are broken, and his counsels of ouerthrowing do vanish away.

2. Cor.
11. 14.

13 This one thing he chiefly cōmenderth, that if the infection of sinne haue entred into the whole multitude, then the seuerer mercy of liuely discipline is necessary. For (saith he) the deuises of separation are vaine, & hurtful & ful of sacrilege, because they are vngodly & proud, & do more trouble the weake good ones, than they amend the stout euill ones. And that which he there teacheth other, he himselfe also faithfully folowed. For writing to Aurelius bishop of Carthage he cōplaineth that drunkennes which is so sore condemned in scriptures, doth range vnpunished in Affrica: & he aduiseeth him, that assembling a Councel of bishops he should prouide remedy for it. He addeth by and by after: These thinges (as I thinke) are taken away not roughly, not hardly, not after an imperious maner, but more by teaching thā by cōmaūding, more by admonishing than by thretning. For so must we deale with a multitude of sinners, but seuerity is to be exercised vpon the sinnes of few. Yet he doth not meane that Bishops should therefore winke or hold their peace at publike faultes, because they can not seuerely punish them: as he himselfe afterward expoundeth it. But he willeth that the measure of correctiō be so tempered, that so farre as may be, it may rather bring health than destruction to the body. And therefore at length he cōcludeth thus: Wherefore both this cōmaūdement of the Apostle is in no wise to be neglected, to seuer the euil, whē it may be done without peril of breaking of peace: & this is also to be kept, that bearing one with an other, we shoulde endeavour to preferue vnity of the Spirit, in the bonde of peace.

Lib. 3.
contra
parm.
cap. 2.
1. Cor. 5
7.
Ephc. 4.
2.

14 The parte that remaineth of discipline, which properly is not contained in the power of keies, standeth in this, that accordinge to the necessity of times the Pastors shoulde exhort the people either to fasting, or to common supplications, or to other exercises of humility, repentance, and faith, of which thinges there is neither time, nor measure, nor forme prescribed by $\hat{y}$ word of God, but is left in $\hat{y}$ iudgement of the Church. The obseruing of this part also, as it is profitable, so hath alway bin vsed of the old church euen frō the very Apostles. Howbeit the Apostles themselues were not the first authors of them, but they tooke example out of the law & the Prophetes. For we see that there so oft as any weighty businesse happened, the people was called together, common praers enioyned, & fasting commaunded. Therefore the Apostles folowed that which both was not new to the people of God, & they foresaw that it should be profitable. Likewise is to be thought of other exercises, wherewith the people may either be stirred vp to their ducty, or be kept in awe and obedience. There are examples eche where in holy histories, which we nede not to gather together. In summe this is to be holdē, that so oft as there happeneth any controuersie of religion, which must be determined either by a Synode or by ecclesiastical iudgement, so oft as they be about choosing of a minister, finally so oft as any hard matter or of great importance is in doinge: againe when there appeare tokens of the wrath of God, as pestilence, & warre, & famine: this is a holy ordināce & profitable for all ages, that the Pastors shoulde exhort the people to cōmon fasting, & to extraordinary praers. If any man do not allow the testimonies which may be alleaged out of $\hat{y}$ old testament, as though they were not mete for the Christian Church, it is certaine that the Apostles also did the same. Howebeit of praers I thinke there will scarcely any be found that will moue any question. Therefore let vs say somewhat of fasting: because many when they vnderstande not what profit it hath, do iudge it not so necessary: some also do viterly refuse it as superfluous: & when the vse of it is not well knowen, it is easie to slide into superstition.

15 Holy & true fasting hath three endes. For we vse it, either to make leane and subdue the flesh, that it should not waxe wanton, or that we may be better disposed to praers & holy meditations, or that it shoulde be a testimony of our humblinge before God, when we be willing to confesse our guiltines before him. The first end hath not so often place in cōmon fasting, because all men haue not like estate of body, nor like health: therefore it rather agreeth wth priuate fasting. The second end is cōmon to both, for as well the whole Church as euery one

one of the faithfull hath neede of such preparation to prayer. The thirde also is likewise common. For it shall sometime befall that God shall strike some nation with warre, or pestilence, or with some calamitie. In such a common scourge the whole people must accuse themselues, and openly confesse their owne guiltinesse. But if the hand of the Lorde do strike any priuate man, he ought to do the same, either alone, or with his owne familie. That standeth chiefly in the affection of the minde. But when the minde is affected as it ought to be, it is scarcely possible, but that it will breake out into outward testifying: and then chiefly if it turne to common edifying, that altogether in openly confessing their sinne shoulde yelde praise of righteousness to God, and euery one mutually exhorte other with their example.

16 Wherefore fasting, as it is a signe of humbling, hath more often vse publikely, than among priuate men, howsoeuer it be common, as is already said. Therefore as touching the discipline whereof we nowe entreate: so oft as we must make supplication to God for any great matter, it were expedient to commaunde fasting together with prayer. So when the Antiochians laide handes vpon Paule and Barnabas, that they might the better comede to God their ministry which was of so great importance, they ioined fasting with prayer. So both they afterward, when they made ministers ouer Churches, were wont to pray with fasting. In this kinde of fasting they had regarde to none other thing, but that they might be made fresher and more vncombred to pray. Verily this we finde by experience, that when the belly is full, the minde is not so lifted vp to God, that it can both with hartie & feruēt affection be caried to prayer, and continue in it. So is that to be vnderstood which Luke reherfeth of Anne, that she serued the Lorde in fastinges and prayers. For he doth not set the worshipping of God in fasting; but signifieth that the holy womā did after that maner exercise her selfe to cōtinuance of prayer. Such was the fasting of Nehemias when he did with earnestly bent zeale pray to God for the deliuerance of his people. For this cause Paule saith that the faithfull do well, if they absteyne for a time from their wedding bed, that they may the more freely apply prayer and fasting. Where ioining fasting to prayer in steede of a helpe, he putteth vs in minde that it is of no value but so farre as it is referred to this ende. Againe when in the same place he geueth a rule to maryed folkes, that they should mutually render good will one to an other, it is plaine that he doth not speake of daily prayers, but of such prayers as require a more earnest intentiuenesse.

Act 14.

3.

Act 14.

23.

Luk 2.

37.

Neh. 1.

4.

1. Cor.

7.5.

17 Againe, if either pestilence, or famine, or warre beginne to range abroad, or if any calamitie otherwise seeme to hang ouer any countree and people: then also it is the duetie of Pastors to exhort the Church to fasting, that they may humbly beseeche the Lorde to turne away his wrath. For he giveth warning that he is prepared and in a manner armed to reuenge, when he maketh any danger to appere. Therefore as accused men in time past with long hanging beard, with vncombed heare, with blacke aray, were wont humbly to abace themselves, to procure the mercie of the iudge: so when we are accused before the iudgement seate of God, it behoueth both for his glorie, and for common edification, and also is profitable and healthfull for vs, that we should in piteous array craue to escape his seueritie. And that this was vsed among the people of Israell, it is easy to gather by the wordes of Ioel. For when he commaundeth a trompet to be sounded, the congregation to be gathered together, fasting to be appointed, and the rest that followe: he speaketh of things receiued in common custome. He had a little before said, that examination is appointed of the wicked deedes of the people, and had declared that the day of iudgement was nowe at hand, and had summoned them being accused to pleade their cause: then he crieth out that they should haue sacke cloth and ashes, to weping and fasting: that is, that they should also with outward testifyinges throwe themselves downe before the Lorde. Sacke cloth and ashes peraduenture did more agree with those times: but there is no doubt that the calling together, and weping and fasting and such like do likewise pertaine also to our age, so oft as the state of our things doth so require. For sith is a holy exercise, both to humble men, and to confesse humility, why should we lesse vse it than the olde people did in like necessitie? We reade that not onely the people of Israell, which were informed and instructed by the word of God, but also the Niniuites which had no doctrine but the preaching of Ionas, fasted in token of sorowe. What cause is there therefore why we should not do the same? But it is an outward ceremonie, which was with the rest ended in Christ. Yea rather euen at this day it is, as it alway hath bene, a very good helpe to the faithfull, and a profitable admonition, to stirre vp themselves, that they should not with to great carelesnesse and sluggishnes more & more prouoke God whē they are chastised with his scourges. Therefore Christ when he excuseth his Apostles for that they fast not, doth not say that fastinge is abrogate: but he appointeth it to times of calamitie, & ioineeth it with mourning. The time shall come (saith he) when the bridegrome shall be taken away from them.

18 But that there should be no error in the name, let vs define what fasting is. For we do not here vnderstand by it onely abstinence and sparing in meate and drinke, but a certaine other thing. The life of the godly ought in deede to be tempered with honest sparing and sobrietie, that so nere as is possible it may in the whole course thereof beare a certaine resemblance of fasting. But beside this there is an other fasting for a time, whē we withdrawe any thing of our wonted diet, either for one day or for a certaine time, and do charge our selues with a streighter and seuerer abstinence in diet than ordinarie. This consisteth in three things, in time, in qualitie of meates, and in smallnes of quantitie. I meane by time, that we should vse those doings fasting, for which fasting is ordeined. As for example, if a man fast for common prayer: that he come emptie vnto it. Qualitie standeth in this, that all deintinesse should be absent, and being content with common and baser meates, we should not stirre vp appetite with delicates. The rule of quantitie is in this, that we eate more sparingly and lesse than we be wont, onely for necessitie, and not also for pleasure.

19 But we must alway principally beware, that no superstition crepe vpon vs, as it hath heretofore happened to the great hurt of the Church. For it were much better that there were no vse at all of fasting, than that it should be diligently kepte, and in the meane time be corrupted with false and hurtfull opinions, whereunto the world sometime falleth, vnlesse the Pastors do with great faithfulness and wisdom preuent it. The first point therefore is, that they should alway enforce that which Ioel teacheth, that they should cutt their hartes Ioel. 2. and not their garments: that is, that they should admonish the people, 13. that God doth not greatly esteeme fasting of it selfe, vnlesse there be an inwarde affection of the harte, a true misliking of sinne and of himselfe, true humbling, and true sorowe through the feare of God: yea that fasting is profitable for no other cause, but for that it is ioined to these as an inferior helpe. For God abhorreth nothing more than when men in setting signes and an outward shewe in steede of innocence of hart, do labor with false color to deceue themselves. Therefore Esaie most sharply inueyeth against this hypocrisie, that Esa. 58. the Iewes thought that they had satisfied God, when they had onely 5. fasted, howsoeuer they did norish vngodlinesse & vncleane thoughts in their hart. Is it (saith he) such a fasting which the Lord requireth? and so forth as followeth. Therefore the hypocriticall fasting is not onely an vnprofitable and superfluous werying, but also a great abomination. An other euell neere vnto this is chiefly to be taken hede

of, that it be not taken for a meritorious worke, or a forme of worshipping God. For sith it is a thing of it selfe indifferent, and hath no value but by reason of those endes which it ought to haue respect vnto, it is a most hurtfull superstition, to cōfounde it with the workes commaunded of God and necessarie of themselues without other respect. Such was in olde time the dotage of the Manichees: whom

Libr. 2.
de mor.
Manic.
cap 13.
and lib.
10. con
tra Fau.

when Augustine cōfuteh, he doth plainly enough teach, that fasting is to be iudged by no other endes than those which I haue spoken of, and is no otherwise allowed of God, vnlesse it be referred to the same. The thirde error is in deede not so vngodly, yet it is perillous: to require the keping of it more precisely and rigorously as it were one of the chiefe dueties, and so to aduance it with immeasurable praises, that men should thinke they haue done some excellent thing when they haue fasted. In which behalfe I dare not altogether excuse the olde fathers, but that they haue sowed some seedes of superstition, and geuen occasion to the tyranny which hath risen since. There are founde in deede sometimes in them sounde and wise sentences, of fasting, but afterwarde we nowe and then mete with immeasurable praises of fasting which aduance it among the chiefe vertues.

20 And at that time the superstitious obseruing of lent was eche where growen in vse: because both the commō people thought that they did therein some notable seruice to God, and the Pastors did commend it for a holy following of Christ: whereas it is plaine, that Christ did not fast to prescribe an example to other, but that in so beginning the preching of the Gospell, he might in very deede proue that it was not a doctrine of men, but descended from heauen. And it is meruailous, that so grosse an error, which is confuted with so many & so euident reasons, could crepe into men of so sharpe iudgement. For Christ did not fast oft (which he must needs haue done if he would haue set forth a lawe of yerely fasting) but onely ones when he prepared himselfe to the publishing of the Gospell. And he fasted not after the maner of menne, as it was mete that he should haue done if he would haue prouoked men to followe him: but rather he sheweth an example, whereby he may rather drawe men to wonder at him than stirre them vp to followe him. Finally there is none other cause of this fasting, than of that which Moses fasted when he receiued the law at the hand of the Lord. For sith that miracle was shewed in Moses to stablsh the authoritie of the lawe, it ought not to haue bene omitted in Christ, least the Gospell should seeme to geue place to the lawe. But since that time it neuer came in any mans minde vnder color of following of Moses to require such a forme

Mat. 4.
2.

Exo. 24.
18 and
34. 28.

forme of fasting in the people of Israel. Neither did any of the holy Prophets and fathers follow it, when yet they had minde and zeale enough to godly exercises. For, that which is said of Helias, that he passed forty dayes without meare and drinke, tended to no other ende but that the people should knowe that he was stirred vp to be a restorer of the lawe from which almost all Israell had departed. Therefore it was a mere wrongfull zeale and full of superstition, that they did set forth fasting with the title and color of following of Christ. Howbeit in the maner of fasting there was then great diuersity, as Cassiodorus rehearseth out of Socrates in the ninth booke of his historie. For the Romaines (saith he) had but three weekes, but in these there was a continuall fasting, except on the Sunday and Saturday. The Slaunonians and Grecians had six weekes: other had seuen: but their fasting was by deuided times. And they disagreed no lesse in difference of meates. Some did eate nothing but bread and water: some added herbes: some did not forbear fish and fowles: summe had no difference in meates. Of this diuersitie Augustine also maketh mention in the latter Epistle to Ianuarie.

21 Then followed worse times, and to the preposterous zeale of the people was added both ignorance and rudenesse of the Bishops, and a luste to beare rule, and a tyrannous rigor. There were made wicked lawes, which straine consciences with pernicious bondes. The eating of fleshe was forbidden, as though it defiled a man. There were added opinions full of sacrilege one vpon an other, till they came to the bosome of all errors. And that no peruerfenesse should be omitted, they began with a most sonde pretence of abstinence to mocke with God. For in the most exquisite deintinesse of fare is sought the praise of fasting: no delicates do then suffice, there is neuer greater plentie, or diuersitie, or sweetenesse of meates. In such and so gorgious preparatiō they thinke that they serue God rightly. I speake not howe they neuer more sowlly glutte themselues, than when they would be compted most holy men. Brefely, they compt it the greatest worshipping of God to abstaine from flesh, and (these excepted) to flowe full of all kinde of deinties. On the other side they thinke this the extremest vngodlinesse, and such as scarcely may be recompensed with death, if a man tast neuer so little a piece of bacon or vsfauery flesh with browne breade. Hierome telleth, that euen in his time were some that with such follies did mocke with God: which because they would not eate oyle, caused most deintie meates from euery place to be brought them: yea to oppresse nature with violence, they abstained from drinking of water, but caused swete and

Kings
196.Ad Ne-
potian.

costly suppinges to be made for them, which they did not drinke out of a cup, but out of a shell. Which faulte was then in a few, at this day it is a common faulte among all riche menne, that they fast to no other ende but that they may banket more sumptuously & deintily. But I wil not waste many wordes in a matter not doutefull. Only this I say, that both in fasting and in all other partes of discipline, the papistes so haue nothing right, nothing pure, nothing well framed and orderly, whereby they may haue any occasiō to be proude, as though there were any thing remaining among them worthy of praise.

22 There followeth another parte of discipline, which peculiarly belongeth to the clergie. That is cōteined in the canons which the olde Bishops haue made ouer themselues and their order. As these be: that no clerke should geue himselfe to hunting, to dicing, nor to banketting: that none should occupie vsurie, or merchandise: that none should be present at wanton dauncings: and such other ordinances. There were also added penalties: whereby the authority of the canons was stablished, that none should breake them vn timer. For this ende to every Bishop was committed the gouernment of his owne clergie, that they should rule their clerkes according to the canons, and holde them in their dutie. For this ende were ordeined yerely ouerseinges and Synodes, that if any were negligēt in his duetie, he should be admonished: if any had offended, he should be punished according to the measure of his offence. The Bishops also themselues had yerely their prouinciall Synodes, and in the olde time yerely two Synodes, by which they were iudged if they had done any thing beside their duetie. For if any Bishop were to harde or violent against his clergie, they might appelle to those Synodes, although there were but one that complained. The severest punishment was that he which had offended should be remoued from his office, & for a time be deprived of the Cōmunion. And because that same was a continuall order, they neuer vsed to dismissee any Synode, but that they appointed a place and time for the next Synode. For, to gather a generall Councell pertained to the Emperour onely, as all the olde summoninges of Councells do testifie. So long as this seueritie flourished, the clerkes did require in word no more of the people, than themselues did performe in example and deede. Yea they were much more rigorous to themselues than to the people. And verily so it is mete, that the people should be ruled with a gentler & looser discipline, as I may so terme it: but the clerkes should vse sharper iudgements among themselues, and should lesse beare with themselues, than with other men. Howe all this is growen out of vse,
it is

it is no neede to rehearse, when at this day nothing can be imagined more vnbridled and dissolute than the Clergie, and they are broken forth to so great licentiousnesse, that the whole world crieth out of it. That all antiquitie should not seeme to be vtterly buried among them, I graunt in deede that they do with certaine shadows deceiue the eyes of the simple: but those are such as come no nerer to the auncient maners, than the counterfaiting of an ape approacheth to that which men do by reason and aduise. There is a notable place in Xenophon, where he teacheth howe fowly the Persians had iwarued from the ordinances of their Elders, and were fallen from the rigorous kinde of life, to softnes and deintinesse, that yet they couered this shame, saying that they diligently kept the auncient vsages. For when in the time of Cyrus sobrietie and temperance so farre flourished that men needed not to weepe, yea and it was accompted a shame: with posteritie this continued a religious obseruation, that no man should drawe snott out at his nosethrilles, but it was lawfull to sucke it vp, & feede within euen till they were rotten the stinking humors which they had gathered by gluttonous eating. So by the olde order it is vnlawfull to bring winepots to the borde: but to swill in wine that they neede to be caried away drunken, is tolerable. It was ordeined to eate but ones in a day: this these good successors haue not abrogate, but they gaue leaue to continue their surfettings from mid day to mid night. The custome was that mé should make an end of their dayes iourney fasting. But it was at libertie & vsedly the custome, for auoiding of werinesse, to shorten their iourney to two houres. Whensoever the Papistes shall pretende their bastarde rules, to shewe themselues to be like to the holy fathers: this example shall sufficiently reprove their sonde counterfaiting, that no painter can more liuely expresse it.

23 In one thing they be to rigorous and vntreatable, that they geue not leaue to Priests to mary. But howe great libertie there is among them to vse whordome vnpunished, is not needefull to be spoken: & bearing them bold vpon their stinking vnmarried life, they haue hardened themselues to all wicked doings. But this forbidding doth plainly shewe, howe pestilente all their traditiōs are, forasmuch as it hath not onely spoiled the Church of good and fitt Pastors, but also hath brought in a horrible sinke of mischeues, & throwen many soules into the gulse of desperation. Truely whereas mariage hath bene forbidden to Priests, that same hath bene done by wicked tyrannie, not onely against the word of God, but also against all equirie. First to forbidde that which the Lorde had lefte at libertie, was by

1. Tim.
3. 2 and
1. 6.
1. Tim.
4. 3.

no meanes lawfull for men. Againe, that God hath expressely provided by his word that this libertie should not be broken, is so euident that it needeth no long demonstration. I speake not howe Paul in many places willeth a Bishop to be the husbande of one wife. But what could be more vehemētly spoken, than where he pronounceth by the Holy Ghost, that there shalbe in the last times wicked men that shall forbidde mariage: and he calleth them not onely deceiuers, but deuells? This therefore is a Prophecie, this is a holy Oracle of the Holy Ghost, wherewith he willed to arme the Church aforehade against dangers, that the forbidding of mariage is the doctrine of deuells. But they thinke that they haue gaily escaped whē they wrest this sentence to Montanus, the Tatrans, Encratites and other olde heretikes. They onely (say they) condemned mariage: but we do not condemne it, but debarre the Clergie from it, for whom we thinke it not to be cōuenient. As though albeit this prophecy was first fulfilled in those aforesaid men, it might not also be applied to these: or as though this childish fond sutteltie were worth the hearing, that they say that they forbidde it not, because they forbid it not to all. For it is all one as if a tyrant would affirme that it is not an vniust lawe, with vniustice whereof one part alone of the citie is oppressed.

Siri-
zi. ad
episco.
Hispan.

24 They obiect, that the Priest doth by some marke differ from the people. As though the Lorde did not also foresee this, with what ornaments Priests ought to excell. So they accuse the Apostle of troubling the order and confounding the comlineffe of the Church, which when he portrayed out the absolute forme of a good Bishop, durst set mariage among the other giftes which he required in him. I knowe howe they expounde this, namely that none is to be chosen that hath had a seconde wife. And I graunt that this is not a newe exposition: but that it is a false exposition, appeareth by the text it selfe, because he by and by after setteth out of what qualities the wiues of Bishops and Deacons ought to be. Paule reekenth mariage among the vertues of a Bishop: these men teache that it is an intollerable faulte in the order of the Clergie. And, on Gods name, not cōtented with this generall dispraise they call it in their canons vncleennesse and defiling of the flesh. Let euery man thinke with himselfe out of what workshop these things be come: Christ vouchesaueth so to honor mariage that he willeth it to be an image of his holy conioining with the Church. What could be spoken more honorably to set out the dignitie of mariage? With what face therefore shall that be called vncleane or defiled wherein shineth a likenesse of the spirituall grace of Christ?

But now when their forbidding so evidently fighteth with the word of God, yet they finde in the Scriptures wherewith to defende it. The Leviticall Priests were bounde to lie a sonder from their wives, so oft as it came to their turnes to minister, that they might handle the holy things pure and vndefiled. Therefore it were very vncomely, that our holy things, such they be both much more noble and daily, should be handled of married men. As though there were all one person of the minister of the Gospell, as was of the Leviticall Priesthode. For they, as figures, represented Christ, which being the mediator of God and men should with most absolute purenesse reconcile the Father vnto vs. But when sinners coulde not in euery behalfe expresse the figure of his holinesse, yet that they might with certaine grosse draughtes yeld a shadowe of him, they were commaunded to purifie themselues beyond the maner of men, when they came to the Sanctuarie: namely because they then properly figured Christ, for that as pacifiers to reconcile the people to God they appeared at the tabernacle the image of the heavenly iudgement seate. Forasmuch as the Pastors of the Church do not beare this persone at this day, therefore they are vainly compared with them. Wherefore the Apostle doth without exception boldly pronounce, that mariage is honorable among all men, but that for whoremongers and adulterers abide the iudgement of God. And the Apostles themselues did with their owne example approue that mariage is not vnmete for the holinesse of any office be it neuer so excellent. For Paule wirnesseth that they did not onely kepe wives, but also carried them about with them.

Heb. 13.

4.

1. Cor.

9. 5.

26 Again it was a maruelous shamelesnesse that they durst set out this comelinesse of chastitie for a necessarie thing, to the great reproche of the olde Church: which when it abounded with singular learninge of God, yet excelled more in holinesse. For if they passe not vpon the Apostles, (as they are wont sometime stoutely to despise them) what I beseeche you will they do to all the olde fathers, whom it is certaine to haue not onely suffered, but also allowed mariage in the order of Bishops? They forsooth did nourish a filthy profaning of holy things, forasmuch as so the misteries of the Lorde were not rightly reuerenced among them. It was moued in deede in the Nicene Synode to haue vnmarried life commaunded: as there alway want not some superstitious men, which do euer inuente some newe thing, to bring themselues in admiration. But what was decreed? The sentence of Paphnutius was assented to, which pronounced that a mans lying with his owne wife is chastitie. Therefore mariager-

Histor.
tripart.
Libr. 2.
cap. 14.

Cap. 12. Of the outward meanes

mained holy among them: neither did it turne them to any shame, nor was thought to spot the ministerie.

27 Then followed times, in which to superstitious obseruation of single life grewe in force. Hereupon came those often and vnmeasurably aduanced praises of virginie, so that scarcely any other vertue was thought among the people to be compared with it. And although mariage was not condemned for vncleane, yet the dignitie thereof was so diminished, and the holinesse of it obscured, that he seemed not to aspire with a courage strong enough to perfection, that did not restraints himselfe from it. Hereupon came those canons whereby it was first forbidden that they which were come to the degree of Priesthode should not contracte mariage: then, that none should be taken into that order but vnmarried men, or such as did forsake mariage together with their wiues. These things, because they seemed to procure reuerence to Priesthode, were (I graunt) euen from antiquitie receiued with great well liking. But if the aduersaries object antiquitie against me, first I aunswer that this libertie remained both vnder the Apostles and in certaine ages after them, that Bishops might be married: that the Apostles themselues, and other Pastors of great authoritie which succeeded in their places, vsed the same without sticking at it. The example of that auncienter Church ought worthily to be of greater weight with vs, than that we should thinke that to be either vnlawfull or vncomely for vs which was then with praise receiued and vsed. Secondly I say that that age which for immeasurable affection to virginie began to be partiall against mariage, did not so lay vpon Priests the lawe of vnmarried life, as though it were a thing necessarie of it selfe, but because they preferred vnmarried men aboue the married. Finally I aunswer that they did not so require it that they did with force and necessitie constrain them to continence which were not fit to kepe it. For when they punished whoredomes with most seuerelawes, of them that contracted mariage they decreed no more but that they should geue over the execution of their office.

28 Therefore whensoever the defenders of this newe tyrannie shall seke the pretense of antiquitie to defende their vnmarried life: so oft we shall aunswere them with requiring them, that they restore the olde chastnesse in their Priests: that they remoue adulterers and whoremongers: that they suffer not those in whom they suffer not honest and chaste vse of mariage bed, to run unpunished into all kinde of lust: that they call againe the discontinued discipline, whereby all wantonnesse may be restrained: that they deliuer the Church from
this

this so wicked filchines, wherewith it hath bene long deformed. When they haue graunted this, then they must againe be put in minde that they boſt not that thing for necessarie, which being of it ſelfe at libertie hangeth vpon the profit of the Church. Yet I ſay not this for that I thinke that in any condition place is to be geuen to thoſe canons which lay the bonde of vnmarried life vpon the order of Priests: but that the wiſer ſort may vnderſtande with what face our enemies do ſclaunder holy marriage in Priests, by obiecting the name of antiquitie. As touching the fathers, whose writings remaine, euen they when they ſpeake of their owne iudgement, except Hierome, did not with ſo great ipitefulneſſe deface the honeſty of marriage. We ſhalbe content with one commendation of Chriſtoſtome: becauſe he ſith he was a principal eſteemer of virginite, can not be thought to haue bene more lauiſh than other in commendation of marriage. Thus he ſaith: The firſt degree of chaſtite is pure virginite: the ſeconde is faithfull marriage. Therefore the ſeconde kinde of virginite is the chaſt loue of matrimonie.

Homel.
de inuic
tio. cru
cis.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Of vowes, by rash promiſe, whereof eche man hath miſerably entangled himſelfe.

IT is verily a thing to be lamented, that the Church, for whom libertie was purchaſed with the ineſtimable price of the blood of Chriſt, hath bene ſo oppreſſed with cruell tyranny, and almoſt overwhelmed with a huge heape of traditions: but in the meane time euery mans priuate madneſſe ſheweth, that not without moſt iuſt cauſe there hath bene ſo much permitted of God to Satan & his miniſters. For they thought it not enough, neglecting the commaundement of Chriſt, to beare any burdens whatſoeuer were layed vpon them by falſe teachers, vnleſſe they did alſo eche man procure to himſelfe ſeueral burdens of his owne, and ſo with digging pittes for themſelues ſhould drowne themſelues deper. This was done while they ſtriued in deuiling of vowes, by which there might be added to the common bondes a greater and ſtreightier binding. Sith therefore we haue taught, that by their boldneſſe which haue boine rule vnder the title of Paſtors in the Church, the worſhipping of God hath bene corrupted, when they ſnared ſilly conſciences with their vniuſt lawes: here it ſhall not be out of ſeaſon to adioine an other euell which is nere vnto it, that it may appeare that the world according to the peruerſneſſe of his owne diſpoſition, hath alway, with ſuch ſtoppes as it could, put away the helpes whereby it ſhould haue bene brought

to God. Nowe, that it may the better appeare that very greuous hurt hath bene brought in by vowes, let the reders kepe in minde the principles aboue set. For first we haue taught, that whatsoeuer may be required to the framing of life godlily & holily, is comprehended in the lawe. Againe we haue taught, that the Lorde, that he might thereby the better call vs away from deuising of newe workes, hath enclosed the whole praise of righteousnesse in the simple obedience of his will. If these things be true, it is easy to iudge that all fained worshippings, which we inuent to our selues to deserue the fauor of God, are not acceptable to him howe much soeuer they please vs. And truely the Lord himselve in many places doth not onely openly refuse them, but also greuously abhorre them. Hereupon ariseth a dout of those vowes which are made beside the expresse word of God, what accompt is to be made of them, whether they may rightly be vowed of Christian men, and howe farre they binde them. For the same which among men is called a promise, in respect of God is called a vowe. But to men we promise those things either which we thinke will be pleasany vnto them, or which we owe of durie. Therefore there ought to be a much greater hede full obseruatiō in vowes which are directed to God himselve, with whom we ought to deale most earnestly. In this pointe superstition hath in all ages maruelously ranged, so that menne without iudgement, without choise, did by and by vowe vnto God whatsoeuer came in their minde, or into their mouth. Hereupon came those follies, yea monstrous absurdities of vowes among the heathen, wherewith they did to insolently mocke with their gods. And I would to God that Christiāns also had not followed this their boldnesse. It ought not in deede to haue bene so: but we se that in certaine ages past nothing hath bene more vsuall than this wickednesse, that the people eche where despising the lawe of God did wholly burne with mad greedinesse to vowe whatsoeuer had pleased thē in their dreame. I will not hatefully enforce, nor particularly rehearse howe hainously and howe many wayes herein men haue offended: but I thought good to say this by the way, that it may the better appeare, that we do not moue question of a needelesse matter, when we entreate of vowes.

2 Nowe if we will not erre in iudging which vowes be lawfull, and which be wrongfull, it behoueth to wey three things: that is to say, who it is to whom the vowe is made: who we be that make the vowe: last of all, with what minde we vowe. The first pointe hath respect to this, that we should thinke that we haue to do with God, whome our obedience so much deliteth, that he pronounceth all willwor-

willworships to be accursed, howe gay and glorious soeuer they be in the eyes of men. If all voluntarie worshippes, which we our selues deuise without commaundement, be abhominable to God, it followeth that no worship can be acceptable to him but that which is allowed by his word. Therefore let vs not take so great libertie to our selues that we dare vowe to God that which hath no testimonie howe it is esteemed of him. For whereas that which Paule teacheth, Rom 14 that it is sinne whatsoeuer is done without Faith, extendeth to all 23 doings, then verily it chiefly hath place when thou directest thy thought the streight way to God. But if we fall and erre even in the smallest things, (as Paul there disputeth of the difference of meates) where certaintie of Faith shineth not before vs: howe much more modestie is to be vsed, when we attempte a thing of greatest weight? For nothing ought to be more earnest vnto vs than the duties of religion. Let this therefore be the first consideration in vowes, that we neuer come to the vowing of any thing, but that conscience haue first certainly determined that it attempteth nothing rashly. But it shall then be free from danger of rashnesse, when it shall haue God going before it, and as it were enforming it by his word what is good or vnprofitable to be done.

3 In the other thing which we haue said to be here to be considered, this is contined, that we measure our owne strengthes, that we haue an eye to our vocation, that we neglect not the benefite of libertie which God hath geuen vs. For he that voweth that which either is not in his power, or disagreeeth with his vocation, is rash: and he that despiseth the bountifulnesse of God, whereby he is appointed Lorde of all things, is vnthankfull. When I say thus, I do not meane that any thing is so sett in our owne hande, that standing vpon confidence of our owne strength we may promise the same to God. For it was most truely decreed in the Councell at Arausium, that nothing Concil. is rightly vowed to God but that which we haue receiued of his Arausi. hande, forasmuch as all things that are offred him are his mere giftes. cap. 11. But sith some things are by Gods goodnesse geuen vs, and other Rom. 12 some things by his equitie denied vs: let euery man (as Paule commaundeth) haue respect to the measure of grace geuen vnto him. 3. Therefore I do here meane nothing els, but that vowes must be tempered to that measure which the Lorde prescribeth there in his ge- 1. Cor. uing: lest if thou attempt further than he permitteth, thou throw thy 12. 11. selfe downe hedlong with taking to much vpon thee. As for example. When those murderers, of whom mention is made in Luke, vowed A& 23. that they would tast of no meate till Paule were slayen: although the 12

deuie had not bene wicked, yet the rashnesse it selfe was not to be suffered, that they made the life and death of a man subiect to their power. So Iephthe suffered punishment for his folly, whē with hedlong heate he conceiued an vnadvised vowe. In which kinde vnmarried life hath the chiefe place of mad boldnesse. For sacrificing Priestes, monkes, and nonnes, forgetting their owne weakenesse, thinke themselves able to keepe vnmarried life. But by what Oracle are they taught that they shall haue chastitie throughout all their life, to the very ende whereof they vowe it? They heare the word of God concerning the vniuersall state of men, It is not good for man to be alone. They vnderstande, and I would to God that they did not fele, that sinne remaining in vs is not without most sharpe prickes. With what confidence dare they shake of that generall calling for all their life long: whereas the gift of continence is oftener graunted for a certaine time as opportunitie requireth? In such stubbornesse let them not loke for God to be their helper: but let them rather remember that which is said. Thou shalt not tempt the Lorde thy God. And this is to tempt God, to endeuor against the nature put in vs by him, and to despise his present giftes as though they nothing belonged vnto vs. Which they not onely do: but also marriage it selfe, which God thought it not against his maiestie to institute, which he hath pronounced honorable in all men, which Christ our Lorde hath sanctified with his presence, which he vouchesaue to honor with his first miracle, they dare call defiling, one'y to aduaunce with maruelous commendations a certaine vnmarried life of what sorte soeuer it be. As though they themselves did not shewe a clere example in their life, that vnmarried state is one thing, and virginie an other: which their life yet they most shamelesly call Angellike, doing herein verily to great iniurie to the Angels of God, to whom they compare whoremongers, adulterers, and somewhat els much worse and filthier. And truly here neede no argumentes, when they are openly confuted by the thing it selfe. For we plainly se, with howe horrible paines the Lorde doth commonly take vengeance of such arrogance, and contempt of his giftes by to much trust in themselves. I spare for shame to speake of the more secrete faultes, of which even this that is already perceiued is to much. It is out of cōtrouersie that we ought to vowe nothing, that may hinder vs from seruing of our vocation. As if a householder should vowe, that he will leaue his wife and his children and take other charges in hand: or if he that is fit to beare office, when he is chosen do vowe that he will be a priuate man. But what is meant by this, that our libertie should not be

be despised, hath some difficulty if it be not declared. Therefore thus in fewe wordes I expounde it. Sith God hath made vs Lordes of all things, and hath so made them subiect vnto vs that we should vse them all for our commoditie: there is no cause why we should hope that it shalbe an acceptable worke to God if we yelde our selues into bondage to the outward things which ought to be a helpe vnto vs. I say this for this purpose, because many do hereby seke praise of humilitie, if they snare themselues with many obseruations, from which God not without cause willed vs to be free and discharged. Therefore if we will escape this danger, let vs alway remember that we ought not to depart from that order which the Lorde hath ordeined in the Christian Church.

4 Nowe I come to that which I did set in the thirde place: that it is much materiall with what minde thou makest a vowe, if thou wilt haue it allowed of God. For sith the Lorde regardeth the hart, not the outward shewe, it cometh to passe that the selfe same thing, by changing the purpose of the minde, doth sometime please him and is acceptable vnto him, and sometime highly displeaseth him. If thou so vowe the absteyning from wine, as though there were any holinesse in it, thou art superstitious: if thou haue respect to any other ende which is not euell, no man can disallowe it. But in my iudgement there be fower endes, to which our vowes shalbe rightly directed: of which for teachings sake I referre two to the time past, and the other two to the time to come. To the time past belong those vowes, whereby we do either testifie our thankfulnessse to God for benefites receiued: or to craue the turning away of his wrath, we our selues do punish our selues for the offenses that we haue committed. Let vs call the first sort, if you will, the exercises of thankesgeuing, the other of repentance. Of the first kinde we haue an example in the tithes which Iacob vowed, if the Lorde did bring him home safe out of banishment into his contree. Againe in the olde Sacrifices of the peaceofferings, which godly kinges and capitaines, when they toke in hande righteous warre, did vowe that they would pay if they had obtained the victorie, or at least when they were oppressed with any great distresse, if the Lorde had deliuered them. So are all those places in the Psalmes to be vnderstode which speake of vowes. Such vowes may at this day also be in vse among vs, so oft as the Lorde hath deliuered vs either out of any calamitie, or from a hard sicknesse, or from any other danger. For it is then not against the dutie of a godly manne, to consecrate to God his vowed oblation, as a solemne token of his reknowledging, least he shoulde seeme

Gen. 28

20.

Psa. 22.

27. and

56. 13.

& 116.

14. 18.

vnthankfull toward his goodnesse. Of what sort the seconde kinde is, it shall suffice to shewe with one onely familiar example. If any by the vice of gluttonie be fallen into any offense, nothing withstandeth but that to chastise his intemperance he may for a time forsake all deinty meates, and may do the same with a vowe adioined, that he may binde himselfe with the straighter bonde. Yet I do not so make a perpetuall lawe to them that haue likewise offended: but I shewe what is lawfull for them to do, which shall thinke such a vowe profitable for themselues. I do therefore so make such a vowe lawfull, that in the meane time I leaue it at libertie.

5 The voves that are applied to the time to come, partly (as we haue already said) do tende to this ende that we may be made the water: & partly that as it were by certaine spurres we may be pricked forward to our dutie. Some man seeth him selfe to be so inclined to some certaine vice, that in a thing which otherwise is not euill he can not temper himselfe from fallinge soorthwith into an euill: he shall do nothing inconueniently if he do for a time by vowe cut of frō himselfe the vse of that thing. As if a man know that this or that apparell of body is perillous vnto him, and yet entised with desire he earnestly couet it, what can he do better, than if in putting a bridle vpon himself, that is in charging himself with necessitie of absteyning from it, he deliuer himselfe from all douting? Likewise if a man be forgetfull or slowe to necessarie duties of godlinesse, why may he not by taking a vowe vpon him both awake his memorie and shake of his slouthfulnesse? In both I graunt that there is a forme of childishe schooling: but euen in this that they are helpes of weakenesse, they are not without profit vsed of the rawe and vnperfect. Therefore we shal say that those voves are lawfull which haue respect to one of these endes, specially in outward things, if they both be vpholden with the allowance of God, and do agree with our vocation, and be measured by the power of grace geuen vs of God.

6 Nowe also it is not hard to gather what is generally to be thought of all voves. There is one common vowe of all the faithful, which being made in Baptisme we do confirme and as it were stablish by Catechisme and receiuing of the Supper. For the Sacramentes are as charters, by which the Lorde deliuereth to vs his mercy and thereby euerlasting life, and we againe on our behalves do promise him obedience. But this is the forme or verily the summe of the vow, that forsaking Satan we yelde our selues into seruice to God, to obey his holy commaundementes, and not to followe the peruerse desires of our flesh. It ought not to be doubted but that this vowe,

fith

sith it hath testimony of the Scripture, yea and is required of all the children of God, is both holy and profitable to saluation. And it maketh not to the contrary, that no man in this life performeth the perfect obedience of the lawe which God requireth of vs. For sith this forme of couenancing is comprised within the couenant of grace, vnder which is contained both forgiveness of sinnes and the Spirit of Sanctification: the promise which we there make is ioyned both with beseeching of pardon and with crauing of helpe. In iudging of particular vowes, it is necessary to kepe in minde the three former rules, whereby we may safely weie of what sort euery vow is. Neither yet thinke that I so commend the very same vowes which I affirme to be holy, that I would haue them to be daily. For though I dare teach no certaine rule of the number or time: yet if any man obey my counsell, he shall take vpon him none but sober and for a time. For if thou oftentimes breake forth into making of many vowes, all religiousnesse will with very continuance growe out of estimation with thee, and thou shalt come to a bendinge readinesse to fall into superstition. If thou binde thy selfe with a perpetuall vowe, either for great payne and tediousnesse thou shalt vndo it, or beinge wried with longe continuance thou shalt at one time or other be bolde to breake it.

7 Now also it is plaine with how great superstition in this behalfe the worlde hath in certaine ages past bin possessed. One man vowed that he woulde abstaine from wine: as though abstaininge from wine were of it selfe a worship acceptable to God. An other bounde himselfe to fasting, an other to abstaining from flesh for certaine daies, in which he had with vaine opinion fained to be a singular holinesse aboue the rest. And some things also were vowed much more childish, although not of children. For this was holden for a great wisdom, to take vpon them vowed pilgrimages to holier places, & sometime either to go all their iourney on foote, or with their body halfe naked, that by their werines the more merite might be gotten. These & such other, with incredible zeale wherof the world hath a while swelled, if they be examined by those rules, which we haue aboue sette, shalbe found not only vaine & trifling, but full of manifest vngodlinesse. For howsoeuer the flesh iudge, God abhorreth nothing more than fained worshippings. There are beside this those pernicious & damned opinions, that hipocrites whē they haue such trifles thinke that they haue gotten no smal righteousnes: they repose the summe of godlinesse in outwarde obseruations: they despise all other that are lesse carefull of such thinges.

8 To reckon vp all the particular formes, is nothinge to purpose. But forasmuch as the monkish vowes are had in greater reuerence, because they seeme allowed by the common iudgement of y^e church: of those it is good to speake briefly. First least any should by prescription of long time defende monkery, such as it is at this day, it is to be noted that in old time there was in monasteries a farre other order of liuing. Such as were disposed to exercise themselues to greatest severity and patience, went thither. For what maner of discipline they say that the Lacedemonians had vnder the lawes of Lycurgus, such was at that time amonge the monkes, yea and much more rigorous. They slept vpon the ground: their drinke was water: their meate was bread, herbes & rootes: their chiefe deinties were in oyle and ciches. They abstained from all delicate diet and trimming of body. These things might seeme aboue truth, if they were not written by witnesses that saw & proued them, as Gregory Nazianzen, Basile, and Chrysostome. But with such introductions they prepared themselues to greates offices. For, that the colledges of monkes were then as it were the sedeploottes of the order of ministers of the Church, both these whom we haue now named are a prose plain enough, (for they were all brought vp in monasteries and from thence called to the office of bishops) & also many other singular and excellent men in their time. And Augustine sheweth that this was also vsed in his time, that monasteries

Epi. 81. yielded clerkes to the Church. For he speaketh thus to the monkes of the Isle of Caprarea: But you brethren we exhort in the Lord, that ye kepe your purpose and continue to the end: & if at any time our mother the Church shall require your trauaile, do ye neither with greedy pride take it vpon you, nor with flattering slouthfulnesse refuse it: but with a meke hart obey to God. Neither preferre ye your owne quiet leasure about the necessities of the Church: to whom if no good mē would haue ministred in her trauaile, you should not haue found how you shoulde haue bin borne. He speaketh there of the ministry, by

Epi. 76. which y^e faithfull are spiritually borne againe. Also to Aurelius: There is both occasion of fallinge giuen to themselues, and most haynous wronge done to the order of the Clergy, if forsakers of monasteries be chosen to the souldiorship of the Clergy: whē euen of those that remaine in the monastery, we vse to take into the Clergy none but the most approued and best. Vnlesse perhappes as the common people say, he is an euill pyper but a good fiddler: so it shall also be iestingely said of vs, he is an euill monke, but a good Clerke. It is too much to be lamented, if we list vp monkes into such a ruinous pride, and thinke Clerkes worthy of so great reproche, whereas sometime

euen

euen a good monke maketh not a good Clerke, if he haue sufficient continence, & yet want necessary learninge. By these places it appeareth, that godly me were wont with the discipline of monkes to prepare themselves to the gouernment of the Church, that they might the fitter and better instructed take so great an office vpon them. Not that they all attained to this end, or yet tended toward it, wherefor the most part they were vnlearned me: but such were chosen out as were mete for it.

19 But chiefly in two places he painteth out vnto vs the forme of the olde monkerie. In the booke Of the manners of the Catholike Church, where he setteth the holinesse of that profession against the sleanders of the Manichees: & in an other booke, which he entitled Of the worke of monkes, where he inuiceth against certaine degenerated monkes, which began to corrupt that order. I will here so gather a summe of those things which he sayth, that so nere as I may I will vse his owne wordes. Despisinge (sayth he) the enticementes of this worlde, gathered into one most chaste and holy life, they spende their time together, liuinge in praiers, readings, and disputations, not swelling with pride, nor troublesome with stubbornnes, nor wane with enuiousnesse. None possesseth any thinge of his owne, none is burdenous to any man. They get by working with their handes those things wherewith both their body may be fed, and their minde may not be hindered frō God. Their worke they deliuer to them whom they call Deanes. Those Deanes despisinge all thinges with great carefulnesse make accompt thereof to one whom they call Father. These fathers not only most holy in maners, but also most excellent in godly doctrine, hye in all things, do with no pride prouide for the whom they call children, with great authority of them in commaunding, & great willingnes of the other in obeying: They come together at the very last time of the day, euery one from his dwelling, while they be yet fasting, to heare that Father: & there mete together to euery one of these Fathers at the least three thousand men, (he speaketh chiefly of Ægypt, and of the east) then they refresh their body, so much as suffiseth for life and healthfulnesse, euery man restraining his desire, not to take largely euen of those thinges that they haue present very spare and vile. So they do not onely abstaine from fleshe and wine, so much that they may be able to tame their lustes, but frō such things which do so much more greedily prouoke appetite of the belly and throte, howe much they seeme to other, to be as it were cleaner, by colour whereof the filthy desire of exquisite meates, which is not in flesh, is wont to be fondly and fowly defended. Whatsoeuer remay-

Demor:
eccles.
cathol.
cap. 34.

Ibidem
cap. 33.
Tit. 1. 15

1 Cor. 6

13.

neth aboute necessary foode (as there remaineth oftentimes much of the workes of their handes and pinching of their fare) is with greater care distributed to the poore, than it was gotten by them that distribute it. For they do in no wise trauail that they may haue abundance of these things, but they by all meanes endeuer that that which they haue aboundinge may not remaine with them. Afterwarde when he hath rehearsed the hardnesse, whereof he himselfe had seene examples both at Millaine and else where: among these things (sayth he) no man is enforced to hard things which he can not beare: no man is charged with that which he refuseth: neither is he therefore condemned of the rest, because he cōfesseth himselfe to want strength in folowing of them: for they remember how much charity is commended: they remember that all things are cleane to the cleane. Therefore all their diligece watcheth, not to the refusing of kindes of meate as vncleane, but to tame lust, & to retaine the loue of brethren. They remember, meate for the belly, and the belly for meates. &c. Yet many stronge do abstaine for the weakes sakes. Many of them haue no nede to do thus: but because it pleaseth them to sustaine themselves with baser diet and nothing sumptuous. Therefore they themselves, which being in health do forbear, if consideration of their helth cōpell, when they are sicke do take without any feare. Many drinke no wine, & yet they thinke not themselves defiled with it: for they most gently cause it to be giuen to the fainter, and to them that can not get the health of their body without it: and some which foolishly refuse it, they do brotherly admonishe that they be not with vaine superstition sooner made weaker than holier. So they diligently exercise godlinesse: but they know that the exercising of the body pertaineth but to a short time. Charity is chiefly kept: to charity the diet, to charity the speech, to charity the apparel, to charity the countenance is fitted. They mete and conspire into one charity. To offend it is accounted as haynous as to offende God. If any resist charity, he is cast out and shunned. If any offende charity, he is not suffred to abide one day. Forasmuch as in these words, as in a painted table, that holy man semeth to haue set out what maner of life monkery was in olde time; although they were somewhat long, yet I was content to enterlace the here: because I saw that I shold haue bin somewhat longer if I had gathered the same things out of diuers, how much soeuer I studied for briesfenesse.

10 But my purpose here is not to go through this whole matter, but only by the way to point out, not only what maner of monkes the Old Church had, but what maner of thing the profession of monkes was

was at that time : so as the sounde witted readers may iudge by the comparifon , what face they haue which alleage antiquity to main-
taine the present monkery. Augustine when he depainteth vnto vs a
holy & true monkery, would haue to be absent all rigorous exacting
of those things which by the word of the Lord are left vs at liberty.
But there is nothinge that is at this day more seuerely required. For
they compt it a mischiefe that can neuer be purged, if any do neuer
so litle swarue from the prescribed rule in colour or fashion of gar-
ment, in kinde of meate, or in other trifling & cold ceremonies. Au-
gustine stoutly maintaineth, that it is not lawful for monks to liue idle
vpō other mens. He denieth that there was euer in his time any such
example of a well ordered monastery. Our men set the chiefe part of
their holinesse in idlenesse. For if you take idlenes from them, where
shalbe that contemplatiue life whereby they boast that they excell
all other men, and approach nere vnto Angels? Finally Augustine re-
quireth such a monkery, as should be nothing but an exercise & help
to the dueties of godlinesse which are commended to all Christians.
What? when he maketh charity the chiefe, yea and almost only rule
therof, do we thinke that he praiseth a conspiring, wherby a few men
being bound together, are seuered from y^e whole body of the church?
But rather he willeth them with their example to giue light to other
to kepe the vnity of y^e Church. In both these points, there is so much
difference of the monkery at this present, that a manne can scarcely
finde any thing more vnlike, I will not say contrary. For our monkes
not contented with that godlines, to the study of which alone Christ
commaundeth them that are his continually to apply, do imagine I
wote not what newe godlinesse, by meditation whereof they may be
perfecter than other.

Deo-
pere
mo-
nach.

11 If they deny this, I would know of them why they vouchsaue
to giue to their owne order alone the title of perfection, and take a-
way the same from all the callings of God. Neither am I ignorant of
that sophisticall solution, that it is not therefore so called because it
doth containe perfection in it, but because it is the best of all other
to attaine perfection. When they are disposed to boast themselues
before the people, when to snare vnskilfull and vnware yonge men,
when to maintaine their priuileges, when to aduaunce their owne di-
gnity to the reproch of other, then they boast that they are in y^e state
of perfection. When they are so nye driuen that they can not defend
this vaine arrogance, then they flee to this starting hole, y^e they haue
not yet attained perfection, but that they are in the same state wherein
they aspire vnto it aboue other. In the meane time that admiration

among the people remaineth, as though the only monkish life were angelike, perfect, & cleansed from all fault. By this pretence they make most gametful markets, but that same moderation lieth buried in a few bookes. Who doth not see that this is an intollerable mockery? But let vs so reason with the, as though they gaue no more to their profession than to call it a state of attaining perfection. Verily in giuinge it this name, they do as by a speciall marke make it differinge from other kindes of life. And who can abide this, that so great honot shoulde be giuen away to an ordinance that is no where by any one syllable allowed: and that by the same all other callinges of God, which are by his owne holy mouth not onely commaunded, but also commended with notable titles of praise, are by the same accompted vnworthy? And how great wrong (I beseech you) is done to God, when I wote not what new founde thinge is preferred aboue all the kindes of life ordained by himselfe, and praised by his owne testimonie?

12 But go to, let them say that it is a sleaunder which I haue before said, that they are not cōtented with the rule prescribed of God. Yet though I hold my peace, they themselues do more than enough accuse themselues. For they openly teache, that they take vpon them more burde than Christ laid vpon his: because for both they promise to kepe the counsels of the Gospel concerning louing their enemies, not coueting of reuenge, not swearing, &c. To which things Christians are not generally bound. Herein what antiquity will they shewe forth against vs? This neuer came in any of the old fathers mindes. They all crie out with one voice that there was no one litle word at all vttered of Christ, which ought not necessarily to be obeyed. And without any doutinge they do echewhere teache, that these very same thinges by name were commaundementes, which these good expositors triflingly say, that Christ did but counsell. But forasmuch as we haue before taught that this is a most pestilent errour, lette it suffice here to haue briefly noted that the monkery which is at this day, is grounded vpon the same opinion, which all the godly ought worthily to abhorre: which is, that there shoulde be imagined some perfecter rule of life, than this common rule which is giuen of God to the whole Church. Whatsoeuer is builded vpon this foundation, can not be but abhominable.

13 But they bring an other prooffe of their perfection, which they thinke to be most strōg for them. For the Lord sayd to the yong man that asked him of the perfection of righteoussesse, If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast and giue it to the poore. Whether they do

Matt. 5.
14.

Matt. 19
21.

do so or no, I do not yet dispute: but graunt the that for this present, Therefore they boast y they be made perfect by forsaking all theirs. If the summe of perfection stand in this, what meaneth Paul when he teacheth, that he which hath distributed all his goodes to the poore, vnlesse he haue charity, is nothing? What maner of perfectiō is this, which if charity be absent, is brought with man to nothinge? Here they must nedes answer, that this is the chiefeest in dede, but not the only worke of perfection. But here also Paul crieth against the, which sticketh not to make charity the bonde of perfection, without any such forsaking. If it be certaine that betwene the maister & the disciple is no disagreement, and the one of them clearly denieth the perfection of man to consist in this y he should forsake all his goods, and againe affirmeth, that perfection is without it: we must see howe that sayinge of Christ is to be taken, If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast. Nowe, it shalbe no darke sense, if we wey (which we ought alway to marke in all the preachings of Christ) to whom these wordes be directed. A yong man asketh, by what workes he shall enter into euerlastinge life. Christ, because he was asked of workes, sendeth him to the law, & rightfully: for it is the way of eternall life, if it be considered in it selfe, and is no otherwise vnable to bringe saluation vnto vs but by our owne peruerfenesse. By this answer Christ declared, that he teacheth no other rule to frame life by, than the same that had in olde time bin taught in the law of the Lord. So did he both giue witnesse to the lawe of God, that it was the doctrine of perfect righteousness: and therewithall did mete with sclaunders, that he shoulde not seeme by any new rule of life to stirre the people to forsaking of the law. The yonge man beinge in dede not of an euill minde, but swellinge with vaine confidence, answered that he had from his childehoode kept all the commaundementes of the law. It is most certaine that he was an infinite space distant fro that to which he boasted that he had attained. And if his boasting had bin true, he had wanted nothinge to the hiest perfection. For we haue before shewed, that the law containeth in it selfe perfect righteousness: and the same appeareth hereby, that the keeping of it is called the way of eternall saluation. That he might be taught to knowe howe litle he had profited in that righteousness, which he had too boldly answered that he had fulfilled, it was profitable to shake out a familiar faule of his. When he abounded in riches, he had his hart fastened vpon them. Therefore because he felt not this secrete wound, Christ launced him. Go (sayth he) sell all that thou hast. If he had bin so good a keeper of the lawe as he thought he was, he woulde not haue gone

away sorrowfull when he heard this word. For who so loueth God with all his hart, whatsoeuer disagreeeth with the loue of him, he not onely taketh it for donge, but abhorreth as bringinge destruction. Therefore whereas Christ commaundeth the couetous riche man to leaue all that he hath, it is all one, as if he should commaund the ambitious man to forsake all honors, the voluptuous man all delites, and the vnchast man all the instrumentes of lust. So consciences that are touched with no feeling of generall admonition, must be called back to the particuler feelinge of their owne euill. Therefore they do in vaine draw this speciall case to generall exposition, as though Christ did set the perfection of man in forsaking of goods: whereas he ment nothing else by this sayinge, than to driue the yong man that stode too much in his owne conceite, to feele his owne sore, that he might vnderstande that he was yet a great way distant from perfect obedience of the law, which otherwise he did falsly take vpo him. I graunt that this place hath bin euill vnderstanded of some of the fathers, & that therupon grew this coueting of wilful pouerty, wherby they onely were thought to be blessed, which forsaking all earthly things, did dedicate themselues naked to Christ. But I trust that all the good and not contentious men will be satisfied with this my exposition, so that they shall no more dout of the meaning of Christ. Howbeit the Fathers thought nothing lesse, than to stablish such a perfection, as hath since bin framed by the cowed Sophisters, thereby to raise vp a double Christianity. For that doctrine ful of sacrilege was not yet borne, which compareth the profession of monkery to Baptisme, yea and openly affirmeth, that it is a forme of second Baptisme. Who can dout that the Fathers with all their heart abhorred this blasphemy? Now as touchinge that last thinge, which Augustine sayth to haue bin among the olde Monkes, that is, that they applied themselues wholly to Charity: what neede I to shew in wordes that it is most farre from this newe profession? The thinge it selfe speaketh, that all they that go into Monasteries, depart from the Church. For why? Do not they seuer themselves from the lawfull felowship of the faithfull, in taking to themselues a peculiar ministry and priuate ministracion of Sacramentes? What is it to dissolue the Communion of the Church, if this be not it? And (that I may follow the comparison which I began to make, and may once conclude it) what haue they in this behalfe like to the olde monkes? They although they dwelt seuerally from other men, yet had not a seuerall Church: they did partake of the sacramentes together with other: they appeared at solemne assemblies: there they were a part of the people. These men, in erecting to
themselves

themselves a priuate altar, what haue they else done but broken the bond of vnity? For they haue both excommunicate themselves from the whole body of the Church, & haue despised the ordinary ministry, whereby the Lord willed to haue peace & charity kept among his. Therefore howe many ministeries there be at this day, I say that there be so many assemblies of schismatikes, which troubling the order of the Church, are cut of from the lawfull felowship of the faithfull. And that this departing should not be secret, they haue giuen to themselves diuers names of sectes. Neither were they ashamed to boast of that, which Paul doth so detest that he can not sufficiently amplify the hainousnes of it. Vnlesse perhap we thinke that Christ was diuided of the Corinthians, when one gloried of one teacher, & another of another: & that now it is done without any iniury to Christ, that in steede of Christians we heare some called Benedictines, some Franciscanes, some Dominicans: & that they are so called, that they themselves when they couet to be seuerally knowen from the common sort of Christiáns, do with great pride take these titles to themselves for the profession of their religion.

15 These differences which I haue hitherto rehearsed betwene the old monkes & the monkes of our age, are not differences in manners, but in the profession it selfe. Therefore let the readers remembre that I haue rather spokē of monkery than of monks, & haue touched those faultes, not which sticke in the life of a few of them, but which can not be seuered from their very order of liuinge it selfe. But what difference is in their maners, what nede I particularly to declare? This is certaine, that there is no degree of men more defiled with all filthinesse of vices: no where more are factions, hatredes, affections of parties, ambitions whoter than among them. In dede in a few monasteries they liue chastly, if it be to be called chastity where lust is so farre kept downe that it be not openly euill spoken of: yet a man shall scarcely finde euery tenth monastery which is not rather a stewes thā a holy house of chastity. But what honest sparing is in their diet? Swine be none otherwise fatted in sties. But least they should complaine that I handle them too vngently, I go no further. Howebeit in those few things which I haue touched, whosoever knoweth the thinge it selfe will confesse that there is nothinge spoken accuserlike. Augustine, when according to his testimony monkes excelled in so great chastity, yet complaineth that there were many vagabundes, which with euil craftes and deceites wiped simple men from their money, which with carying about the reliques of martyrs did vse filthy marchandisinges, yea and in steede of the reliques of martyrs did shew forth the bones

Cap. 13. Of the outward meanes

of any other dead men, and which with many such wicked doinges fclaudered the order. As he reporteth that he sawe no better men than them which haue profited in monasteries, so he lamenteth that he hath seene no worse men than those that disprofited in monasteries. What would he say if at this day he saw all monasteries to swell, & in a maner to burst with so many & so despeired vices? I speake nothing but that which is well knowen to all men. Yet doth not this dispraise pertain to all without any exception at all. For as there was neuer rule & discipline of liuinge holily so stablished in monasteries, but that there remained some dranes much vnlike the rest: so I do not say that monkes are at this day so runne out of kinde from that holy antiquity, but that they haue yet some good men in their flock. But they lye hidden a few & scattered in y^e huge multitude of naughty & wicked men: and they are not only despised, but also lewdly railed at, & sometime cruelly handled of other, which (as the Milesians prouerbe is) thinke that there ought to be no place for any honest man among them.

16 By this comparison of the olde and present monkery, I trust I haue brought to passe that which I purposed, that it may appeare that our cowed menne do falsely pretende the example of the first Church for defence of their profession: forasmuch as they no lesse differ from them than apes from menne. In the meane time I sticke not to declare, that euen in that olde forme which Augustine commendeth, there is somewhat which litle pleaseth me. I graunt that they were not superstitious in exactinge the outwarde exercises of rougher discipline, but I say that there wated not too much affectatiō and wrongfull zeale. It was a goodly thinge, forsakinge their goods, to be without all earthly carefulnesse: but God more esteemeth care to rule a householde godlily, when a holy householder beinge loose and free from all couetousnesse, ambition, and other desires of the fleshe, trauaileth to this purpose to serue God in a certayne vocation. It is a goodly thing to play the Philosopher in wildernesse farre from the companie of men: but it agreeth not with Christian gentlenesse as it were for hatrede of mankinde to flie into deserte and solitarinesse, and therewithall to forsake those dueties which the Lorde hath chiefly commaunded. Although we graunt that there was no other euill in that profession, yet this verily was no small euill, that it brought an vnprofitable and perillous example into the Church.

17 Nowe therefore lette vs see what maner of vowes they be, wherewith monkes at this day are professed into this goodly order.

First,

First, because their minde is to institute a new and fained worshippinge to deserue Gods fauour: I conclude by the thinges afore spoken that whatsoeuer they vowe is abhominable before God. Secondly without any regarde of Gods callinge, without any his allowance, they inuent for them such a kinde of liuing as pleaseth them selues. I say that it is a rashe and therefore an vnlawfull enterprise: because their conscience hath nothinge whereupon it may vpholde it selfe before God, and whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. Moreouer when they binde themselves to many peruerse and wicked worshippinges, which the monkery at this day containeth in it. I affirme that they be not consecrate to God, but to the Deuill. For why was it lawfull for the Prophete to say, that the Israelites offered their children to Deuils and not to God: onely for this that they had corrupted the true worshippinge of God with prophane Ceremonies: and shall it not be lawfull for vs to say the same of monkes, which with their cowle do put vpon themselves a snare of a thousande wicked superstitions? Nowe what sortes of voves are there? They promise to God perpetuall virginity, as though they hadde bargained with God before, that he shoulde deliuer them from neede of marriage. There is no cause why they shoulde alleage, that they do not make this vowe but trustinge vpon the grace of God. For sith he pronounceth that he giueth it not to all men, it is not in vs to conceiue a confidence of a speciall gift. Lette them that haue it, vse it. If at any time they feele themselves to be troubled of their fleshe, let them flee to this helpe by whose onely power they may resist. If they preuaile not, let them not despise the remedy that is offered them. For they by the certaine worde of God are called to marriage, to whom power of continence is denied. Continence I call, not whereby the body is onely kept cleane from whoredome, but whereby the minde kepeth chastity vndefiled. For Paule commaundeth not only ourward wantonnesse, but also the burninge of the minde, to be auoided. This (say they) hath from furthest time of memory bin obserued, that they which woulde dedicate themselves wholly to the Lord, should binde themselves to the vowe of continence. I graunt in deede that this maner hath also bin of auncient time receiued: but I do not graunt that that age was so free from all faulte, that whatsoeuer was then done must be taken for a rule. And by litle and litle this vnappeaseable seuerity crept in, that after a vowe made there was no roome for repentance. Which is euident by Ciprian. If virgins haue of Faith dedicated themselves to God, let them continue shamefastly, and chastly without any faining. So being strong and stedfast let them looke for

Rom. 14

23.

Deu. 31.

7.

Psa. 106

37.

Mat. 19

11.

1. Cor. 7

2.

Epist. 11

therewarde of virginity. But if they will not or can not continue, it is better that they shoulde mary than with their delights fall into the fier. What reproches would they now spare to teare him withall, that would with such equity temper the vowe of continence? Therefore they are departed farre from that auncient manner, which will not only admit no moderation or pardon if any be founde vnable to performe his vowe: but they do without all shame pronounce that he sinneth more greuoussly if he remedy the intemperance of the fleshe with takinge a wife, than if he defile both his body and soule with whoredome.

18 But they still enforce the matter, and go about to shewe that
 1. Tim. 5 such a vowe was vsed in the Apostles time: because Paule sayth that
 12. the widowes which hauing bin once receiued into the Publike ministry did mary, denied their first Faith. But I do not deny to them, that the widowes, which bounde themselues and their seruices to the Church, did therewithal take vpon them the bonde of continuall vnmarried life: not because they reposed any religion therein, as it afterward began to be vsed: but because they could not beare that office but beinge at their owne liberty and loose from yoke of mariage. But if, when they had once giuen their Faith, they looked backe to new mariages, what was this else but to shake of the callinge of God? Therefore it is no maruell that with such desires he sayth that they waxe wanton against Christ. Afterwarde to amplifie the matter he saith, that they do so not performe that which they haue promised to the Church, that they do also breake and make voide their first Faith giuen in Baptisme: in which this is comprehended, that euery man should answere his calling. Vnlesse parhap you had rather vnderstand it thus, that hauing as it were lost al shame, they did from thence forth cast away all care of honesty, did giue foorth themselues to all wantonnesse and vnchastity, and did in licentious and dissolute life resemble nothinge lesse than Christian women: which sense I like very well. Therefore we aunswere, that those widowes which were then receiued to Publike ministry, did lay vpon themselues a bonde to continue vnmarried: if they afterward married, we easily perceiue that that happened to them which Paule speaketh of, that casting away shame they became more wanton than besemed Christian women. That so they not only sinned, in breakinge their Faith giuen to the Church, but swarued from the common law of godly women. But first I deny that they did professe vnmarried life for any other reason, but because mariage agreed not with that ministry which they tooke in hande: & I deny that they did binde themselues at all to single life, but so far as the
 the

the necessity of their vocation did beare. Againe I do not graunt that they were so bound, but that it was then also better for them to mary, than either to be troubled with the prickings of the flesh, or to fall into any vncleannesse. Thirdly I say that that age is appointed of Paul, which is commonly out of danger: specially sith he commaundeth them onely to be chosen, which contented with one mariage haue already shewed a token of their continence. And we do for no other reason disallow the vow of vnmarried life, but because it is both wrongfully taken for a seruice of God, & it is rashly vowed of thē to whom power of continence is not giuen.

19 But how was it lawful to draw this place of Paule to Nunnes? For there were created deconisses, not to delite God with singing & with mumbling not vnderstanded, and liue the rest of their time idle: but that they should execute publike ministration toward the poore, that they should with all study, earnestnesse, and diligence, endeuour theselues to the duties of charity. They did not vowe vnmarried life, to yeelde thereby any worship to God because they abstained from mariage: but only because they were thereby the more vncombred to execute their office. Finally they did not vowe it, either in the beginning of their youth, or yet in the midst of their flowing age, that they might afterward learne too late by experience into how great a headlonge downe fall they had throwen themselves: but when they seemed to haue passed all danger, thā they vowed a no lesse safe than holy vowe. But (not to enforce the first two pointes) I say it was not lawfull to haue women receiued to vowe continence before the age of three score yeares: forasmuch as the Apostle admitteth onely women of 60. yeares olde, and commaundeth the yonger to mary and bring forth children. Therefore neither that release made of 12. yeres, & then 20. & afterward of thirty yeares, can be any way excused: and much lesse is it tolerable, that silly maides, before that they can by age know themselves, or haue any experience of themselves, are not only trained by fraude, but constrained by force & threatnings to put on those cursed snares. I will not tary vpon confuting the other two voves. Only this I say: beside this that they be entangled with not a few superstitions, (as the matter is now a daies) they seme to be made to this purpose, that they which vow thē should mocke both God & men. But least we should seme too maliciously to shake vp euery small parcell, we will be content with that generall confutation which is aboue set.

20 What manner of voves be lawfull and acceptable to God, I thinke is sufficiently declared. Yet because sometime vnskillfull and

fearfull consciences, euen when they mislike or disallow any vowe, do neuerthelesse dout of the binding, and are greuouly tormented, when they both drede to breake their Faith giuen to God, & on the other side they feare least they should more sinne in keeping it: here they are to be succoured, that they may winde themselues out of this distresse. But, to take away all dout at once: I say that all vowes being not lawfull, nor rightly made, as they are nothing worth before God, so ought to be void to vs. For if in contractes of men those promises onely do binde, in which he with whom we contract would haue vs bounde: it is an asurdity, that we should be driuen to the keepinge of those things which God doth not require of vs: specially sith our workes are no otherwise right, but when they please God, and when consciences haue this testimonie that they please him. For this remaineth certaine, whatsoeuer is not of Faith, is sinne. Whereby Paul meaneth, that the worke which is taken in hande with doutinge, is therefore faulty, because Faith is the roote of all good workes, by which we are assured that they be acceptable to God. Therefore if it be lawfull for a Christian man to go about nothinge without this assurednes: if by fault of ignorance they haue taken any thing in hand, why shoulde they not afterward giue it ouer when they be deliuered from errors. Sith vowes vnadvisedly made are such, they do not onely nothinge binde, but are necessarily to be vndone. Yea what if they are not onely nothing esteemed, but also are abominable in the sight of God, as is aboue shewed? It is needlesse to discourse any longer of a matter not needefull. This one argument seemeth to me to be enough to pacifie godly consciences and deliuer them from all dout: that whatsoeuer workes do not flowe out of the pure fountaine & be not directed to the lawfull end, are refused of God: and so refused that he no lesse forbiddeth vs to go forwarde in them, than to beginne them. For hereupon followeth, that those vowes which proceede of error and superstition, are both of no value before God, and to be forsaken of vs.

21 Moreouer he that shall know this solution, shall haue where-with he may defende against the sclanders of the wicked, them that departe from monkery to some honest kinde of life. They are greuouly accused of breache of Faith and periury, because they haue broken (as it is commonly thought) the insoluble bonde wherewith they were bounde to God and to the Church. But I say that there was no bonde, where God doth abrogate that which mā confirmeth. Moreouer, admittinge that they were bounde, when they were holden entangled with not knowinge of God and with error: now since they

Rom. 14
23.

they are lightened with the knowledge of the truth, I say that they are therewithall free by the grace of Christ. For if the crosse of Christ haue so great effectualnesse, that it looseth vs from the curse of the lawe of God, wherewith we were holden bonde, howe much more shall it deliuer vs from foreine bondes, which are nothings but the snaring nettes of Satan? To whomsoever therefore Christ shineth with the light of his Gospell, it is no dout that he looseth them from all snares which they hadde put vpon themselues by superstition. Howebeit they want not yet an other defense, if they were not fit to liue vnmarried. For if an impossible vowe be a sure destruction of the soule, whom the Lorde would haue saued and not destroyed: it followeth that we ought not to continue therein. But howe impossible is the vowe of continence to them that are not endued with a singular gift, we haue already taught, and experience speaketh it though I holde my peace. For neither is it vnknown with howe great filthines almost all monasteries do swarme. And if any of them seme honest, and more shamefast than the rest: yet they are not therefore chaste because they suppress and keepe in the fault of vnchastity. So verily God doth with horrible examples take vengeance on the boldnesse of men, which forgetting their owne weakenesse, do against nature couet that which is denied them, and despising the remedies which the Lord had giuen them at hande, do trust that they can with stubbornnesse and obstinacy ouercome the disease of incontinence. For what else shall we call it but stubbornnesse, when one being warned that he needeth mariage, and that the same is giuen him of the Lord for a remedy, doth not onely despise it, but also bindeth himselfe with an oth to the despising of it?

The xiiij. Chapter.

Of Sacramentes.

BEside the preaching of the Gospell, an other help of like sorte is in the Sacramentes: of which to haue some certaine doctrine taught, is much behouefull for vs, wherby we may learne both to what ende they were ordained, and what is now the vse of them. First it is meete to consider what is a Sacrament. It seemeth to me that this shalbe a plaine and proper definition, if we say that it is an outward signe, wherwith the Lord scaleth to our consciences the promises of his good wil toward vs, to sustaine the weakenesse of our Faith: & we againe on our behalues do testifie our godlinesse toward him as well before him and the Angels as before men. We may also

with more brievenesse define it otherwise : as to call it a testimony of Gods fauour toward vs confirmed by an outward signe, with a mutual testifying of our godlines toward him. Whethersoever you choose of these definitions, it differeth nothing in sense from that definition of Augustine, which teacheth that a Sacrament is a visible signe of a holy thing, or a visible forme of inuisible grace: but it doth better and more certainly expresse the thing it selfe. For whereas in that brieuenesse there is some darkenes, wherein many of the vnskilfuller sort are deceived, I thought good in moe words to giue a fuller sentence, that there should remaine no dout.

2 For what reason the olde wyrters vsed this word in that sense, it is not hard to see. For so oft as the old translator would render in Latine this Greeke word Mysterion mysterie, specially whē diuine matters were entreated of, he translated it Sacrament. So to the Ephesi-
 Eph. 1. 9
 & 3. 2.
 ans, That he might make knowen vnto vs the Sacrament of his will. Againē, if yet ye haue hearde the distribution of the grace of God, which is giuen to me in you, because according to reuelation the Sacrament was made knowen to me. To the Colossians, The mystery
 Colo. 1.
 26.
 1. Tim. 3
 16.
 which hath bin hidden from ages and generations, but now is manifested to his Saintes, to whom the Lord would make knowen the riches of this Sacramēt. &c. Againē to Timothee, A great Sacrament of godlinesse: God is openly shewed in the fleshe. He would not say a secret, least he should seeme to say somewhat vnder the greatnes of the things. Therefore he hath put Sacrament in stede of Secret, but of a holy thing. In that signification it is sometime founde among the ecclesiasticall wyrters. And it is well enough knowen, that thole which in Latine are called Sacraments, in Greeke are Mysteries: which expressing of one thing in two seuerall words endeth all the contentiō. And hereby it came to passe that it was drawē to those signes which had a reuerende representation of hie and spirituall thinges. Which
 Epist. 5.
 ad Mar-
 cel.
 Augustine also noteth in one place. It were long (saith he) to dispute of the diuersity of signes, which when they pertaine to diuine things, are called Sacramentes.

3 Now of this definition which we haue set, we vnderstande that a Sacrament is neuer without a promise going before it, but rather is adioyned as a certaine addition hanginge to it, to this ende that it shoulde confirme and seale the promise it selfe, and make it more approued vnto vs, yea after a certaine maner ratified. Which meane the Lorde foreseeeth to be needefull first for our ignorance and dullnesse, and then for our weakenesse: and yet (to speake properly) not so much to confirme his holy word, as to stablish vs in the Fayth therof.

For

For the truth of God is by it selfe sounde and certaine enough, and can not from any other where receiue better cōfirmation than from it selfe. But our Faith, as it is smal and weake, vnlesse it be stayed on euery side, and be by all meanes vpholden, is by and by shaken, wauceth, staggereth, yea and fainteth. And herein verily the mercifull Lorde according to his great tender kindnesse tempereth himselfe to our capacitie: that, whereas we be naturall men, which alway creping vpon the grounde and sticking fast in the flesh, do not thinke nor so much as conceiue any spirituall thing, he vouchesaueth euen by these earthly elements to guide vs vnto himselfe, and in the flesh it selfe to set foorth a mirror of spirituall good things. For if we were vnbodily (as Chrysostome saith) he would haue geuen vs the very same things naked and vnbodily. Nowe because we haue soules put within bodies, he geueth spirituall things vnder visible things. Not because there are such giftes planted in the natures of the things which are set foorth to vs in the Sacraments: but because they were signed by God to this signification.

Homel.
60. and
popul.

4 And this is it which they cōmonly say, that a Sacrament consisteth of the word and the outward signe. For we must vnderstande the worde to be, not that which being whispered without meaning and Faith, with onely noise as it were with a magicall enchauntment hath power to consecrate the element: but which being preached maketh vs to vnderstande what the visible signe meaneth. Therefore that which was vsually done vnder the tyrannie of the Pope, was not without a great profaning of the misteries. For they thought it inough, if the Priest, while the people stode amasedly gazing at it without vnderstanding, did mumble vp the forme of cōsecration. Yea they of set purpose prouided this, that no whit of doctrine should thereof come to the people: for they spake all things in Latine before vnlearned men. Afterwarde superstition brake out so farre, that they beleued that the consecration was not formally made, vnlesse it were with a hoarse whispering sounde which fewe might heare. But Augustine teacheth farre otherwise of the Sacramentall word. Let the word (saith he) be added to the element, and there shalbe made a Sacrament. For whense cometh this so great strength to the water, to touch the body and washe the soule, but by the word making it? not because it is spoken, but because it is beleued. For in the very word it selfe the sounde which passeth is one thing, and the power which abideth is an other. This is the worde of Faith which we preach, saith the Apostle. Whereupon in the Actes of the Apostles it is said, by Faith cleansing their hartes. And Peter the Apostle saith,

Hom. in
Ioh. 13.

Rom. 10
8.

Act. 15.

1. Pet. 1.

31.

So Baptisme also saueth vs: not the putting away of y^e filthines of the flesh, but the examinatioⁿ of a good cōscience. This is y^e word of Faith which we preach: by which without dout, y^e it may be able to clense; Baptisme also is halowed. You se howe it requireth preaching, wherevpon Faith may grow. And we neede not to trauaile much in professe hereof, forasmuch as it is clere what Christ did, what he commaunded vs to do, what the Apostles followed, what the purer Church obserued. Yea euen from the beginning of the world it is knowen, that so oft as God offred any signe to the holy Fathers, there was added an vnseparable knot of doctrine, without which our senses should be made amased with bare beholding. Therefore when we heare mention made of the Sacramentall word, let vs vnderstand the promise, which being with a loude voice preached of the minister may leade the people thether as it were by the hande, whether the signe tendeth and directeth vs.

5 Neither are some to be heard which trauaill to fight against this, with a double horned argument rather suttle than sounde. Either (say they) we knowe, or we knowe not, that the word of God which goeth before the Sacrament, is the true will of God. If we know it, then we learne no new thing of the Sacramēt which followeth after. If we knowe it not, then neither will the Sacrament teach it, whoes whole force standeth in the word. Whereunto let this bresely be for an aunswere: that the seales which are hanged at patentes and other publike instruments, taken by themselues are nothing, forasmuch as they should be hanged in vaine if the parchement had nothing written in it: yet they do not therefore not confirme and seale that which is written, when they be added to writings. Neither can they say that this similitude is lately fained by vs, which Paule himselfe vfed, calling Circumcision a seale, where he purposely trauaileth to proue, that Circumcision was not righteousness to Abraham, but a sealing of that couenaunte, by faith whereof he had already bene justified before. And what, I besech you, is there that may much offende any man, if we teach that the promise is sealed with Sacramēts, when of the promises themselues it is euident that one is confirmed with an other? For as euery one is manifeste, so is it more fit to vpholde faith. But the Sacramēts do both bring most clere promises, and haue this peculiar more than the word, that they liuely represent them to vs as it were painted out in a table. Neither ought that distinction any thing to moue vs, which is wont to be objected, betweene Sacraments and seales of patentes: that whereas both consist of carnall elements of this world, those can not suffice or be mete to
scale

seale the promises of God, which are spirituall and euerlasting, as these are wont to be hanged to, for sealing of the graunts of Princes concerning fading and fraile things. For a faithfull man, when the Sacraments are presente before his eyes, sticketh not in that fleshly sight, but by those degrees of proportion, which I haue spoken of, he riseth vp with godly cōsideration to the hy misteries which lie hidden in the Sacraments.

6 And sith the Lorde calleth his promises, couenantes: and his Sacraments, seales, of couenantes: a similitude may well be brought from the couenātes of men. What can a sowe killed worke, if wordes were not vsed, yea vnlesse they wente before? For sowes are many times killed without any more inwarde or hier misterie. What can the geuing of a mans right hande do, sith oftentimes handes are matched with enmitie? But when wordes haue gone before, by such signes the lawes of leagues are stablished, although they were first conceiued, made, and decreed in wordes. Therefore Sacraments are exercises which make the credit of the word of God certainer vnto vs: & because we are carnall, they are deliuered, vnder carnall things: that so they should instruct vs according to the capacitie of our dullnesse, and guide vs by the hande as scholemaisters guide children. For this reason Augustine calleth a Sacrament, a visible word: because it representeth the promises of God as it were painted in a table, and setteth them before our sight conningly expresse and as in an image. Other similitudes also may be brought, whereby Sacraments may be more plainly set out, as if we call them pillars of our Faith. For as a bilding standeth and resteth vpon the fundatiō: yet by setting vnder of pillars, it is more surely stablished: so: Faith resteth vpon the word of God, as vpon a fundatiō: but when Sacraments are added, it staieth yet more soundly vpon them as vppon pillars. Or if we call them loking glasses, in which we may beholde the riches of the grace of God, which he geueth vs. For (as we haue already said) he doth in them manifestly shewe himselfe to vs, so much as is geuen to our dullnesse to knowe, and doth more expressely testifie his good will and loue toward vs than by his word.

7 Neither do they reason fitly enough to the purpose, when they labor to proue hereby that they are not testimonies of the grace of God, because they are also geuen to the wicked, which yet do thereby fele God nothing more fauourable to them, but rather procure to themselues more greuous damnation. For by the same argument neither should the Gospell, which is heard and despised of many, be the testimony of the grace of God: nor yet Christ himself,

Gen. 6.
18. and
9.9. and
17. 12.

In Ioh.
Homel.
89
Lib. 19.
con.
Fault.

which was seen and knowen of many, of whom very fewe receiued him. The like we may also se in parentes. For a greate parte of the multitude laugheth at and scorneth that authentike seale, howsoeuer they knowe that it proceeded from the Prince to seale his will withall: some regarde it not, as a thing not pertaineing to them: some also abhorre it: so that cōsidering this so egall relation of both, that same similitude which I haue aboue vsed, ought more and more to be liked. Therefore it is certaine that the Lord doth offer vnto vs mercy and a pledge of his grace both in his holy word and in the Sacraments: but the same is not receiued but of them which receiue the word and Sacraments with sure Faith: like as Christ is offred of the Father vnto saluatiō, to all, yet he is not acknowledged and receiued of all. Augustine in one place minding to declare the same, said that the effectualnesse of the word is shewed foorth in the Sacrament: not because it is spoken, but because it is beleued. Therefore Paule, when he speaketh to the faithfull, so entreateth of Sacraments that he includeth the communion of Christ in them, as when he saith: all ye that are Baptised, haue put on Christ. Againe, we are all one body and one Spirit, which are Baptised in Christ. But when he speaketh of the wrongfull vse of Sacraments, he geueth no more to it than to colde and void figures. Whereby he signifieth, that howsoeuer the wicked & hypocrites with their peruersnesse do either oppresse or darken or hinder the effect of the grace of God in the Sacraments, yet that withstandeth not but that where and so ofte as it pleaseth God, both they may bring a true testimonie of the communicating of Christ, and the Spirit of God himselfe may deliuer and performe that which they promise. We determine therefore that Sacraments are truely called testimonies of the grace of God, and as it were certaine seales of the good will which he beareth toward vs: which by sealing it vnto vs, do by this meane susteine, nourish, confirme, & encrease our faith. As for the reasons which some are wont to object against this sentence, they are to trifling and weake. They say that if our Faith be good, it can not be made better: for they say that it is no Faith, but which without shaking, stedfastly, and without withdrawing, resteth vppon the mercy of God. It had bene better for such to pray with the Apostles that the Lorde would encrease their Faith, than carelessly to pretēde such a perfection of faith, which neuer any of the sonnes of men hath obtained, nor any shall obtaine in this life. Let them aunswer, what maner of faith they thinke that he had which said: I beleue Lorde, helpe my vnbeleuingnesse. For euen that faith, howsoeuer it was but a begun faith, was a good faith,

Gal. 2. 3.

27.

1. Cor

12. 12.

Luk. 17.

5.

Marc. 9

24.

faith, and might be made better when vnbeleuingnesse were taken away. But they are confuted by no certainer argument than by their owne conscience. For if they confesse themselues sinners, (which whether they will or no they can not denie) they must needs impute the same to the imperfection of their faith.

8 But (say they) Philip answered the Eunuch, that he might Aa. 8.
be Baptized, if he beleued with all his hart. What place here hath the 37.
confirmation of Baptisme, where faith filleth the whole hart? Againe
I aske them whether they do not fele a good parte of their hart void
of faith: whether they do not daily acknowledge newe encreases.
The heathen manne gloried that he waxed olde with learning. There-
fore we Christians be thrise miserable, if we waxe olde with profiting
nothing, whoes faith ought to go forward by all degrees of ages,
till it growe into a perfect man. Therefore in this place to beleue
with all the hart, is not perfectly to beleue Christ, but onely from the Eph. 4.
hart and with a sincere minde to embrace him: not to be full with 13.
him, but with seruent affection to hunger, & thirst, and sigh toward
him. This is the maner of the Scripture, to say, that that is done with
the whole hart, which it meaneth to be done sincerely and hartily. Pf. 119
Of this sort are these sayings: I haue in all my hart sought thee: I will 10. and
confesse to thee in all my hart, and such other. As on the other side, 111. 1. &
where he rebuketh guilefull and deceitfull men, he vseth to reproch 138. 1.
them with hart and hart. Then they say further, that if faith be en- Pf. 113.
creased by Sacraments, the Holy Ghost is geuen in vaine whoes
strength and worke it is to begin, maintein, and make perfect faith.
To whom in deede I graunt, that faith is the prope and whole work
of the holy Ghost, by whom being enlightened we knowe God and
the treasure of his goodnesse, and without whoes light our minde is
so blinde, that it can see nothing, so senselesse, that it can smell nothing
of spirituall things. But for one benefite of God which they set forth,
we consider three. For first the Lorde teacheth and instructeth vs
with his word: then he strengtheneth vs with Sacraments: last of all
he shineth into our mindes with the light of his holy Spirit, & ope-
neth an entrie for the word and Sacraments into our hartes, which
otherwise should but strike our eares, and be present before our eyes,
and nothing moue the inward partes.

9 Wherefore as touching the cōfirmation and encrease of faith,
I would haue the reader warned (which I thinke I haue already in
plaine wordes expressed) that I do so assigne that ministerie to the
Sacramentes, not as though I thought that there is perpetually in
them I wote not what secret force, by which they may of themselues

be able to further or confirme faith: but because they are ordained of the Lorde to this ende, that they should serue to the stablishing and encreasing of faith. But then onely they do truly performe their office, when that inwarde schoolemaister the Spirit is come to them, with whoes onely power both the hartes are pearced, and affections are moued, and the entrie is set open for the Sacraments into our soules. If he be absente, Sacraments can do no more to our mindes, than if either the brightnesse of the sunne should shine vppon blinde eyes, or a voice sounde to deafe eares. Therefore I so make diuision betweene the Spirit and sacraments, that the power of workinge remaine with the spirit, and to the Sacraments be left onely the ministration, yea and the same voide and trifling without the working of the spirit: but of much effectualnesse, when he inwardly worketh & putteth forth his force. Nowe it is plaine in what sorte according to this sentence, a godly minde is confirmed in the faith by Sacraments: that is to say, euen as the eyes see by the brightnesse of the sunne, and the eares heare by the sounde of a voice: of which neither the eyes should any whit perceiue any light, vnlesse they had a sight in themselves that might naturally be enlightened: and the eares should in vaine be knocked at with any crying whatsoeuer it were, vnlesse they were naturally made and fit to heare. But if it be true, which ought at ones to be determined among vs, that what the sight worketh in our eyes to seing of the light, what the hearing worketh in our eares to the perceiuing of a voice, the same is the worke of the holy Ghost in our hartes, both to the conceiuing, & sustaining, and cherishing and stablishing of faith: then both these things do likewise followe: that the Sacraments do nothing at all profite without the power of the holy Ghost: and that nothing withstandeth but that in hartes already taught of that scholemaister, they may make faith both stronger and more encreased. Onely this difference there is, that the power of hearing and seing is naturally set in our eares and eyes: but Christ beside the measure of nature doth by speciall grace worke the same in our mindes.

10 Whereby those obiections also, which comber some men, are dissolued: That if we ascribe to creatures either the encrease or confirmation of faith, there is wronge done to the Spirit of God, whom we ought to acknowledge the only author thereof. For neither do we in the meane time take from him the praise either of confirming or encreasing it: but rather we affirme, that euen this that he encreaseth and confirmeth faith, is nothing els but with his inward enlightning to prepare our mindes to receiue that confirming which

is set forth by the Sacraments. But if it be yet to darkly spoken, it shalbe made very clere by a similitude which I will bring. If thou purpose with wordes to perswade a man to do any thing, thou wilt search out all the reasons, whereby he may be drawn to thy opinion, and may be in a maner subdued to obey thy counsell. But thou hast hetherto nothing preuailed, vnlesse he likewise haue a pearcing and sharpe iudgement, whereby he may weye what pith is in thy reasons: vnlesse also he haue a tractable wit and ready to harken to teaching: finally vnlesse he haue conceiued such an opinion of thy faithfulness and wisdom, as may be to him like a certaine fore-iudgement to cause him to subscribe. For both there are many stubborne heads, which a man can neuer bowe with any reasons: and also where credite is suspected, where authoritie is despised, little good is done euen with the willing to learne. On the other side let all those things be present, they will truely bring to passe that the hearer, to whom thou geuest counsell, will obey the selfe same counsels which otherwise he would haue laughed to scorne. The same worke also the Spirit worketh in vs. For least the word should beate our eares in vaine, least the Sacramentes should strike our eyes in vaine, he sheweth vs that it is God which speaketh therein, he softneth the stubbornesse of our heart, and frameth it to the obedience which is due to the word of the Lorde. Finally he conueyeth those outward wordes and Sacramentes from the eares into the soule. Therefore both the word & the Sacraments do confirme our faith, whē they set before our eyes the good will of the heavenly father toward vs, by knowledge of whom both the whole stedfastnesse of our faith standeth fast, and the strength of it encreaseth: the Spirit confirmeth it, when in engraving the same confirmation in our mindes he maketh it effectuell. In the meane time the father of lightes can not be forbidden, but as he enlightneth the bodily eyes with the beames of the sunne, so he may enlightē our mindes with sacraments, as with a brightnesse set meane betweene.

11 Which propretie the Lorde taught that there was in his out-
warde word, when in the parable he called it seede. For as seede, if it
fall vpon a desert and vntilled peece of ground, will do nothing but
die: but if it be throwen vpon arable lande well manured and tilled,
it will bring forth her fruit with very good encrease: so the word of
God, if it light vpon a stiffe necke, it will growe barreine as that which
is sown vpon sande: but if it light vpon a soule manured with the
hande of the heavenly Spirit, it will be most fruitfull. But if there
be like reason of seede and of the word: as we say that out of seede

Mat 13.

4.

Luc. 8.

15.

come both springeth and encrease, and groweth vp to ripenesse: why may we not say that faith taketh out of the word of God both beginning, encrease, and perfection. Paule very well expresseth both these things in sundry places. For when he goeth about to put the

1. Cor. Corinthians in remembrance howe effectually God vsed his trauaile,
 3. 4. he glorieth that he hath the ministerie of the Spirit, as though the
 1. Cor. power of y^e holy Ghost were with an vnseparable knot ioined with
 3. 6. his preaching, to enlighten and thoroughly moue the minde. But in
 an other place when he mindeth to admonish them, of what force
 1. Cor. the word of God is of it selfe being preached by man, he compareth
 3. 6. the ministers themselues to husbandmen, which when they haue
 bestowed their labor and trauaile in tilling the earth, haue no more
 to do. But what should tilling, and sowing, and watering profit, vnlesse
 that which is sown should receiue liuelinesse by heavenly benefite?
 Therefore he concludeth, that both he that planteth and he that
 watereth are nothing: but that all things are to be ascribed to God,
 which alone geueth the encrease. Therefore the Apostles do in their
 preaching utter the power of the Spirit, so farre as God vseth the
 instruments ordeined by himselfe to the setting forth of his spirituall
 grace. Yet we must kepe still that distinction, that we remembre, what
 man is able to do by himselfe, and what is propre to God.

12 Sacraments are so confirmations of our faith, that many times
 when the Lorde meaneth to take away the confidence of the very
 things that are by him promised in the Sacraments, he taketh away
 the sacraments themselues. When he spoileth and thrusteth away

Genes. Adam from the giste of immortalitie, he saith: Let him not eate of
 3. 3. the fruit of life, least he liue for euer. What saith he? Could that fruit
 restore to Adam his vncorruption, from which he was now fallen.
 No. But this is all one as if he had said: Least he should enioy a vaine
 confidence if he kepe still the signe of my promise, let that be shaken
 away from him which might bring him some hope of immortalitie.

Ephes. 3. After this maner when the Apostle exhorteth the Ephesians to re-
 12. membre that they were forein gistes of the testaments, strangers
 from the fellowship of Israell, without God, without Christ, he saith,
 that they were not partakers of Circumcision. Whereby he doth (by
 figure of transnomination) signifie that they were excluded from
 the promise it selfe, which had not receiued the signe of the promise.
 To their other obiection, that the glory of God is conueyed to crea-
 tures, to whom so much power is ascribed, and that thereby it is so
 farre diminished, we haue in redinesse to aunswere that we set no
 power in creatures. Onely this we say, that God vseth meanes and
 instru-

instruments, which he himselfe seeth to be expedient: that all things may serue his glorie, forasmuch as he is Lorde and iudge of all. Therefore as by bread and other nourishments he feedeth our body: as by the sunne he enlightheth the world: as by fire he warmeth: yet neither bread, nor the sunne, nor fire, are any thinge but so farre as by those instruments he doth distribute his blessings vnto vs: so spiritually he nourisheth faith by the Sacraments, whose onely office is to set his promises before our eyes to be looked vpon, yea to be pledges vnto vs of them. And as it is our dutie to fasten none of our affiance in other creatures, which by the liberality and bountifulnesse of God are ordeined to our vses, and by the ministry whereof he geueth vs his gistes, nor to haue them in admiration, and praise them as cautes of our good: so neither ought our confidence to sticke fast in the Sacraments, nor the glorie of God to be remoued vnto them: but leauing all things, both our faith and confession ought to rise vp to him the author both of the sacraments and of all things.

13 Whereas some bring an argument out of the very name of a Sacrament, it is nothing strong. A sacrament (say they) whereas it hath among allowed authors many significations, yet it hath but one which agreeth with the signes: that is, whereby it signifieth that solemne othe which the soldior maketh to his capitaine when he entreth into professiō of a soldior. For as by that othe of warfare newe soldiors do binde their faith to the capitaine, and professe to be his soldiors: so by our signes we professe Christ our capitaine, and do testifie that we serue vnder his banner. They adde similitudes to make therby the matter more plaine. As a gowne made the Romans seuerally knowne from the Grekes which did weare clokes: as the very degrees of men at Rome were discerned by their seuerall signes: the degree of Senators from the degree of knightes, by purple cote and piked shooes: againe a knight from a commoner, by a ring: so we beare our signes that may make vs seuerally knowne from prophane men. But by the things aboue said it is euident enough that the olde writers, which gaue to the signes the name of Sacraments, hadde no regarde howe this word was vsed among Latine writers, but for their owne purpose fained this newe signification, whereby they signified onely holy Signes. But if we will searche the matter more depely, it may seeme that they haue with the same relation applied this word to such a signification, wherewith they haue remoued the name of faith to that sense wherein it is nowe vsed. For whereas faith is a truth in performing promises: yet they haue called faith an assurednesse, or sure perswasion which is had of the truth it selfe. Like-

wife whereas a sacrament is the soldiours part whereby he voweth himselfe to his capitaine: they haue made it the capitaines parte, whereby he receiueth soldiours into roomes of seruice. For by the sacrament the Lorde doth promise that he will be our God, and that we shall be his people. But we passe ouer such subtleties: forasmuch as I thinke I haue proued with arguments plaine enough, that they hadde respect to nothing els but to signifie that these are Signes of holy and spirituall things. We receiue in deede the similitudes which they bring of outward tokens: but we allowe not that that which is the last pointe in the sacraments, is by them set for the chief yea and onely thing. But this is the first point, that they should serue our faith before God: the later point that they should testifie our confession before men. According to this later consideration those similitudes haue place. But in the meane time let that first point remaine: because otherwise (as we haue already proued) the misteries should be but colde, vnlesse they were helpes to our faith, and additions to doctrine ordeined to the same vse and ende.

14 Againe we must be warned, that as these men do weaken the force, and vterly ouerthrowe the vse of sacraments: so on the contrarie side there be some, which faine to sacraments, I wote not what secret vertues, which are no where red to be put in them by God. By which error the simple and vnskillfull are dangerously deceiued, while they are both taught to seke the giftes of God where they can not be founde, and are by little and little drawn away from God, to embrace mere vanitie in steede of his veritie. For the Sophisticall schooles haue taught with great consent, that the Sacraments of the newe lawe, that is to say those which are nowe in vse in the Christian Church, do iustifie and geue grace, so that we do not lay a stoppe of deadly sinne. It can not be exprested howe pernicious and pestilent this opinion is, and so much the more, because in many ages heretofore, to the great losse of the Church it hath preuailed in a great part of the world: Truly it is vterly deuellish. For when it promiseth righteousnesse without faith, it driueth soules hedlong into destruction: then because it fetcheth the cause of righteousnesse from the sacraments, it bindeth the miserable mindes of men already of their owne accorde to much bending to the earth, with this superstitiō that they rather rest in the sight of a bodily thing than of God himselfe. Which two things I would to God we had not so proued in experience, so little neede they any long profe. But what is a sacramēt taken without faith, but the most certaine destruction of the Church? For whereas nothing is to be looked for thereof without the promise, and the promise

mise doth no lesse threaten wrath to the vnfaithfull, than it offreth grace to the faithfull: he is deceiued that thinketh that there is any more geuen to him by the sacraments, than that which being offred by the word of God, he receiueth by faith. Whereupon an other thing also is gathered, that the assiance of saluation hangeth not vpon the parraking of the sacrament, as though Iustification consisted therein: which we knowe to be reposed in Christ onely, and to be communicated vnto vs no lesse by the preaching of the Gospell, than by the sealing of the sacrament: and that without that it can not wholly stande. So true is that which Augustine also writeth, that inuisible sanctification may be without a visible signe, and againe that a visible signe may be without true sanctification. For (as he also writeth in an other place,) men do put on Christ sometime vntill the receiuing of a sacrament, sometime euen vntill the sanctification of life. And that first point may be common both to good and to euill: but this other is propre to the good and godly.

15 Hereupon cometh that distinction if it be well vnderstanded, which the same Augustine hath often noted, betweene a sacrament, and the thing of the sacrament. For it not onely signifieth, that the figure and truth are there contained, but that they do not so hang together but that they may be seuered: and that euen in the very conioining the thing must alway be discerned from the signe, that we geue not to the one that which belongeth to the other. He speaketh of the separation, when he writeth that the sacraments do worke in the onely elect that which they figure. Again, when he writeth thus of the Iewes: When the sacraments were common to all, the grace was not common, which is the power of the sacraments. So nowe also the washing of regeneration is common to all: but the grace it selfe, whereby the membres of Christ are regenerate with their lied, is not common to all. Again in an other place of the Supper of the Lorde, We also at this day receiue visible meate. But the sacrament is one thing, and the power of the sacrament an other thing. What is this, that many receiue of the altar and dy, and in receiuing do dy? For the Lordes morfell was poison to Iudas: not because he receiued an euell thing, but because he being euell receiued a good thing euelly. A little after. The sacrament of this thing, that is of the vnitie of the body and blood of Christ, is somewhere prepared on the Lordes table daily, somewhere by certaine distances of dayes: and thereof is receiued vnto life to some, and vnto destruction to some. But the thing it selfe whereof it is a sacrament, is receiued vnto life to all men, but vnto destruction to no man, whosoever is partaker of

Libr. 4.
de que-
sti. vet.
testam.
Libr. 5.
de bap.
contra
Donat.
cap. 24.

de bap.
paruu.
In psal.
77.

In Ioh.
Homel.
28.

it. And a little before he had said, He shall not dy which eateth: but he which pertaineth to the power of the sacrament, not to the visible sacrament: which eateth within, not without: which eateth with hart, not he which presseth with tooth. Thus you heare euery where, that a sacrament is so seuered from his owne truth by the vnworthinesse of the receiuer, that there remaineth nothing but a vaine and vnprofitable figure. But that thou maist haue not a signe void of truth: but the thing with the signe, thou must conceiue by faith the word which is there enclosed. So howe much thou shalt by the sacraments profite in communicating of Christ, so much profite shalt thou take of them.

16 If this be somewhat darke because of the shortenesse, I will set it out in mo wordes. I say that Christ is the matter, or (if thou wilt) the substance of all sacraments: forasmuch as in him they haue all their perfectnesse, and do promise nothing without him. So much lesse tolerable is the error of Peter Lombard, which doth expressly make them causes of righteousnesse and saluation, whereof they be partes. Therefore bidding all causes farewell which mans wit doth faine to it selfe, we ought to stay in this one cause. Therefore howe much we be by their ministry holpen to the nourishing, confirming, and encreasing of the true knowledge of Christ in vs, and to the possessing of him more fully, and to the enioying of his riches, so much effectualnesse they haue with vs. But that is done when we do with true faith receiue that which is there offered. Do the wicked then (wilt thou say) bring to passe by their vnthankfulnesse, that the ordinance of God be void and turne to nothing? I aunswer that that which I haue said, is not so to be taken, as though the force and truth of the sacrament did hang vpon the state or will of him that receiueth it. For that which God hath ordeined remaineth stedfast and kepeth still his nature, howsoever men do varie. But sith it is one thing to offe, an other to receiue: nothing withstandeth but that the signe halowed by the word of God may be in dede that which it is called, and kepe his owne force: and yet that there come thereby no profit to an euell doer and wicked man. But Augustine doth in fewe wordes well assoile this question. If (saith he) thou receauest carnally, it ceaseth not to be spirituall: but it is not to thee. But as Augustine hath in the aforesaid places shewed that a sacrament is a thing nothing worth, if it be seuered from the truth thereof: so in an other place he geueth warning that euen in the very conioining needeth a distinction, least we sticke to much in the outward signe. As (saith he) to followe the letter, and to take the signes in steede of

Lib. 4.
senten.
dist. 1.

Homel.
in Ioh
26.

Lib. 3.
de doct.
Christ.
cap. 9.

the

the things, is a point of a seruile weakenesse: so to expounde the signes vnprofitably is a point of euell wandring error. He nameth two faultes which are here to be auoided: The one when we so take the signes as though they were geuen in vaine, and when with abacing or diminishing their secrete significations by our enuiousnesse, we bring to passe that they bring vs no profite at all. The other, when in not raising our mindes beyonde the visible signe, we geue away to the sacrament the praise of all those good things which are not geuen vs but of Christ onely, and that by the Holy Ghost, which maketh vs partakers of Christ himselte: and in deede by the helpe of the outwarde signes: which if they allure vs to Christ, when they be wrested an other way, the whole profite of them is vnworthily ouerthrowen.

17 Wherefore let this remaine certaine, that there is no other office of the sacraments than of the word of God: which is to offer and set forth Christ vnto vs, and in him the treasures of heauenly grace: but they auaille or profit nothing, but beinge receiued by faith: euen as wine, or oile, or any other liquor, though you poure it on largely, yet it will runne beside & perish, vnlesse the vessels mouth be open to receiue it, and the vessell though it be wette rounde about on the outside, shall neuerthelesse remaine emptie and voide within. Beside this we must beware, least those things which haue bene writte by the olde writers somewhat to gloriously to amplifie the dignitie of sacraments, should leade vs away into an error nere to this: namely that we shoulde thinke that there is some secret power knit and fastened to the sacraments, that they may of themselues geue vs the graces of the Holy Ghost, like as wine is geuen in a cup: whereas onely this office is appointed to them by God, to testifie and stablisch to vs the good will of God toward vs, and do profite no further vnlesse the Holy Ghost ioine himselte to them, which may open our mindes and hartes, and make vs partakers of this testimonie, wherein also do clerely appere diuers and seuerall graces of God. For the sacraments, as we haue aboue touched, are that thing to vs of God, which to men are messangers of ioyfull things, or earnestes in stablishing of bargaines: which do not of themselues geue any grace, but do tell and shewe vs, and (as they be earnestes and tokens,) do ratifie vnto vs those things that are geuen vs by the liberalitie of God. The Holy Ghost (whom the sacraments do not in comon without difference bring to all men, but whom the Lorde peculiarly geueth to them that be his) is he that bringeth the graces of God with him, which geueth to the sacraments place in vs, which maketh them to

bring forth fruit. But although we do not denie that God himselfe with the most present power of his Spirit is present with his owne institution, least the ministration which he hath ordeined of the sacraments should be fruitlesse & vaine: yet we affirme that the inward grace of the Spirit, as it is seuered from the outward ministerie, so ought to be seuerally weyed and considered. God therefore truly performeth in deede whatsoeuer he promiseth and figureth in signes: neither do the signes want their effect, that the author of them may be proued true and faithfull. The question here is onely whether God worketh by his owne and by inward power (as they call it) or do resigne his office to outward signes. But we affirme, that whatsoeuer instruments he vse, his originall working is nothing hindered thereby. When this is taught concerning the sacraments, both their dignitie is honorably set out, and their vse is plainly shewed, and their profitableness is abundantly reported, and the best meane in all these things is reteined, that neither any thing be geuen to them which ought not, nor againe any thing be taken from them which is not cōuenient to be taken from them. In the meane time that fained deuise is taken away, whereby the cause of iustification and power of the Holy Ghost is enclosed in elements as in vessels or waggons, and that principall force which hath bene omitted of other is expressly set out. Here also it is to be noted, that God inwardly worketh that which the minister figureth and testifieth by outward doing: least that be drawn to a mortall man, which God claimeth to himselfe alone. The same thing also doth Augustine wisely touch. Howe (saith he) doth both Moses sanctifie, and God? Not Moses for God: but Moses with visible sacraments by his ministerie, but God with inuisible grace by his holy Spirit: where also is the whole fruit of visible sacraments. For without this sanctification of inuisible grace, what do those visible sacraments profite?

18 The name of sacramēt, as we haue hether to entreated of the nature of it, doth generally containe all the signes that euer God gaue to men, to certifie and assure them of the truth of his promises. Those he sometime willed to remaine in naturall things, sometime he deliuered them in miracles. Of the first kinde these be examples, as when he gaue to Adam and Eue, the tree of life for an earnest of immortalitie, that they might assure themselves of it, so long as they did eate of the frute thereof. And when he did set the heavenly boaw for a monument to Noe and his posteritie, that he would no more from thence forth destroy the earth with ouerflowing of water. These Adam and Noe had for sacraments. Not that the tree did
geue

Questi.
vet. te
stam li
3. cap.
84.

Gen. 2.
17. and
3-3
Gen. 9
13.

geue them immortalitie, which it could not geue to it selfe : nor that the Boawe (which is but a striking backe of a sunbeame vpon the cloudes against it) was of force to hold in the waters : but because they had a marke grauen in them by the word of God, that they should be examples and scales of his testaments. And the tree was a tree before, and the boawe a boawe. When they were written vpon with the word of God, then a newe forme was put into them, that they shoulde begin to be that which they were not before. That no man should thinke these things spoken without cause, the boawe it selfe is at this day also a witnesse of that couenant, which God made with Noe: which boawe so ofte as we beholde, we reade this promise of God wrytten in it, that the earth shall neuer be destroyed with ouerflowing of waters. Therefore if any fonde Philosopher, to scorne the simplicitie of our faith, do affirme that such varietie of colours doth naturally arise of reflected beames and a cloude set against them: let vs graunt it in deede, but let vs laugh to scorne his senselesse follie, which doth not acknowledge God the Lorde and gouernor of nature : which at his owne will vseth all the elements to the seruice of his owne glory. If he had emprinted such tokens in the sunne, the starres, the earth, stones, and such like, they should all haue bene sacraments to vs. Why are not vncoined and coined siluer both of one value, sith they are both one metall? euen because the one hath nothing but nature : when it is striken with a common marke, it is made money, and receiueth a newe valuation. And shall not God be able to marke his creatures with his word, that they may be made sacraments, which before were naked elemēts? Of the second kinde these were examples, when he shewed to Abraham a light in a smoking Gen. 15. ouen : when he watered the flece with dewe, the earth remaining 17. dry : againe he watered the earth, the flece being vntouched, to promise victory to Gedeon: when he drew the shadowe of the diall 6. 37. ix. lines backward, to promise safety to Ezechias. These things, when 2. King. 20. 9. they were done to relieue and stablish the weakenesse of their faith, Esa. 38. were then also sacraments. 7.

19 But our presente purpose is, to discourse peculiarly of those sacraments, which the Lorde willed to be ordinarie in his Church, to nourishe his worshippers and seruantes into one faith and the confession of one faith. For (to vse the wordes of Augustine) men can be congeled together into no name of religion either true or false, vnlesse they be bounde together with some felloship of visible signes and sacramentes. Sith therefore the most good Father foresawe this necessitie, he did from the beginning ordeine certaine

Libr. 9.
contra.
Faust.
Manic.
cap. 11.

exercifes of godlineffe for his feruantes, which afterwarde Satan by turning them to wicked and ſuperſtitious worſhippings, hath many wayes depraued and corrupted. Hereupon came thoſe ſolemne profeſſions of the Gentiles into their holy orders, and other baſtarde vſages: which although they were full of error and ſuperſtition, yet they alſo were therewith a profe that men could not in profeſſion of religion be without ſuch outward ſignes. But becauſe they neither were grounded vppon the word of God, nor were referred to that trueth whereunto all ſignes ought to be directed, they are vnworthy to be rehearſed where mention is made of the holy ſignes which are ordeined of God and haue not ſwarued from their fundation, that is, that they ſhould be helpees of true godlineffe. They conſiſt not of bare ſignes, as were the boawe and the tree, but vpon Ceremonies: or rather the ſignes that be here geuen are Ceremonies. But as it is aboue ſaid, that they be on the Lorde behalfe teſtimonies of grace and ſaluation: ſo they be againe on our behalfe markes of profeſſion, by which we openly ſweare to the name of God, for our partes binding our faith vnto him. Therefore Chriſtoſtome in one place fitly calleth them couenantinges whereby God bindeth himſelfe in league with vs, and we be bounde to pureneſſe and holineſſe of life, becauſe here is made a mutuall forme of couenancing betweene God and vs. For as the Lorde therein promiſeth that he will cancell and blot out whatſoeuer guiltineſſe and penaltie we haue gathered by offending, and doth reconcile vs to himſelfe in his onely begotten Sonne: ſo we againe on our behalves do by this profeſſion binde our ſelues vnto him to the following of Godlineſſe and innocence: ſo that a man may rightly ſay that ſuch ſacraments are Ceremonies, by which God will exerciſe his people firſt to the nourishing, ſtirring vp, and ſtrengthening of Faith inwardly, then to the teſtifying of religion before men.

20 And euen theſe ſacraments alſo were diuerſe, after the diuerſe order of time, according to the diſtribution whereby it pleaſeth the Lorde to ſhewe himſelfe after this or that maner to men. For to Abraham and his poſteritie Circumciſion was commaunded: whereunto afterwarde purifyings, and Sacrifices, and other Ceremonies were added out of the lawe of Moſes. Theſe were the Sacraments of the Iewes vntill the comming of Chriſt: at whiche comming, thoſe beinge abrogate, two Sacramentes were ordeined, which nowe the Chriſtian Church vſeth, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lorde. I ſpeake of thoſe that were ordeined for the vſe of the whole Church. For as for the laying on of handes, whereby the miniſters

of the Church are entred into their office, as I do not vnwillingely suffer it to be called a Sacrament, so I do not reckon it among the ordinary Sacramentes. As for the rest which are commonly called Sacraments, what they are to be accompted, we shal see by and by. Howbeit the old Sacraments also had respect to the same marke, wherunto ours do tende, that is, to direct and in a maner leade by the hande to Christ: or rather as images to represent him, and shew him foorth to be knowen. For whereas we haue already taught, that they are certaine seales wherewith the promises of God are sealed: and where it is most certaine, that there was neuer offered any promise of God to me but in Christ: that they may teach vs of some promise of God, they must nedes shewe Christ. Whereunto pertaineth that heauenly paterne of the tabernacle and of the worshippinge in the law, which was giuen to Moses in the mount. One onely difference there is, that those did shadow out Christ being promised, whē he was yet looked for: these do testifie him already giuen and deliuered.

21 When these things shall all be particularly and eche one seuerally declared, they shalbe made much plainer. Circumcision was to the Iewes a signe, whereby they were put in minde, that whatsoever commeth of the seede of man, that is to say the whole nature of mā, is corrupt, and hath neede of proynge. Moreover it was a teaching, and token of remembrance, whereby they shoulde confirme themselves in the promise giuen to Abraham, concerninge that blessed seede in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, from whom they hadde their owne blessinge to be looked for, Now that healthfull seede (as we are taught of Paule) was Christ, in whom alone they hoped that they shoulde recouer that which they had lost in Adam. Wherefore Circumcision was to thē the same thing which Paule saith that it was to Abraham, namely the seale of the righteousness of Faith: that is to say, the seale whereby they should be more certainly assured, that their Faith, wherewith they looked for that seede, shoulde be accompted to them of God for righteousnesse. But we shall vpon a better occasion in an other place go through with the comparison of Circumcision and Baptisme. Baptisings and purifyinges did set before their eies their owne vncleannes, filthines and pollution, wherwith they were defiled in their owne nature: but they promised an other washinge, whereby all their filthinesse should be wiped and washed away. And this washinge was Christ, with whose blood we being washed do bring his cleannes into the sight of God, that it may hide all our defilings. Their Sacrifices did accuse them of their owne wickednesse, and therewithall did teach, that it was neces-

1. Cor. 1
20.Gen. 23
28.Gala. 3.
6.
Rom. 4.
11.Hebr. 9.
1.1. Ioh. 1
7.Reue. 1.
5.

Heb. 4. 14. & 5. 5. & 9. 11. Phi. 2. 8. Rom. 5. 19. sary that there shoulde be some satisfaction which should be payd to the iudgemēt of God. That therfore there should be some one chief Bishop, a mediatour betwene God and men, which shoulde satisfie God by sheding of blood, and by offering of a Sacrifice which shoulde suffice for the forgiuenes of sinnes. This chiefe Priest was Christ: he himselfe shed his owne blood: he himselfe was the Sacrifice: for he offered himselfe obedient to his Father vnto death: by which obedience he tooke away the disobedience of man, which had prouoked the displeasure of God.

22 As for our Sacramentes, they do so much more clearly present Christ vnto vs, as he was more neerely shewed to men, since he hath bin truly deliuered of his Father such as he had bin promised. For Baptisme doth testifie vnto vs that we are cleansed and washed, the Supper of thankesgiuing testifieth that we be redeemed. In water, is figured washing: in blood, satisfaction. These two things are found in Christ, which (as Iohn saith) came in water and blood, that is to say that he might cleanse and redeeme. Of which thing the Spirit of God also is a witnesse. Yea there are three witnessess in one, Water, Blood, and Spirit. In water and blood we haue a testimonie of cleansing and redeeminge: but the Spirit the principall witnesse bringeth vnto vs assured credit of such witnessinge. This hie mystery hath notably well bin shewed vs in the crosse of Christ, when water & blood flowed out of his holy side: which side for that cause Augustin rightfully called the fountaine of our Sacramentes: of which yet we must entreate somewhat more at large. There is no dout but that more plentifull grace also of the Spirit doth here shewe forth it selfe if you compare time with time. For that pertaineth to the glory of the kingdom of Christ, as we gather out of many places, but specially out of the 7. Chapter of Iohn. In which sense we must take that sayinge of Paule, that vnder the law were shadowes, but in Christ is the body. Neither is it his meaning to spoyle of their effect the testimonies of grace, in which Gods will was in the olde time to proue himselfe to the Fathers a true speaker, euen as at this day he doth to vs in Baptisme and in the holy Supper. But onely his purpose was by way of comparison to magnifie that which was giuen vs, least any shoulde thinke it maruelous, that the Ceremonies of the law were abolished by the comming of Christ.

23 But that same schoole doctrine (as I may also briefly touch this by the way) is vtterly to be hissed out, whereby there is noted so great a difference betwene the Sacraments of the olde and new law, as though those did nothinge but shadow out the grace of God, and these

these do presently giue it. For the Apostle speaketh no lesse honorably of those thā of these, when he teacheth that the Fathers did eate the same spirituall meate which we eate, and expoundeth that same meate to be Christ. Who dare make that an empty signe, which deliuered to the Iewes a true communion of Christ? And the ground of the cause which the Apostle there handeleth, doth plainly fight on our side. For, that no man trusting vpon a colde knowledge of Christ, and empty title of Christianity, and outward tokens, should presume to despise the iudgement of God: he sheweth foorth examples of Gods seuerity to be seene in the Iewes: that we shoulde knowe that the same paines which they haue suffred, hang ouer vs, if we followe the same faultes. Now that the comparison might be fit, it behoued that he shoulde shewe that there is no vnegallnesse betwene vs and them in those good things whereof he did forbid vs to boast falsely. Therefore first he maketh vs egall in the Sacramentes, and leaueth to vs not so much as any small peece of prerogatiue, that might encourage vs to hope of escapinge vnpunished. Neitheir verely is it lawfull to giue any more to our Baptisme, than he in an other place giueth to circumcision, when he calleth it the seale of the righteousness of Faith. Whatsoeuer therefore is at this day giuen vs in our Sacramentes, the same thing the Iewes in old time receiued in theirs. that is to say, Christ with his spirituall richesse. What power our Sacramentes haue, the same they also felt in theirs: that is to say, that they were to them seales of Gods good will towards them, into the hope of eternall saluation. If they had bin apt expositors of the Epistle to the Hebrues, they woulde not haue so bin blinded. But when they read there, that sinnes were not cleansed by the Ceremonies of the law, yea that the olde shadowes had no auailing force to righteousness: they neglectinge the comparison which is there handeled, while they tooke holde of this one thing, that the law of it selfe nothing profited the folowers of it, thought simply that the figures were voide of trueth. But the Apostles meaning is to bring the ceremonial law to nothing, vntill it come to Christ, vpon whom alone hangeth al the effectualnesse of it.

24 But they will obiekt those thinges which are red in Paul concerning the circumcision of the letter, that it is in no estimation with God, that it giueth nothing, that it is vaine. For such sayings seeme to presse it downe farre beneth Baptisme. Not so. For the very same might rightfully be sayd of Baptisme. Yea and also the same is sayd, first of Paule himselfe, where he sheweth that God regardeth not the outward washing whereby we enter into profession of religion, vn-

1. Cor.
10.3.Rom. 4.
11.He. 10.
1.1. Cor.
10.5.

1. Pet. 3.
21.
Colo. 2.
11.

lesse the minde within be both cleansed and continue in cleanness to the ende : againe of Peter, when he testifieth that the trueth of Baptisme standeth not in the outward washing, but in a good witnessing, of conscience. But he seemeth also in an other place vtterly to despise the circumcision made with hand, when he compareth it with the circumcision of Christ. I answered that euen in this place nothing is abated of the dignitie of it. Paule there disputeth against them, which required it as necessary when it was now abrogate. Therefore he warneth the faithfull, that leauing the olde shadowes they should stande fast in the trueth. These maisters (sayth he) instantly call vpon you, that your bodies may be circumcised. But ye are spiritually circumcised according to the soule and body. Ye haue therefore the deliuerance of the thinge in deede, which is much better than the shadowe. A man might take exception to the contrary and say that the figure is not therefore to be despised because they hadde the thing in deede : forasmuch as the putting of of the olde man of which he there spake, was also among the Fathers, to whom yet outwarde Circumcision hadde not bin superfluous. He preuenteth this obiection, whē he by & by addeth, that the Colossians were buried with Christ by Baptisme. Whereby he signifieth that at this day Baptisme is the same to Christians, which circumcision was to the olde people : and therefore that circumcision can not be enioined to Christians without wrong done to Christ.

25 But that which followeth and which I euen nowe alleaged, is harder to assoyle, that all the Iewishe Ceremonies were shadowes of things to come, and that in Christ is the body : but most hard of all is that which is entreated in many chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrewes, that the blood of beastes, attained not to consciences : that the law had a shadow of good thinges to come, not an image of thinges : that the folowers of it obtained no perfectiō of y Ceremonies of Moses : and such other. I go backe to that which I haue already touched, that Paule doth not therefore make the Ceremonies shadowish, because they had no sounde thing in them : but because the fuffillinge of them was after a certaine manner hanged in suspense vntill the deliueringe of Christ. Againe I say that this is to be vnderstanded not of the effectualnesse, but rather of the maner of signifying. For til Christ was manifestly shewed in the flesh, all the signes did shadow him out as absent, howe soeuer he did inwardly vtter to the faithfull the presence of his power and of himselfe. But this we ought chiefly to marke, that in all those places Paule doth not speake simply, but by way of contention. Because he strued with the falsē Apostles, which would

would haue godlinesse to consist in the Ceremonies onely without any respect of Christ:to confute them,it sufficed onely to entreate,of what value Ceremonies are by themselves. This marke also the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues followed.Let vs therefore remember that here is disputed of Ceremonies,not as they be taken in their owne and naturall signification , but as they be wrested to a false and wrongfull exposition: not of the lawfull vse of them, but of the abuse of superstition . What maruell is it therefore if Ceremonies beinge seuered from Christ,are vncllothed of all force ? For all signes whatsoever they be,are brought to nought,when the thing signified is taken away. So when Christ had to do with them which thought that Manna was nothinge else but meate for the belly , he applieth his speeche to their grosse opinion , and sayth that he ministreth better meate,which may feede soules to hope of immortality. But if you require a plainer solution,the summe of all tendeth to this:First,that al that furniture of Ceremonies,which was in the law of Moses,is a vanishinge thinge and of no value,vnlesse it be directed to Christ. Secondly,that they so had respect to Christ,that when he at length was manifestly shewed in the fleshe,they had their fulfillinge.Finally that it behoued that they shoulde be taken away by his comminge,euen as a shadow vanisheth away in the cleare light of y sunne.But because I do yet differre longer discourse of that matter vnto that place where I haue purposed to compare Baptisme with circumcision,therefore I do now more sparingly touch it.

26 Perhaps also those immeasurable praises of the Sacramentes, which are read in the olde writers concerninge our signes,deceiued those miserable Sophisters.As this of Augustine. That the Sacraments of the olde law did only promise the Sauour, but ours do giue saluation. When they marked not that these & such other formes of speaking were spoken:they also published their excessiue doctrines,but in a cleane contrary sense from the wrytinge of the olde Fathers . For Augustine meant no other thinge in that place, than as the same Augustine wryteth in an other place, That the Sacramentes of the law of Moses did foretell of Christ, but ours do tell of him present. And against Faustus. That those were promises of thinges to be fulfilled,these were tokens of thinges fulfilled: as if he shoulde say, that those figured him whē he was looked for, but ours do as it were shew him present which hath bin already deliuered.Moreouer he speaketh of the maner of signifyinge,as also he sheweth in an other place. The lawe(sayth he) and the Prophetes had Sacramentes , foretellinge of a thing to come:but the Sacramentes of our time do testifie that that

Iohn.6.
27.

In pro.
em c.
narr pl.
73.
quest.
super
numer.
cap. 33.
Libr. 9.
cap. 14.

Li.2.c8.
lit.petil
cap.37.

is already come, which those did declare to be to come. But what he thought of the thinge and effectuallnesse, he expoundeth in many places: as when he sayth, that the Sacramentes of the Iewes were in signes, diuerse: but in the thing signified, egal with ours: diuerse in visible forme, but egal in spiritual power. Againe: In diuerse signes is all one Faith: so in diuerse signes, as in diuerse wordes: because wordes change their soundes by times: and truely wordes are nothinge but signes. The Fathers did drinke the same spirituall drinke, for they dronke not the same bodily drinke. See ye therfore, Faith remaining one, the signes varied. To them the rocke was Christ: to vs that is Christ which is set vppon the altar. And they dronke for a great Sacramēt, the water flowing out of the rocke: what we drinke, the faithfull knowe. If thou consider the visible forme, they dronke an other thing: if an vnderstandable signification, they dronke the same spiritual drinke. In an other place, in the myttery the same is their meate and drinke which is ours: but the same in signification, not in forme: because the selfe same Christ was figured to them in the rocke, & shewed to vs in the flesh. Howebeit in this behalfe also we graunt that there is some difference. For both Sacramentes do testifie that the fatherly good will of God and the graces of the holy Ghost are offered vs in Christ: but our Sacraments testify it more clearly & brightly. In both is a deliuering of Christ: but in these more plenteous and fuller, namely as that difference of the olde and new Testament beareth, of which we haue entreated before. And this is it that the same Augustine meant (whom we more oftē alleage as the best & faithfullest witnesse of all the olde writers) where he teacheth, that when Christ was reuealed, Sacramentes were ordained both in number fewer, in signification hier, in force more excellent. Of this thing also it is expedient y the readers briefly be warned, that whatsoeuer the Sophisters haue triflingly taught concerning y worke wrought, is not onely false, but disagreeeth with the nature of the Sacramentes, which God hath ordained, that the faithfull beinge voide and needy of all good thinges should bringe nothing thither but beggery. Whereupon followeth that in receiuing them, these men do nothinge whereby they may deserue praise: or that in this doinge (which in their respect is merely passiue) no worke can be ascribed vnto them.

Homil.
In Ioh.
36.

In psal.
77.
Lib. 9.
con. fau.
cap. 13.

de doct.
Christ.
Lib. 3.
Epi. ad
Iann.

The xv. Chapter.

Of Baptisme.

Baptisme is a signe of the entringe wherewith we are receiued into the felowship of y^e Church, that beinge grafted into Christ we may be reckened amonge the children of God. Now it was giuen vs of God to this end, (which I haue taught to be common to all the mysteries) first, that it shoulde serue to our Faith with him, and to our confession before menne. We will orderly declare the manner of both purposes. Baptisme bringeth three thinges to our Faith, which also must be seuerally entreated of. This is the first which the Lord setteth out vnto vs, that it shoulde be a token and prooffe of our cleansing: or (to expresse my minde better) it is like to a certaine sealed charter, whereby he confirmeth vnto vs, that all our sinnes are so defaced, cancelled, and blotted out, that they may neuer come in his sight, not be rehearsed, not be imputed. For he willet h^e y^e all they that beleue, should be baptised into forgiuenes of sinnes. Therefore they which thought that baptisme is nothinge else but a marke and token wherby we professe our religion before men, as souldiars beare the conuance of their capitaine for a marke of their profession, wey not that which was the chiefe thing in baptisme. That is this, that we should receiue it with this promise, that whosoever beleue & are baptised, shalbe saued. Mar. 16
16.

2 In this sense is that to be vnderstoode which Paule writeth, that the Church is sanctified of Christ her spouse, and cleansed with washing of water in the word of life. And in an other place, that we are saued according to his mercy by the washing of regeneration and of the renewing of the holy Ghost. And that which Peter writeth, that baptisme saueth vs. For Paules will was not to signifie, that our washing and saluation is perfectly made by water, or that water containeth in it selfe the power to cleanse, regenerate, & renew. Neither did Peter meane the cause of saluation, but onely the knowledge and certaynetie of such giftes to be receiued in this Sacramente: which is evidently enough expresse in the wordes themselues. For Paule knitteth together the worde of life, and baptisme of water: as if he had said, that by the Gospell the message of washing and sanctifyinge is brought vs, that by baptisme such message is sealed. And Peter immediatly adioyneth, that that baptisme is not the putting away of the filthinesse of the flesh, but a good conscience before God, which is of Fayth. Yea baptisme promisseth vs no other cleansing, but by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ: which is figured by water, Eph. 5.
26.
Tit. 3. 5.
1. Pet. 3.
22.

for the likenesse of cleansinge and washinge. Who therefore can say that we be cleansed by this water, which certainly testifieth that the blood of Christ is our true and only washing? So that from no where else can be fetched a surer reason to cōfute their blinde error which referre all thinges to the power of the water, than from the signification of Baptisme it selfe: which doth withdraw vs as well from that visible element which is set before our eies, as from all other meanes, that it may binde our mindes to Christ alone.

3 Neither is it to be thought that Baptisme is applied only to the time past, that for new fallinges, into which we fall backe after Baptisme, we must seeke new remedies of cleansing in I wote not what other Sacramentes, as though the force of Baptisme were worne out of vse. By this error it came to passe in old time, that some would not be Baptised but in the vttermoſt perill of life, & at their last gaspings, that so they might obtaine pardon of their whole life. Against which waywarde futtle prouision the old Bishops so oft inuey in their wraytinges. But thus we ought to thinke, that at what time soeuer we be Baptised, we are at once washed and cleansed for all our life. Therefore so oft as we fall we must go backe to the remembrance of Baptisme, & therewith we must arme our minde, that it may be alway certaine & assured of the forgiuenes of sinnes. For though when it is once ministred, it seemeth to be past, yet by later sinnes it is not abolished. For the cleannes of Christ is therein offred vs: that alway flourisheth, is oppressed with no spottes, but ouerwhelmeth & wipeth away all our filthinesse: yet ought we not to take thereof a liberty to sinne in time to come (as verily we be not hereby armed to such boldnes) but this doctrine is giuen only to them, which when they haue sinned, do grone wried & oppressed vnder their sinnes, that they may haue wherewith they may raise vp and comfort themselues, least they should fall into confusion and desperation. So Paul saith, that Christ was made to vs a propitiator, vnto the forgiuenes of fautes going before. Wherein he he denieth not that therein is obtained perpetuall & continuall forgiuenes of sinnes euen vnto death: but he meaneth that it was giue of the Father, onely to poore sinners, which wounded with the searinge iron of conscience, do sigh to y^e Phisitian. To these the mercy of God is offred. They which by escaping of punishment do hunt for matter & liberty to sinne, do nothinge but prouoke to themselues the wrath and iudgement of God.

4 I know in dede that it is commonly thought otherwise, that by the benefite of repentance and of the keies we do after Baptisme obtaine forgiuenes, which at our first regeneration is giuen vs by onely Baptisme

Baptisme. But they which deuise this do erre herein that they do not remember that the power of the keies, whereof they speake, doth so hang vpon Baptisme that it ought in no wise to be seuered. The sinner receiueth forgiveness by the ministry of the Church, namely not without the preaching of the Gospell. But what maner of preaching is that? That we be cleansed from sinnes by the blood of Christ. But what signe and testimony is there of that washing, but Baptisme? We see therefore howe that absolution is referred to Baptisme. And this error hath bred vs the fained Sacrament of penance: of which I haue touched somewhat before, and the residue I will make an ende of in place fit for it. But it is no maruel if men, which according to the grossenesse of their witte were immeasurably fast tied to outward thinges, haue in this behalfe also bewrayed that fault, that not contented with the pure institution of God, they did thrust in newe helpes fained of themselues. As though Baptisme it selfe were not a Sacrament of repentance. But if repentance be commended to vs for our whole life, the force also of Baptisme ought to be extended to the same boundes. Wherefore it is also no dout but that all the godly throughout al their life long, so oft as they be vexed with knowledge in conscience of their owne sinnes, dare call backe themselues to the remembrance of Baptisme, that thereby they may confirme theselues in the affiance of that only and continuall washing which we haue in the blood of Christ.

5 It bringeth also an other frute, because it sheweth vs our mortification in Christ, & new life in him. For (as the Apostle saith) we are baptised into his death, being buried together with him into death, that we may walke in newnesse of life. By which wordes he doth not only exhorde vs to the followinge of him (as though he did say, that we are by Baptisme put in mind, that after a certaine example of the death of Christ, we should die to our lustes: and after the example of his resurrection, we should be raised vp to righteousness) but he fetcheth the matter much deeper: that is to say, that by Baptisme Christ hath made vs partakers of his death, that we may be grafted into it. And as the grasse receiueh substance and nourishment of the roote into which it is grafted: so they that receiue Baptisme with such faith as they ought, do truly feeble the effectuallnes of the death of Christ in the mortifyinge of their flesh: and therewithall also they feeble the effect of his resurrection in the quickeninge of the Spirit. Hereupon he gathereth matter of exhortation: that if we be Christians, we ought to be dead to sinne, and to liue to righteousness. This selfe same argument he vseth in an other place: that we be circumcised, and haue

Ro. 6. 3.

Colo. 2.

12.

Tit. 3. 5. put of the olde man, since that we be buried in Christ by Baptisme. And in this sense, in the same place which we haue before alleaged, he called it the washing of regeneration & of renewinge. Therefore first free forgiuenesse of sinnes & imputation of righteousnes is promised vs, & then the grace of the holy Ghost, which may reforme vs into newnesse of life.

Matt. 3. 13. 6 Last of all our Faith receiueth also this profit of Baptisme, that it certainly testifieth vnto vs, that we are not onely grafted into the death and life of Christ, but that we are so vnited to Christ himselfe that we are partakers of all his good things. For therefore he hath dedicated and hallowed Baptisme in his owne body, that he might haue it common with vs, as a most strong bonde of the vnity and fellowshippe which he vouchsafed to enter into with vs: so that Paule proueth therby that we be the children of God, because we haue put on Christ in baptisme. So we see that the fulfilling of baptisme is in Christ, whom also for this reason we call the proper object of baptisme. Therefore it is no maruell if it be reported that the Apostles baptised into his name, which yet were commaunded to baptise into the name of the Father also and of the holy Ghost. For whatsoever giftes of God are set forth in baptisme, are founde in Christ alone. And yet it can not be, but that he which baptiseth into Christ, do therewithall call vppon the name of the Father and of the holy Ghost. For we are therefore cleansed with his blood, because the mercifull Father according to his incōparable kindnes, willing to receiue vs into fauour, hath set him a mediator in the midst, to procure to vs fauour with him. But regeneration we so only obtaine by his death and resurrection, if being sanctified by the Spirite we be endued with
Matt. 3. 6. a newe and spirituall nature. Wherefore both of our cleansing & regeneration: we obtaine & after a certaine maner distinctly perceiue
Luc. 3. 16. the cause in the Father, the matter in the Sonne, and the effect in the
Iohn. 3. 23. & 4. 1. holy Ghost. So Iohn first baptised, so afterward the Apostles, with the baptisme of repentance into the forgiuenesse of sinnes: meaninge by this word repentance, such regeneration: and by forgiuenes of sinnes, washing.

Act. 2. 38. 7 Wherby also it is made most certaine, that the ministry of Iohn was altogether the same which was afterward cōmitted to the Apostles. For the diuers handes wherewith it is ministred, make not the baptisme diuers: but the same doctrine sheweth it to be the same Baptisme. Iohn & the Apostles agreed into one doctrine: both baptised into repentance, both into the forgiuenesse of sinnes, both into the name of Christ, from whom was both repentance and forgiuenesse of sinnes.

finnes. Iohn said that he was the lambe of God, by whom the finnes of the world should be taken away: where he made him the Sacrifice acceptable to the Father, the propitiator of righteousness, the author of saluation. What could the Apostles adde to this confession? Wherefore let it trouble no man, that the olde writers labour to teuer the one frō the other, whose voice we ought not so much to esteeme that it may shake the certainty of the Scripture. For who will rather harken to Chrysostome denying that forgiveness of sinnes was comprehended in the baptisme of Iohn, than to Luke contrariwise affirminge that Iohn preached the baptisme of repentance into the forgiveness of sinne? Neither is that subtlety of Augustine to be received, that in the baptisme of Iohn, sinnes were forgiven in hope, but in the baptisme of Christ they are forgiven in dede. For whereas the Euangelist plainely testifieth, that Iohn in his baptisme promised the forgiveness of sinnes: what nede we to abate this title of commendation, whē no necessity compelleth vs vnto it? But if any man seke for a differēce out of the word of God, he shall find none other but this, that Iohn baptised into him that was to come, the Apostles into him that had already presented himselfe.

8 As for this that more abundant graces of the Spirite were poured out since the resurrection of Christ, it maketh nothing to stablish a diuersity of baptismes. For the Baptisme which the Apostles ministered while he was yet conuersant in earth, was called his: yet it had no larger plentifulnesse of the Spirite, than the baptisme of Iohn. Yea euen after his ascension, the Spirite was not giuen to the Samaritans aboue the common measure of the Faithfull before the ascension, although they were baptised into the name of Iesus, till Peter and Iohn were sent vnto them to lay their handes vpon them. This onely thinge, as I thinke, deceiued the olde wryters, that they sayd that the baptisme of Iohn was but a preparation to the baptisme of Christ, because they reade, that they were baptised againe of Paule, which had once receiued the baptisme of Iohn. But howe much they were herein deceiued, shall else where be plainely declared in place fit for it. What is it therefore that Iohn sayd, that he baptised in dede with water, but that Christ shoulde come which should baptise with the holy Ghost, and with fyre? This may in fewe wordes be asswoyled. For he meant not to put difference betwene the one baptisme and the other, but he cōpared his own person with the person of Christ, sayinge that himselfe was a minister of water, but that Christ was the giuer of the holy Ghost, and shoulde declare this power by visible miracle the same day that he shoulde sende the holy Ghost, to the

Homil.
in Matt.

14.

Luc. 3. 3

Li. 3. de

Baptis.

cont.

Donat.

cap. 10.

Luc. 3.

16.

Act. 19.

4.

Act. 8.

14.

Matt. 3.

11.

Act. 2. 3

Apostles vnder fyre tongues. What could the Apostles boast of more than this? What more coulde they also that baptise at this day? For they be only ministers of the outward signe, and Christ is the author of the inward grace: as the same olde writers themselves do euery where teach, & specially Augustine, whose principall stay against the Donatistes is this, that what a one soeuer he be, that baptiseth, yet only Christ is ruler of it.

9 These things which we haue spoken both of mortification and of washing, are shadowed out in the people of Israell, whom for the same cause the Apostle sayth to haue bin baptised in the cloude and in the sea. Mortifying was figured, when the Lord deliueringe them out of the hande of Pharaos and from cruell bondage, made for them a way through the redde sea, and drowned Pharaos himselfe, and the Egyptians their enemies, that followed them hard at their backs, and were euen in their neckes to ouertake them. For after the same maner also he promiseth to vs in baptisme, and by a signe giuen sheweth vs, that we are by his power brought forth and deliuered out of the thraldome of Egypt, that is to say, out of the bondage of sinne: that our Pharaos is drowned, that is to say the Deuill, although euen so also he ceaseth not to exercise & weary vs. But as that Egyptian was not throwen downe into the bottome of the sea, but being overthrowen on the shore, did yet with terrible sight make the Israelites afraid, but could not hurt them: so this our enemy yet in dede threatneth, sheweth his weapons, is felt, but can not overcome. In the cloud
 1. Cor. 10. 2. Exo. 14 21. was a signe of cleansinge. For as then the Lord couered them with a cloude cast ouer them, and gaue them refreshinge colde, least they should faint and pine away with to cruell burning of the sunne: so in baptisme we acknowledge our selues couered and defended with the blood of Christ, least the seuerity of God, which is in deede an intolerable flame, should lie vpon vs. But although this mystery was then darke and knowen to few: yet because there is none other way to obtaine saluation, but in those two graces, God woulde not take away the signe of them both from the olde Fathers, whom he had adopted to be heires.

10 Nowe it is cleare, howe false that is which some haue lately taught, and wherein some yet continue, that by Baptisme we be loosed and deliuered from original sinne, and from the corruption which was from Adam spread abroade into his whole posterity, and that we be restored into the same righteousnes and purenes of nature, which Adam shoulde haue obtained, if he had stand fast in the same vprightnesse wherein he was first created. For such kinde of teachers neuer
 vnderstoode

vnderstoode what was originall sinne, nor what was originall righteousness, nor what was the grace of baptisme. But we haue already proued, that originall sinne is the peruersenesse & corruption of our nature, which first maketh vs guilty of the wrath of God, & then also bringeth forth workes in vs, which the Scripture calleth the workes of the flesh. Therefore these two pointes are seuerally to be marked, Gala. 5. 19. namely that we being in all partes of our nature defiled and corrupted are already for such corruption only, holden worthily condemned and conuicted before God, to whom nothinge is acceptable but righteousness, innocence and cleannes. Yea & very infantes themselves bringe their owne damnation with them from their mothers wombe. Who, although they haue not yet brought forth the frutes of their iniquity, yet haue the seede thereof enclosed within the. Yea their whole nature is certaine seede of sinne, therefore it can not but be hatefull & abhominable to God. The faithfull are certified by baptisme that this damnation is taken away, and driuen from them: forasmuch (as we haue already said) the Lord doth by this signe promise vs that full & perfect forgiveness is graunted both of the fault which should haue bin imputed to vs, & of the paine which we should haue suffred for the fault: they take holde also of righteousness, but such as the people of God may obtaine in this life, that is to say by imputation only: because the Lord of his owne mercy taketh them for righteous and innocent.

II The other point is, that this peruersenesse neuer ceaseth in vs, but continually bringeth forth new frutes, namely those workes of the flesh which we haue before described: none otherwise thā a burning fornace continually bloweth out flame & sparckes, or as a spring infinitely casteth out water. For lust neuer vtterly dieth & is quenched in men, vntill being by death deliuered out of the body of death, they haue vtterly put of theselues. Baptisme in dede promiseth vs that our Pharaο is drowned, & the mortification of sinne: yet not so that it is no more, or may no more trouble vs, but onely that it may not ouercome vs. For so long as we liue enclosed within this prison of our body, the remnantes of sinne shall dwell in vs: but if we holde fast by faith the promise giuen vs of God in baptisme, they shall not beare rule nor reigne. But let no man deceiue himselfe: Let no man flatter himselfe in his owne euil, when he heareth that sinne alway dwelleth in vs. These things are not spoken to this ende, that they should carelessly slepe vpon their sinnes, which are otherwise too much enclined to sinne: but only, that they should not faint & be discouraged, which are tickled & pricked of their flesh. Let them rather thinke that they

are yet in the way, and let the beleue that they haue much profited, when they feele that there is daily somewhat minished of their lust, till they haue attained thither whither they trauaile, namely to the last death of their flesh, which shalbe ended in $\bar{y}$ dying of this mortal life. In the meane time let them not cesse both to striue valiantly, and to encourage them to go forward, and to stirre them vp to full victorie. For this also ought more to whet on their endeouours, that they see that after that they haue long trauailed, they haue yet no small businesse remaininge. This we ought to holde: we are baptised into the mortifyinge of our flesh, which is begon by baptisme in vs, which we daily follow: but it shalbe made perfect when we shall remoue out of this life to the Lord.

12 Here we say no other thing, than the Apostle Paule in the seuenth Chapter to the Romaines most clearly setteth out. For after that he had disputed of free righteousnes, because some wicked men did thereof gather, that we might liue after our owne lust, because we shoulde not be acceptable to God by the deseruinges of workes: he addeth, that all they that are clothed with the righteousnes of Christ, are therewith regenerate in Spirite, and that of this regeneration

Rom. 6. we haue an earnest in baptisme. Hereupon he exhorteth the faith-
 14. full, that they suffer not sinne to haue dominion in their members. Now because he knewe that there is alway some weakenesse in the faithfull: that they shoulde not therefore be discouraged, he adioyneth a comfort, that they are not vnder the lawe. Because againe it might seeme, that Christians might growe insolent, because they are not vnder the yoke of the law, he entreateth what maner of abrogating that is, and therewithall what is the vse of the law: which question he had now the second time differred: The summe is, that we be deliuered from the rigour of the lawe, that we shoulde cleaue to Christ: but that the office of the law is, that we being conuincd of our peruerseness, shoulde confesse our owne weakenesse and misery. Now forasmuch as that peruersenes of nature doth not so easily appeare in a prophane man, which followeth his owne lustes without feare of God: he setteth an example in a man regenerate, namely in himselfe. He saith therefore that he hath a continuall wrastring with the remnantes of his fleshe, and that he is holden bounde with miserable bondage, that he can not consecrate himselfe wholly to the obedience of the law of God. Therefore he is cōpelled with groning to crie out: Vnhappie am I. Who shall deluer me out of this body subiect to death? If the children of God be holden captiue in prison so long as they liue, they must nedes be much carefully griued with thinkinge vpon

upon their owne perill, vnlesse this feare be met withall. Therefore he adioyneth to this vse a comfort, that there is no more damnation to them that are in Christ Iesu. Where he teacheth, that they whom the Lord hath once receiued into fauour, engrafted into the communion of his Christ, hath by baptisme admitted into the fellowship of his Church, while they continue in the faith of Christ, although they be besieged of sinne, yea & cary sinne about within them, yet are acquitted from guiltines & condemnation. If this be the simple & natural exposition of Paul, there is no cause why we should seeme to teache any new vnwonted thing. Rom. 8.

13 But baptisme so serueth our confession before men. For it is a marke, whereby we openly professe that we woulde be accompted amonge the people of God: whereby we testifie that we agree with all Christians into the worshipping of one God & into one religion: finally wherby we openly affirme our faith: that not only our heartes shoulde breath out the praise of God, but also our tongue, and all the members of our body shoulde sounde it out with such vterances as they be able. For so, as we ought, all our things are employed to the seruice of the glory of God, whereof nothing ought to be voyd, and other may by our example be stirred vp to the same endeouours. Hereunto Paul had respect, when he asked the Corinthians, whether they had not bin baptised into the name of Christ: meaning verily, that euen in this that they were baptised into his name, they auowed themselves vnto him, swore to his name, & bounde their faith to him before men, that they coulde no more confesse any other, but Christ alone, vnles they would forsake the confession which they had made in baptisme. 1. Cor. 1.

14 Now sith it is declared what our Lord had regard vnto in the institution of baptisme: it is plaine to iudge what is the way for vs to vse and receiue it. For so farre as it is giuen to the raisinge, nourishing and confirming of our faith, it is to be taken as from the hande of the author himselfe: we ought to holde it certaine and fully persuaded, that it is he which speaketh to vs by the signe, that it is he which clenseth vs, washeth vs, & putterh away the remembrance of our sinnes, that it is he which maketh vs partakers of his death, which taketh away from Satan his kingdome, which febleth the forces of our lust, yea which groweth into one with vs, that being clothed with him we may be reckened the children of God: that these things, I say, he doth inwardly so truely & certainly performe to our soule, as we certainly see our body outwardly to be washed, dipped, and clothed. For this either relation, or similitude, is the most sure rule of Sacraments:

that in bodily thinges we should beholde spirituall thinges, as if they were presently set before our eies, forasmuch as it hath pleased the Lorde to represent them by such figures: not for that such graces are bounde and enclosed in the Sacrament, that they should be giuen vs by the force thereof: but only because the Lorde doth by this token testifie his will vnto vs, that is, that he will giue vs all these thinges, Neither doth he onely feede our eyes with a naked sight, but he bringeth vs to the thing present, and together fullfilleth that which it figureth.

15 Hereof let Cornelius the capitaine be an example, which was
A& 10. baptised, hauinge before receiued forgiuenesse of sinnes and visible
48. graces of the holy Ghost: seeking not by baptisme a larger forgiuenes
but a more certaine exercising of Faith, yea an encrease of confidence
by a pledge. Paraduerture some man will obiekt: why therefore did
A& 9. Ananias say to Paule, that he shoulde washe away his sinnes by bap-
17. tisme, if sinnes be not washed away by the power of baptisme it selfe?
I aunswere: We are sayd to receiue, to obtaine, to get that which so
farre as concerneth the feeling of our faith, is giuen vs of the Lorde,
whether he do then first testifie it, or beinge testified doth more and
certainelier confirme it. This therefore onely was the meaninge of
Ananias: that thou mayest be assured, Paule, that thy sinnes are for-
giuen thee, be baptised. For the Lorde doth in baptisme promise
forgiuenesse of sinnes: receiue this, and be out of care. Howebeit I
meane not to diminishe the force of baptisme, but that the thinge
and the trueth is present with the signe, so farre as God worketh by
outwarde meanes. But of this Sacrament, as of all other, we obtaine
nothinge but so much as we receiue by Faith. If we want fayth, it
shalbe for a witnesse of our vnthankfullnes, wherby we may be de-
clared guilty before God, because we haue not beleued the promise
there giuen. But so farre as it is a signe of our confession, we ought
by it to testifie that our affiance is in the mercie of God, and our
cleannesse is in the forgiuenesse of sinnes, which is gotten vs by Ie-
sus Christ: and that by it we enter into the Church of Christ, that
we may with one consent of Faith and charitie liue of one minde
with all the faithfull. This last point didde Paule meane, when he
sayeth that we are all baptised in one Spirite, that we may be one
body.

1. Cor.
12. 13.

16 Nowe if this be true which we determine, that a Sacrament is
not to be weyed accordinge to his hande of whom it is ministred, but
as of the very hande of God, from whom without dout it proceeded:
hereupon we may gather, that nothinge is added to it nor taken from

it by the worthinesse of him by whoes hande it is deliuered. And euen as among men, if a letter be sent, so that the hand and the seale be well knowen, it maketh no matter who or what maner of man be the carrier: so it ought to suffice to acknowe the hande and seale of our Lorde in his Sacraméts, by what carrier soeuer they be brought. Hereby the error of the Donatistes is very well confuted, which measured the force and value of the Sacrament by the worthinesse of the minister. Such at this day are our Catabaptistes, which deny that we be rightly baptised, because we were baptised by wicked men and idolaters in the popish kingdome: therefore they furiously call vpon vs to be baptised again. Against whoes follies we shalbe armed with a reason strong enough, if we thinke that we were professed by baptism not into the name of any man, but into the name of the Father, the Sonne; and the Holy Ghost, and that therefore it is not Mat. 28 the baptism of man, but of God, of whomsoever it be ministred. 19.

Although they were neuer so much ignorant or despisers of God and all godlinesse, which baptised vs: yet they did not baptise vs into the fellowship of their owne ignorance or sacrilege, but into the faith of Iesus Christ: because they called not vpon their owne name, but the name of God, nor baptised vs into any other name. Nowe if it were the baptism of God, it hath verily enclosed in it a promise of the forgeuenesse of sinnes, the mortifying of the flesh, the spirituall quickning, and the partaking of Christ. So it nothing hindered the Iewes, to haue bene circumcised of vncleane priests and apostataes: neither was the signe therefore voide, that in needed to be done of newe: but it was sufficient to returne to the naturall beginning. Where they obiekt that baptism ought to be celebrate in the assemblie of the godly, that proueth not, that that which is faultie in parte, should destroy the whole force thereof. For when we teache what ought to be done that baptism may be pure, and voide of all defiling, we do not abolishe the ordinance of God, although idolaters corrupt it. For when in olde time Circumcision was corrupted with many superstitions, yet it ceased not to be taken for a signe of grace: neither did Iosias and Ezechias, when they gathered out of all Israell them that had departed from God, call them to a seconde Circumcision.

17 Now where as they aske vs, what faith of ours hath yet followed baptism in certaine yeares past, that they might thereby proue that the baptism is voide, which is not sanctified vnto vs, but by the word of promise receiued by faith: to this question we aunswer, that we in deede being blinde & vnbeleuing, did in a long time not holde

fast y promise giue vs in baptisme: yet the promise it selfe, for as much as it was of God, continued alway stayed, stedfast, and true. Although all menne be liers and faithbreakers, yet God cesserh not to be true:
 Rom. 3. 3. although all menne be lost, yet Christ remaineth saluation. We confesse therefore that baptisme, for that time profited vs nothing at all: forasmuch as in it the promise offered vs, without which baptisme is nothing, lay nothing regarded. Nowe sith by the grace of God, we haue begonne to waxe wiser, we accuse our owne blindnesse and hardnesse of hart, which haue so long bene vnthankfull to his so great goodnesse. But we beleue that the promise it selfe is not vanished away: but rather thus we consider, God by baptisme promisetht the forgeuenesse of sinnes, and sith he hath promised it, will vndoubtedly performe it to all that beleue it. That promise was offred vs in baptisme: by faith therefore let vs embrace it. It hath in deede long bene buried from vs because of infidelitie: nowe therefore let vs receiue it by faith. Wherefore where the Lord calleth the Iewish people to repentance, he geueth them no commaundement of a seconde Circumcision, which being (as we haue said) circumcised with a wicked and vngodly hand^e, liued a certaine time entangled with the same wickednesse. But he earnestly calleth vppon the onely turning of the hart. Because, howe soeuer the couenāt was broken of them, yet the signe of the couenant, by the ordinance of the Lorde, remained alway stedfast and inuiolable. Therefore with the onely condition of repentance they were restored into the couenant which the Lorde had ones made with them in Circumcision: which yet being receiued by the hande of a leaguebreaker priest, so much as in them lay, they had defiled againe, and the effect whereof they had quenched.

18 But they thinke that they shake a fiery darte at vs, when they
 A& 19. 3. allege that Paule rebaptised them which were ones baptised with the baptisme of Iohn. For if by our owne confession, the baptisme of Iohn was altogether the same that oures is nowe: euen as they hauing bene before peruersely instructed, when they were taught the true faith, they were againe baptised into it: so that baptisme, which was without true Doctrine, is to be taken for nothing, and we ought to be newly baptised againe into the true religion, wherewith we are nowe first instructed. Some thinke, that there was some wrongfully affected manne to Iohn, which hadde entred them with their first baptisme rather to a vaine superstition. Of which thing they seeme to gather a coniecture hereupon, because they confessed themselves to be vterly ignorant of the Holy Ghost: whereas Iohn verily would

would neuer haue sente away from himselfe scholars so vntaught. But neither is it likely that the Iewes, although they had not bene baptised at all, were destitute of all knowledge of the Holy Ghost, which is famously spoken of by so many testimonies of the scripture. Where as therefore they aunswere that they knowe not whether there be a Holy Ghost, it is to be vnderstanded as if they had said that they haue not yet heard, whether the graces of the Spirit, of which Paule asked them, were geuen to the Disciples of Christ. But I graunt that that was the true baptisme of Iohn, and all one and the selfe same with the baptisme of Christ: but I deny that they were baptised againe. What then meane these wordes, they were baptised in the name of Iesus? Some do expound it, that they were but instructed of Paule with true Doctrine. But I hadde rather vnderstande it more simply, to be the baptisme of the Holy Ghost, that is to say, that the visible graces of the Spirit were geuen them by the laying on of handes: which to be expressed by the name of baptisme, is no newe thing. As on the day of Pētecoste it is said, that the Apostles remembred the wordes of the Lorde, concerning the baptisme of fier and of the Spirit. And Peter saith that the same came to his remēbrance, when he sawe those graces poured out vpon Cornelius, and his householde and kinred. Neither is that contrarie which is after ad-
 16. ioined, When he had layd his hands on them, the Holy Ghost came downe vpon them. For Luke doth not tell of two diuerse things: but followeth the maner of telling commonly vsed among the Hebrues, which do first propounde the summe of the matter, and then do set it out more at large. Which euery man may perceiue by the very framing together of the wordes. For he saith, When they had heard these things, they were baptised in the name of Iesus. And when Paul had layed his handes vpon them, the Holy Ghost came downe vpon them. In this latter sentence is described, what maner of baptisme that was. If ignorance do so corrupt a former Baptisme, that it must be amended with a seconde baptisme: the Apostles should haue bene rebaptised first of all, which in whole three yeres after their baptisme, had scarcely tasted any small parcell of purer doctrine. And nowe among vs what riuers might suffice to renewe so many washings, as there be ignorances by the mercy of the Lorde daily amended in vs?

19 The force, dignitie, profit, and ende of the misterie, if I be not deceiued, ought by this time to be plaine enough. So much as concerneth the outward signe, I would to God the naturall institution of Christ had preuailed so much as was mete, to reſtrain the boldnesse of men. For, as though it were a contemptible thing to be

baptised with water according to the precept of Christ, there is inuented blessing, or rather enchaunting, to defile the true hallowing of the water. Afterwarde was added a taper with chresme: but the blowing seemed to open the gate to baptism. But although I am not ignorant, howe auncient is the beginning of this added packe: yet it is lawfull both for me and all the godly to refuse whatsoeuer things men haue presumed to adde to the ordinance of Christ. When Satan sawe that by the foolish light credit of the world at the very beginnings of the Gospel his deceites were easily receiued, he brake forth into grosser mockeries. Hereupon spittle, and like trifles, were openly brought in with vnbridled libertie to the reproche of baptism. By which experiēces let vs learne that nothing is either holier, or better, or safer, than to be content with the authoritie of Christ alone. How much better therefore was it, leauing stagelike pompes, which dasell the eyes of the simple, and dull their mindes, so oft as any was to be baptised, that he should be presented to the assemblie of the faithfull, and be offered to God, the whole Church looking on as a witnesse: and praying ouer him: that the confession of faith should be rehearsed, wherewith he that is to be catechised should be instructed: that the promises should be declared which are conteined in baptism: that the instructed should be baptised in the name of the Father, and the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost: at length that he be sente away with prayers and thankesgeuing. So is nothing omitted that might make to the matter, and that the onely Ceremonie which proceded from God the author thereof, should most clerely shine, being not ouerwhelmed with any forein filthinesse. But whether he be wholly dipped which is baptised, and that thrise or once, or whether he be but sprinkled with water onely poured vpon him, it maketh very little matter: but that ought to be at libertie to Churches according to the diuersitie of contrees. Howbeit the very word of baptizing signifieth to dippe, and it is certaine that the maner of dipping was vsed of the olde Church.

20 This also pertaineth to the purpose, to knowe that it is done amisse if priuate men take vpon themselues the administration of baptism. For as well the distribution of this as of the Supper is a part of the ecclesiasticall ministerie. For Christ did not commaunde women, nor yet euery sort of men, y they should baptize: but whom he had ordeined his Apostles, to them he gaue this commaundement. And when he commaunded his disciples to do that in the ministracion of the Supper which they had sene him do, when he executed the office of a right distributor: he would without dout, that they should therein

therein followe his example. As for this that in many ages past, yea and in a maner at the very beginning of the Church, it hath bene receiued in vse, that lay men might baptise in perill of death, if the minister were not present in time, I se not with howe strong a reason it may be defended. The very olde Fathers themselues, which either helde or suffred this maner, were not sure whether it were well done. For Augustine seemeth to haue this dout, when he saith: Although a lay man compelled by necessitie do geue baptisme, I can not tell whether a man may godlily say that it ought to be iterate. For if it be done when no necessitie compelleth, it is the vsurping of an other mans office: but if necessitie enforceth, it is either none or a veniall sinne. Moroeuer of women it was decreed without any exception in the Councell at Carthage, that they should not presume to baptise at all. But there is danger, least if he which is sicke should die without baptisme, he should be depriued of the grace of regeneration. Not so. God pronounceth that he adopteth our infantes to be his owne, before they be borne, when he promiseth that he will be a God to vs and to our seede after vs. In this word is conteined their saluation. Neither shall any man dare to be so reprochefull against God, to deny that his promise is of it selfe sufficient to worke the effect thereof. Howe much harme that doctrine being euill expounded, that baptisme is of necessitie to saluation, hath brought in, fewe do marke: and therefore they take lesse heede to themselfe. For where this opinion is growen in force, that all are lost to whom it hath not happened to be washed with water, our state is worse than the state of the olde people, as though the grace of God were nowe more narrowly streightened than it was vnder the lawe. For Christ shalbe thought to be come, not to fulfill the promises, but to abolish them: forasmuch as the promise which then was of it selfe effectual enough to geue health before the eighth day, nowe should not be of force without helpe of the signe.

21 But howe the custome was before that Augustine was borne, first is gathered of Tertullian, that it is not permitted to a woman to speake in the Church, nor to teach, nor to baptise, nor to offer, that she shoulde not claime to her selfe the execution of any mans office, much lesse of the Priests. Of the same thing Epiphanius is a substantiall witnesse, where he reprocheth Marcion, that he gaue women libertie to baptise. Neither am I ignorant of their aunswere which thinke otherwise, that is, that common vse much differeth from extraordinary remedie, when extreme necessitie enforceth: but when he pronouncing that it is a mockerie to geue womé liberty to baptise,

Libro.
contra.
epistol.
parr. 2.
cap. 13.
Cap. c.

Libro.
contra.
Hercul.

excepteth nothing, it sufficiently appeareth that he cōdemneth this corruption, so that it is by no color excusable. Also in the third booke, where teaching that it was not permitted euen to the holy mother of Christ, he addeth no restraite.

- Exo. 4. 22.** The example of Sephora is vnseasonably alleged. For whereas the Angell of God was appeased, after that she taking a stone, circumcised her sonne, thereupon it is wrongfully gathered that her doing was allowed of God. Otherwise it ought to be said, that the worshipping which the nations that were brought out of Assyria raised vp, pleased God. But by other strong reasons it is proued, that that which a foolish woman did, is wrongfully drawn to an example of imitation. If I should say that it was a certaine singular case, which ought not to be made an example, and specially that sith it is nowhere red that in olde time there was geuen to the Priests a speciall cōmaundement to circumcise, the order of Circumcision & baptisme is vnlike: this should be strong enough to confute them. For the wordes of Christ are plaine: Go ye, teache all nations, and baptise. When he ordeined the selfe same men publishers of the Gospel, & ministers of baptisme: & none (as the Apostle witnesseth) doth take honor vpon himselfe in the Church, but he that is called as Aaron: whosouer without lawfull calling baptiseth, he rusheth into an other mans office. Euen in the smallest things, as in meate & drinke, whatsoever we enterprise with a doutefull cōscience, Paule openly crieth out to be sinne. Therefore in womens baptising is much more greuously sinne, where it is euident that they breake the rule appointed by Christ: forasmuch as we knowe that it is vnlawfull to plucke in sonder those things that God conioineth. But all this I passe over. Onely I would haue the reders to note, that Sephoraes purpose was nothing lesse, than to do any seruice to God. Seing her sonne to be in danger, she grudged, and murmured, and not without stomaching threwe the foreskinne vppon the grounde, she so taunted her husbande, that she was also angrie with God. Finally it is plaine that all this came of a furiousnesse of minde, because she murmured against God and her husbande, for that she was compelled to shed the blood of her sonne. Moreouer if she had in all other things behaued her selfe well, yet herein is an vnexcusable rashe presumption that she circumcised her sonne, her husbande being presente, not any priuate manne, but Moses the principall Prophete of God, than whom there neuer rose any greater in Israell: which was no more lawfull for her to do, than at this day it is for women in the sight of the bishoppe. But this controuersie shall by and by be easily taken away by this

principle, that infantes are not debarred from the kingdome of heauen, whom it happeneth to departe out of this present life before that it be graunted them to be dipped in water. But it is already proued, that no small wrong is done to the couenant of God, if we do not rest in it, as though it were weake of it selfe: whereas the effect thereof hangeth neither vpon baptisme, nor vpon any additions. There is afterward added to it a Sacrament like a seale, not that it bringeth effectualnesse to the promise of God as to a thing weake of it selfe, but onely confirmeth it to vs. Whereupon followeth, that the children of the faithfull are not therefore baptised, that they may then first be made the children of God, which before were straungers from the Church, but rather that they be therfore receiued by a solemne signe into the Church, because by the benefite of the promise they did already belong to the body of Christ. Therefore if in omitting the signe there be neither slouthfulnesse, nor contempte, nor negligence, we are free from all danger. It is therefore much more holy, to geue this reuerence to the ordinance of God, that we seke Sacraments from no where els, than where the Lorde hath lesse them. When we may not haue them of the Church, the grace of God is not so bounde to them, but that we may obtaine them by faith out of the word of the Lorde.

The xvj. Chapter.

That the Baptisme of infantes doth very well agree with the institution of Christ and the nature of the signe.

BVt forasmuch as in this age, certaine phrentike Spirits haue raised vp fore troubles in the Church for the Baptisme of infantes, and do not yet cesse to turmoile: I can not chose but I must ioine here an addition to restrain their furiousnesse. If paraduenture it shall seeme to some man to be very much to long, let him (I beseech him) wey with himself, y we ought so much to esteeme the purenesse of doctrine in a most great matter, together with the peace of the Church, that nothing ought to be lothesomly receiued, which may auaille to procure them both. Beside y, I so study to frame this discourse, that it shall be of no small importance to the clerer declaration of the mistery of baptisme. They assaile the baptisme of infantes with an argumēt in deede fauourable in shewe, saying that it is grounded vpon no institution of Christ, but that it was brought in onely by the boldnesse of men, and peruerse curiousnesse, and then afterward with sonde easinesse rashly receiued in vse. For a sacramēt,

vnlesse it rest vpon a certaine fundation of the word of God, hangeth but by a thred. But what if, when the matter is wel considered, it shall appeare that the Lordes holy ordināce is falsely & vniustly charged with such a sclaunder? Let vs therefore searche out the first beginning of it. And if it shall appeare, that it was deuised by the onely rashnesse of men, then bidding it farewell, let vs measure the true obseruation of baptisme by the onely will of God. But if it shalbe proued that it is not destitute of his certaine authoritie, we must beware, lest in pinching the holy ordināces of God, we be also sclaunderous against the author himselfe.

2 First it is a doctrine well enough knowen, and cōfessed among all the godly, that the right consideration of the signes, consisteth not onely in the outward Ceremonies: but principally hangeth vpon the promise, and vpon the spirituall misteries, for figuring whereof the Lorde ordeineth the Ceremonies themselues. Therefore he that will perfectly learne of what value baptisme is, to what ende it tendeth, finally what it is: let him not stay his thought vpon the elemente and bodily sight: but rather let him raise it vp to the promises of God, which are therein offered vs, and to the inwarde secretes which are therein represented vnto vs. He that knoweth these things, hath attained the sound truth of baptisme, and the whole substance thereof, as I may so call it: and thereby also he shalbe taught, what is the reason, and what is the vse of the outward sprinkling. Again he that contemptuously passing ouer these, shall haue his minde wholly fastened & bounde to the visible Ceremonie, shall vnderstande neither the force nor propertie of baptisme: nor yet so much as this, what the water meaneth, or what vse it hath. Which sentence is proued with so many and so cleare testimonies of Scripture, that we neede not at this present to tarry long about it. Therefore it remaineth now, that we seke out of the promises geuen in baptisme, what is the force and nature of it. The Scripture sheweth, that the clensing of sinnes, which we obtaine of the blood of Christ, is here first shewed: then the mortifying of the flesh, which standeth vpon the partaking of his death, by which the faithfull are regenerate into newnesse of life, yea and into the fellowship of Christ. To this summe may be referred whatsoeuer is taught in the Scriptures concerning baptisme: sauing that beside this it is a signe to testifie religion before men.

3 But forasmuch as before the institution of baptisme, the people of God had circumcision in steede thereof: let vs se what these two signes differ the one from the other, and with what likenesse they agree together. Whereupon may appeare what is the relation of the
one

one to the other. Where the Lorde gaue circumcision to Abraham Gen. 17.
to be kept, he telleth him before, that he would be God to him and 10
to his seede: adding, that with him is the flowing store and suffisance
of all things, that Abraham should accompt that his hande should
be to him a spring of all good things. In which wordes the promise
of eternall life is conteined: as Christ expoundeth it, bringing an
argument from hense to proue the immortalitie of the faithfull, and
the resurrection. For God (saith he) is not the God of the dead, but
of the liuing. Wherefore Paule also shewing to the Ephesians from Mar. 32.
what destruction the Lorde had deliuered them, gathereth by this 32.
that they had not bine admitted into the couenâte of circumcision, Luk. 20
that they were without Christ, without God, without hope, strangers 38.
from the testaments of the promise: all which things the couenante Eph. 2.
it selfe conteined. But the first accessse to God, the first entrie to im- 12.
mortall life, is the forgeuenesse of sinnes. Whereupon is gathered,
that this forgeuenesse aunswereth to the promise of baptisme con-
cerning our clensing. Afterwarde the Lorde taketh couenante of
Abraham that he should walke before him in purenesse and inno-
cence of hart: which belongeth to mortifying or regeneration. And
that no man should dout, that circumcision is a signe of mortifying.
Moses in an other place doth more plainly declare it, when he ex- Deu. 10.
horteth the people of Israel, to circumsise the vncircumcised skinnē 16.
of the hart, because they were seuerally chosen to be the people of
God out of all the nations of the earth. As God, where he adoprēth
the posteritie of Abraham to his people, commaundeth them to be
circumcised: so Moses pronounceth that the hartes ought to be cir- Deu. 30
cumcised, declaring verily what is the trueth of this circumcision. 6.
Then that no man should endeuer toward it by his owne strength,
he teacheth that they neede the grace of God. All these things are
so often repeted of the Prophets, that I neede not to heape into this
place many testimonies, which do eche where offer themselues. We
haue proued therofote, that in circumcision a spirituall promise was
vttered to the Fathers, such as in baptisme is geuen: forasmuch as it
figured to them the forgeuenesse of sinnes, and the mortifying of the
flesh. Moreouer as we haue taught that Christ is the fundation of
baptisme, in whom both these things remaine: so it is euident that
he is also of circumcision. For he is promised to Abraham, and in
him the blessing of all nations. To the sealing of which grace, the
signe of circumcision is added.

4 Nowe we may easily se, what there is like in these two signes,
or what there is differing. The promises, whereupon we haue de-

Rom. 12

3.

clared that the power of the signes consisteth, is all one in both, namely of the fatherly fauor of God, of the forgeuenesse of finnes, of life euerlasting. Then, the thing figured also is all one and the same, namely regeneration. The fundation wherupon the fulfilling of these things standeth, is all one in both. Wherefore there is no difference in the inward misterie, whereby the whole force and propertie of the Sacraments is to be weyed. The vnlikenesse that remaineth, lieth in the outward Ceremonie, which is the smallest portion: whereas the chiefest part hangeth vpon the promise and the thing signified. Therefore we may determine, that whatsoever agreeth with circumcision doth also belong to baptism, except the difference of the visible Ceremonie. To this relation and comparison, the Apostles rule leadeth vs by the hande, whereby we are commaunded to examine all exposition of scripture by the proportiō of faith. And truly the truth doth in this behalfe almost offer it selfe to be felte. For as circumcision, because it was a certaine token to the Iewes, whereby they were certified that they were chosen to be the people and householde of God, and they againe on their behalues professed that they yelded themselues to God, was their first entrie into the Church: so now also we by baptism enter into profession of God, that we may be reckned among his people, and mutually sweare to his name. Wherby it appeareth out of controuersie, that baptism is come into the place of circumcision, that it may haue the same office with vs.

5 Nowe if we list to search out, whether baptism be lawfully communicate to infantes: shall we not say that he doth to much play the foole, yea dote, which will rest onely vpon the element of water, and the outward obseruation, but can not abide to bende his minde to the spirituall misterie? Whereof if there be any consideration had, it shall without dout certainly appeare that baptism is rightfully geuen to infantes, as the thing that is due vnto them. For the Lorde in olde time did not vouchesaue to admit them to circumcision, but that he made them partakers of all those things which were then signified by circumcision. Otherwise he should with mere deceites haue mocked his people, if he had fed them with deceitfull signes, which is horrible euen to be heard of. For he pronounceth expressly, that the circumcision of a litle infante should be in steede of a seale to seale the promise of the couenant. But if the couenant remaine vnbroken and stedfast, it doth at this day no lesse belong to the children of Christians, than vnder the olde testament it pertained to the infantes of the Iewes. But if they be partakers of the thing

thing signified, why shall they be debarred from the signe? if they haue the trueth, why shall they be put backe from the figure? Although the outward signe cleaue fast together with the word in the Sacrament, so that they can not be plucked in sonder: yet if they be seuerally cōsidered, whether of them, I pray you, shall we esteeme of more value? Truly sith we se that the signe serueth the word, we must say that it is vnder it, and must set it in the inferior place. Sith therefore the word of Baptisme is extended to infantes: why shall the signe, that is to say, the addition hanging to the word, be debarred from them? This one reason, if there were no mo, were abundantly enough to confute all them that will speake to the contrary. That which is obiected, that there was a day certainly set for circumcision, is altogether but a shift. We graunte that we be not nowe bounde to certaine dayes, like the Iewes: but when the Lorde, howsoeuer he certainly appointeth no day, yet declareth that he is pleased that infantes should with a solemne formal vsage be receiued into his couenant: what seke we more?

6 Howbeit the Scripture openeth vnto vs yet a certainer knowledge of the truth? For it is most euident, that the couenant which the Lorde ones made with Abraham, is at this day no lesse in force to Christians, than it was in olde time to the Iewish people: yea and that this word hath no lesse respect to Christians, than it then had respect to the Iewes. Vnlesse parhappes we thinke, that Christ hath by his comming diminished, or cut short the grace of his Father. Which saying is not without abhominable blasphemie. Wherefore as euen the children of the Iewes were called a holy seede, because being made heires of the same couenant they were made differing from the children of the vngodly: for the same reason euen yet also the children of Christians are accompted holy, yea although they be the issue but of one parent faithfull: and (as the Apostle witnesseth) they differ from the vncleane seede of idolatrers. Nowe when the Lord immediatly after the couenant made with Abraham, commaunded the same to be sealed in infantes with an outward Sacrament: what cause will Christians allege, why they should not at this day testifie and seale the same in their children? Nether let any man obiect against me, that the Lorde commaunded his couenant to be confirmed with no other signe than of circumcision, which is long agoe taken away. For we haue in redinesse to aunswere, that for the time of the olde testament he ordeined circumcision to confirme his couenant: but circumcision being taken away, yet alway remaineth the same maner of confirming which we haue common with the

1. Cor.
7. 14.
Gen. 17.
12.

Iewes. Wherefore we must alway diligently consider what is cōmon to both, and what they haue seuerall from vs. The couenant is common, the cause of confirming it is common. Onely the maner of confirming is diuerse, because circumcision was that to them, in place whereof baptisme hath succeded among vs. Otherwise if the testimonie, whereby the Iewes were assured of the saluation of their seede, be taken away from vs, it should be brought to passe by the comming of Christ, that the grace of God should be darker and lesse approued by testimonies to vs, than it was before to the Iewes. If that can not be said without extreme sclaunder of Christ, by whom the infinite goodnesse of the Father hath more clerely and liberally than euer heretofore bine poured fourth vpon the earth, & declared to men: we must needes graunt, that it is at the lest not more pinchingly to be suppressed, nor to be set foorth with lesse testimonie, than it was vnder the darke shadowes of the lawe.

7 Wherefore the Lorde Iesus, minding to shewe a token whereby the world might vnderstande that he was come rather to enlarge than to limit the mercy of God, gently embraced children offered vnto him, rebuking the disciples which went about to forbid them to come to him: forasmuch as they did leade those, to whom the kingdome of heauen belongeth, away from him by whome alone the entrie is open into heauen. But (will some man say) what like thing hath baptisme with this embracing of Christ. For neither is it reported that he Baptised the, but that he receiued them, embraced them, and wished them well. Therefore if we list to followe his example, lette vs helpe infantes with prayer, but not baptise them. But let vs wey the doinges of Christ somewhat more hedefully, than such kinde of men do. For neither is this to be lightly passed ouer, that Christ commaundeth infantes to be brought vnto him, adding a reason why, because of such is the kingdome of heauen. And afterwarde he witnesseth his will with deede, when embracing them he commendeth them to his Father with his prayer and blessing. If it be mete that infantes be brought to Christ, why is it not also mete that they be receiued to baptisme, the signe of our communion and fellowship with Christ? If the kingdome of heauen be theirs, why shall the signe be denied them, whereby there is as it were an entrie opened into the Church, that being admitted into it they may be adnombred among the heires of the heauenly kingdome? Howe vniust shall we be, if we driue away them whom Christ calleth vnto him? if we spoile them, whom he garniseth with his gyftes? if we shutte out them whom he willingly receiueth? But if we will examine howe
much

much that which Christ there did, differeth from baptisme, yet of howe much greater price shall we haue baptisme, (whereby we testifie that infantes are contained in the couenant of God) than receiuing, embracing, layeng on of handes, and prayer, whereby Christ himself being present: declarerh that they both are his, and are sanctified of him? By the other cauillatiōs, whereby they labor to mocke out this place, they do nothing but bewray their owne ignorance. For they gather an argument of this which Christ saith. Let litle ones come to me, that they were in age good bigge ones which were already able to go. But they are called of the Euangelistes, brephe, and paidia, by which wordes the Grekes do signifie babes yet hanging on the breasts. Therefore this word (to come) is simply set for (to haue accessē.) Lo what snares they are compelled to make, which are growen hard against the truth. Nowe where they say, that the kingdome of heauen is not geuen to them, but to such as be like them, because it is sayed to be of such, not of them: that is no sounder than the rest. For if that be graunted, what maner of reason shall the reason of Christ be, whereby he meaneth to shewe, that infantes in age are not strangers from him? When he commaundeth that infantes be suffered to haue accessē vnto him, nothing is plainer than that very infancy in deede is there spokē of. And that this should not seeme an absurditie, he by and by addeth: of such is the kingdome of heauen. But if it must needs be that infantes be comprehended herein, it must be plaine that by this word (Such) are meant very infantes themselues, and such as be like them.

8 Nowe there is no man that seeth not, that Baptisme of infantes was not framed by man, which is vpholden by so great approving of Scripture. Neither do they colorably enough play the fooles, which obiekt that it is no where founde, that any one infant was baptised by the handes of the Apostles. For although it be not A&. 16. expressly by name rehearsed of the Euangelistes: yet because 15. and 32. a-
gaine they are not excluded, so ofte as mention happeneth to be made of the baptising of any householde: who, vnlesse he be madde, can reason thereupon that they were not baptised? If such arguments were of any force, women should be forbidden to partake of the Lordes supper, whom we reade not to haue bene receiued vnto it in the time of the Apostles. But here we be contente with the rule of faith. For when we consider, what the institution of the Supper requireth, thereby also we may easily iudge to whom the vse thereof ought to be communicated. Which we obserue also in baptisme. For when we marke, to what ende it was ordeined, we euidently espy,

that it belongeth no lesse to infantes, than to elder folkes. Therefore they can not be deprivied of it, but that the will of the author must be manifestly defrauded. But whereas they spread abroad among the simple people, that there passed a long roawe of yeares after the resurrection of Christ, in which the baptisme of infantes was vnknewen: therein they most fowly do lie. For there is no writer so olde, that doth not certainly referre the beginning thereof to the time of the Apostles.

9 Nowe remaineth that we breesely shewe, what fruit cometh of this obseruation, both to the faithfull which present their children to the Church to be baptised, and also to the infantes themselves that be baptised with the holy water: that no man shoulde despise it as vnprofitable or idle. But if it come in any mans minde, vpon this pretence to mocke at the baptisme of infantes, he scorneth the commaundement of Circumcision geuen by the Lorde. For what will they bring forth to impugne the baptisme of infantes, which may not also be thrown backe against Circumcision? So the Lorde taketh vengeance of their arrogance, which do by and by condemne that which they comprehend not with the sense of their owne fleshe. But God furnisheth vs with other armures, whereby their foolishnesse may be beaten flatt. For neither this his holy institution, by which we feeble our faith to be holpen with singular comfort, deserueth to be called superfluous. For Gods signe communicated to a childe doth as it were by an emprinted seale cōfirme the promise geuen to the godly parente, and declareth that it is ratified that the Lorde will be God not onely to him but also to his seede, and will continually shewe his good will and grace, not to him onely, but also to his posteritie euen to the thousandth generation. Where when the great kindnesse of God vttereth it selfe, first it yeldeth most large matter to aduaunce his glorie, and ouerspreadeth godly hartes with singular gladnesse, because they are therewithall more earnestly moued to loue againe so godly a Father, whom they see to haue care of their posteritie for their sakes. Neither do I regarde, if any man take exception, and say that the promise ought to suffice to confirme the saluation of our children: forasmuch as it hath pleased God otherwise, whoe as he knoweth our weaknesse, willed in this behalfe so much to beare tenderly with it. Therefore let them that embrace the promise of Gods mercy to be extended to their children, thinke that it is their duetie to offer them to the Church to be signed with the signe of mercy, and thereby to encourage themselves to a more assured confidence, because
they

they do with present eye beholde the couenant of the Lorde grauen in the bodies of their children. Againe, the children receiue some commoditie of their baptisme, that being engrafted into the body of the Church, they be somewhat the more commended to the other membres. Then when they are growen to riper age, they be thereby not sclderly stirred vp to earnest endeour to worship God, of whom they haue bene receiued into his children by a solemne signe of adoption, before that they could by age acknowe him for their Father. Finally that same condemnation ought greatly to make vs ^{Gen. 17.} ¹⁴ afraide, that God will take vengeance of it, if any man despise to marke his sonne with the signe of the couenant, because by such contempt the grace offred is refused and as it were forsworne.

10 Nowe let vs examine the arguments, whereby certaine furious beastes do not cesse to assaile this holy institution of God. First because they see that they be exceedingly nere driuen and hard strained with the likenesse of baptisme and Circumcision, they labor to plucke in sonder these two signes with great difference, that the one should not seeme to haue any thing common with the other. For they say that both diuers things are signified, and that the couenant is altogether diuers, and that the naming of the children is not all one. But while they go about to proue that first point, they allege that Circumcision was a figure of mortification and not of baptisme. Which verily we do most willingly graunt them. For it maketh very well for our side. Neither do we vse any other profe of our sentence, than that Baptisme and Circumcision are signes of mortification. Hereupon we determine that Baptisme is set in the place of Circumcision, that in should represente vnto vs the same thing which in olde time it signified to the Iewes. In affirming the difference of the couenant, with howe barbarous boldnesse do they turmoile and corrupt the Scripture: and that not in one place alone, but so as they leaue nothing safe or whole? For they depainte vnto vs the Iewes so to be carnall that they be liker beasts than men: with whom forsooth the couenant made procedeth not beyonde the temporall life, to whom the promises geuen do rest in present and bodily good things. If this doctrine take place, what remaineth but that the nation of the Iewes were for a time filled with the benefits of God, none otherwise than as they satte a hearde of swine in a stie, that at length they should perish with eternall damnation. For so sone as we allege Circumcision and the promises annexed vnto it, they aunswere that Circumcision was a litterall signe, and the promises thereof were carnall.

11 Truly if Circumcision was a literall signe, there is no otherwise to be thought of baptisme. For the Apostle in the seconde Chapter to the Coloſſians maketh the one no more spirituall than the other. For he ſaith that we are circumciſed in Chriſt, with a circumciſion not made with hande, putting away the body of ſinne that dwelled in our fleſh: which he calleth the circumciſion of Chriſt. Afterward for declaration of that ſaying, he adioineth, that we be buried with Chriſt by baptiſme. What meaneth he by theſe wordes, but that the fulfilling and truth of baptiſme, is alſo the truth and fulfilling of circumciſion, becauſe they figure both one thing? For he trauaileth to ſhewe, that baptiſme is the ſame to Chriſtians, which Circumciſion had bene before to the Iewes. But forasmuch as we haue nowe euidently declared, that the promiſes of both the ſignes, and the miſteries that are repreſented in them, do agree together, we will for this preſent tary no longer vpon them. Onely I will put the faithfull in minde, that though I holde my peace, they ſhould wey with themſelues whether it be taken for an earthly and literall ſigne, vnder which nothing is contained but spirituall and heavenly. But, that they ſhould not ſell their ſmokes to the ſmoke, we will by the way confute one obiection wherewith they colour this moſt ſhameleſſe lie. It is moſt certaine that the principall promiſes, wherein was contained the couenāt which in the Olde teſtament God ſtabliſhed with the Iſraelites, were spirituall, and tended to eternall life: and then againe, that they were receiued of the fathers ſpirituallly, as it was mete, that they might thereof receiue affiance of the life to come, whereunto they longed with the whole affection of their hart. But in the meane time we denie not, but that he witneſſed his good will towarde them with earthly and carnall benefites: by which alſo we ſay that the ſame promiſe of ſpirituall things was confirmed.

Gen. 15. As when he promiſed euerlaſtinge bleſſedneſſe to his ſeruant A-
1. & 18. braham, that he might ſet before his eyes a manifeſt token of his fauor, he addeth an other promiſe concerning the poſſeſſion of the lande of Chanaan. After this maner we ought to vnderſtande all the earthly promiſes that are geuen to the Iewiſh nation, that the ſpirituall promiſe, as the hed, whereunto they are directed, ſhould alway haue the chiefe place. But ſith I haue more largely entreated of theſe things in the difference of the newe and olde teſtament, therefore nowe I do the more ſlightly knitte it vp.

12 In the naming of the children they finde this diuerſity, that in the olde teſtament they were called the children of Abraham, which iſſued of his ſeede: but that nowe they are called by that name, which followe

follow his faith: And that therefore that carnall infancy, which was by circumcision grafted into the felowship of the couenant, figured the infantes of the Newe testament, which are regenerate by the word of God to immortall life. In which wordes we beholde in dede a small sparke of trueth: but herein these light spirites greuoussly offende, that when they catche holde of that which first commeth to their hande, when they should go further and compare many things together, they stande stify vppon one word. Whereby it can not otherwise be but that they must sometime be deceiued which rest vpon the sound knowledge of nothings. We graunt in deede that the carnall seede of Abraham did for a time holde the place of the spirituall sede which is by faith grafted into him. For we be called his children howsoever there is no naturall kinred betwene him and vs. But if they meane, as they plainly shewe that they do, that there was neuer spirituall blessing promised to the carnall seede of Abraham, herein they are much deceiued. Wherefore we must leuell to a better marke, wherunto we are directed by the most certaine guiding of the Scripture. The Lord therefore promised to Abraham, that he should haue a seede, wherein all nations of the earth shalbe blessed: and therewithall assureth him, that he woulde be a God to him and his seede. Whosoever do by Faith receiue Christ the author of blessinge, are heires of this promise, and therefore are called the children of Abraham.

13 But although since the resurrection of Christ the boundes of the kingdome of God haue begon to be farre and wide enlarged into all nations without difference, that accordinge to the sayinge of Christ, faithful ones should be gathered from euery part to sit downe in the heauenly glory with Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob: yet he had many ages before extended that same so great mercy to the Iewes. And because passinge ouer all other, he had chosen out that only nation, in which he would restraine his grace for a time, called them his peculiar possession, and his purchased people. For testifying of such liberality, Circumcision was giuen by the signe whereof the Iewes might be taught that God is to them the author of saluation: by which knowledge their mindes were raised into hope of eternall life. For what shall he want, whom God hath once receiued into his charge? Wherefore the Apostle meaninge to proue that the Gentiles were the children of Abraham as well as the Iewes, speaketh in this manner: Abraham (saith he) was iustified by faith in vncircumcision. Afterward he receiued the signe of circumcision, the scale of the righteousness of faith, that he should be the father of all the faithful, both

Gal. 4.

28.

Rom. 4.

12.

Matt. 23.

11.

Exo. 19

5.

Rom. 4.

10.

of vncircumcisiō and of circumcision, not of them that glory of only circumcision, but of them that folowe the faith which our father Abraham had in vncircumcision. Do not we see that both sortes are made egall in dignity? For during the time appointed by the decree of God, he was the father of circumcisiō. When, the wall being plucked downe (as the Apostle writeth in an other place) by which the Jewes were severed from the Gentiles, the entrie was made open to them also into the kingdom of God, he was made their father, & that without the signe of circūcisiō, because they haue baptisme in stede of circumcision. But where he expresly by name denieth, that Abraham is father to them which are of circumcision only, that same was spokē to abate the pride of certaine, which omitting the care of godlines, did boast themselues of only Ceremonies. After which manner at this day also their vanity may be confuted which seke in baptisme nothing but water.

14 But an other place of the Apostle out of the 9. Chapter of the Epistle to the Romaines shalbe alleaged to the contrary, where he teacheth that they which are of the fleshe, are not the children of Abraham: but they onely are compted his seede, which are the children of promise. For he seemeth to signifie, that the carnall kinred of Abraham is nothing, which yet we do set in some degree. But it is more diligētly to be marked, what matter the Apostle there entreateth of. For, meaning to shew to the Iewes how much the goodnesse of God was not bound to the seede of Abraham, yea how it nothing auaileth of it selfe, he bringeth forth Ismaell and Esau for example to proue it: whom being refused, as if they were straungers, although they were according to the flesh the naturall offspring of Abraham, the blessing rested in Isaac and Iacob. Whereupon is gathered that which he afterward affirmeth, that saluation hangeth of the mercy of God, which he extendeth to whom it pleaseth him: and that there is no cause why the Iewes should stand in their owne conceite, or boast vpon the name of the couenant, vnlesse they kepe the law of the couenant, that is to say, do obey the word. Again when he hath thrown them downe from vaine confidence of their kinred, yet because on the other side he sawe, that the couenant which was once made of God with the posterity of Abraham, could in no wise be made void, in the 11. chapter, he argueth that the carnall kinred is not to be spoiled of his due dignity: by the beneficiall meane whereof he teacheth that the Iewes are the first and naturall heires of the Gospell, but in respect that by their vnthankfulnesse, they were forsaken as vnworthy: yet so that the heauenly blessing is not vtterly remoued from
their

their nation . For which reason , howe much soeuer they were stubborne & couenant breakers, neuerthelesse he calleth them holy (so much honor he giueth to the holy generation, with whom God had vouchsafed to make his holy couenant) but calleth vs, if we be compared with them , as it were after borne, yea or the vntimely borne children of Abraham, & that by adoption, not by nature: as if a twig broken off his natural tree, should be grafted into a strange stocke. Therefore that they should not be defrauded of their prerogatiue, it behoued that the Gospell should be first preached to them : for they be in the householde of God as it were the first begotten children. Wherefore this honor was to be geuen them , vntill they refused it beinge offered them, & by their owne vnthankfullnesse brought to passe that it was caried away to the Gentiles . Neither yet , with howe great obstinacie soeuer they continue to make warre against the Gospell, ought they to be despised of vs ; if we consider that for the promises sake, the blessing of God doth yet still remaine among them : as verily the Apostle testifieth that it shal neuer vterly depart from thence : because the giftes and callinge of God are without repentance.

Rom. 11
29.

15 Beholde of what force is the promise giuen to the posterity of Abraham, & with what balance it is to be weyed. Wherefore although in discerninge the heires of the kingdom from bastardes and strangers, we nothing dout that the only election of God ruleth with free right of gouernment: yet we also therewithall perceiue, that it pleased him peculiarly to embrace the seede of Abraham with his mercy, and that the same mercy might be the more surely witnessed , to scale it with circumcision. Now altogether like state is there of the Christian Church. For as Paule there reasoneth that the Iewes are sanctified of their parentes : so in an other place he teacheth, that the children of Christians receiue the same sanctification of their parentes. Whereupon is gathered, that they are worthily seuered from the rest, which on the other side are condemned of vncleannesse. Nowe who can dout, but that it is most false which they do thereupon conclude, that say that the infantes which in olde time were circumcised, did onely figure spiritual infancy, which ariseth of the regeneration of the word of God. For Paule doth not so suttelly play the Philosopher, where he wryteth that Christ is the minister of Circumcision , to fulfill the promises which had bin made to the Fathers, as if he said thus: Forasmuch as the couenant made with Abraham hath respect to his seede, Christ , to performe and discharge the promise once made by his Father, came to saluation to the nation of the Iewes. See you not howe

1. Cor. 7
14.

Rom. 11
8.

Act. 2.
59.

Act. 3.
25.
Ephes. 3.
51.

also after the resurrection of Christ, he iudgeth that the promise of the couenāt is to be fulfilled, not only by way of allegory, but as the very words do sound, to the carnall seede of Abraham. To the same entent serueth that which Peter in the second Chapter of the Acts, declareth to the Iewes, that the benefit of the Gospell is due to them and their seede by right of the couenant, & in the Chapter next followinge he calleth them the children of the Testament, that is to say heires. From which also not much disaccordeth the other place of the Apostle aboue alleaged, where he accompteth & setteth Circumcision emprinted in infantes, for a testimony of that cōmunion which they haue with Christ. But if we harken to their trifles, what shalbe wrought by that promise, whereby the Lorde in the second article of his law vndertaketh to his seruants, that he will be fauorable to their seede euen to the thousandth generation? Shall we here flee to allegories? But that were too trifling a shift. Or shal we say that this is abolished? But so the law should be destroied, which Christ came rather to stablish, so farre as it turneth vs to good vnto life. Let it therefore be out of cōtrouersie, that God is so good & liberall to his, that for their sakes, he will haue also their children, whom they shal beget, to be adnumbred among his people.

16 Moreouer the differēces which they go about to put betwene baptisme and circumcision, are not only worthy to be laughed at, and void of all colour of reason, but also disagreeing with themselves. For when they haue affirmed that baptisme hath relation to the first day of the spirituall battell, but circumcision to the eighth when mortification is already ended, by and by forgetting the same, they turne their songe, and call circumcision a figure of the flesh to be mortified, but baptisme they call buriall, into which none are to be put till they be already dead. What dotages of phrentike men, can with so great lightnesse leape into sundry diuersities? For in the first sentence, baptisme must go before circumcision: by the other, it is thrust backe into the later place. Yet is it no new example, that the wits of men be so tossed vp and downe, when in steede of the most certaine word of God they worship whatsoever they haue dreamed. We therefore say that that former difference is a meere dreame. If they list to expounde by way of allegory vpo ſ eighth day, yet it agreed not in that maner. It were much fitter, accordinge to the opinion of the olde writers, to referre the number of eight to the resurrection which was done on the eighth day, whereupon we know that the newnesse of life hangeth: or to the whole course of this present life, wherein mortification ought alway to go forward, till when life is ended, mortification is selfe

selfe may also be ended. Howebeit God may seeme to haue minded to prouide for the tenderesse of age, in differring circumcision the eighth day, because the wound should haue bin more dangerous to the children new borne and yet red from their mother. How much stronger is that, that we being deade before, are buried by baptisme: when the Scripture expressely crieth to the contrary that we are buried into death to this entent, that we should dye, and from thenceforth shoulde endeouour to this mortification? Now, a likewise handlinge it is, that they cauill that women ought not to be baptised, if baptisme must be framed like to circumcision. For if it be most certaine that the sanctifyinge of the seede of Israell was testified by the signe of circumcision: thereby also it is vndouted, that it was giuen to sanctifie both males & females. But the only bodies of male children were marked with it, which might by nature be marked: yet so that the womē were by them after a certaine maner companions & partners of circumcisiō. Therefore sending far away such follies of theirs, let vs sticke fast in the likenes of baptisme & circumcision, which we most largely see to agree in the inward mystery, in the promises, in vse, in effectualnesse.

17 They thinke also that they bring forth a most strong reason, why children are to be debarred from baptisme, when they alleage that they are not yet for age able to vnderstande the mysterie there signified. That is spirituall regeneration, which can not be in the first infancy. Therefore they gather, that they are to be taken for none other than the children of Adam, till they be growen to age mete for a second birth. But the trueth of God echwhere speaketh against all these things. For if they be to be left among the childrē of Adam, then they are left in death: forasmuch as in Adā we can do nothing but die. But contrariwise Christ commaundeth them to be brought vnto him. Why so? because he is life: Therefore that he may giue life to them, he maketh them partakers of himselfe: when in the meane time these fellowes driuinge them farre away do adiudge them to death. For if they say for a shift, that infantes do not therefore perish if they be accompted the childrē of Adam, their error is abundantly confuted by witnesse of the Scripture. For where as it pronounceth that all do die in Adam, it foloweth that there remaineth no hope of life but in Christ. Therefore that we may be made heires of life, we must communicate with him. Againe when it is wrytten in another place, that by nature we are all subiect to the wrath of God, & conceiued in sinne, whereunto damnation perpetually cleaueth: we must depart out of our owne nature, before that the entry be open

1. Cor.

15. 22.

Eph. 2. 8

Pl. 51. 7.

to vs into the kingdom of God. And what can be more plainly spoken, than that flesh and blood can not possesse the kingdom of God? **1. Cor. 15. 50.** Therefore let all be done away whatsoeuer is ours (which shall not be done without regeneration) then we shall see this possession of the kingdom. Finally if Christ say truly, when he reporteth that he **Ioh. 11. 25. & 14. 3.** is life, it is necessary that we be grafted into him, that we may be deliuered out of the bondage of death. But (say they) how are infantes regenerate, which are not endued with knowledge neither of good nor of euill? But we answere, that the work of God is not yet no work at all, although it be not subiect to our capacity. Moreouer it is nothing doutfull, that the infantes which are to be saued (as verily of that age some are saued) are before regenerate of the Lorde. For if they bring with them from their mothers wombe the corruption naturally planted in them: they must be purged thereof, before that they be admitted into the kingdom of God, wherinto nothing entreth that is defiled or spotted. If they be borne sinners, as both Dauid and Paul affirme: either they remaine out of fauour and hatefull to God, or they must nedes be iustified. And what seeke we more, when the iudge **Ioh. 3. 3.** himselfe openly affirmeth that the entrie into heauenly life is open to none but to them that be borne againe? And to put such carpers to silence, he shewed an example in Iohn the baptist, whom he sanctified in his mothers wombe, what he was able to do in the rest. Neither do they any thinge preuaile by the shift wherewith they here mocke, that that was but once done: whereupon it doth not by and by folowe that the Lorde is wont commonly to do so with infantes. For neither do we reason after that maner: onely our purpose is to shew, that the power of God is by them vniustly and enuiously limited within those narrowe boundes within which it suffreth not it selfe to be bounde. Their other byshift is euen of as great weight. They alleage that by the vsuall maner of the Scripture, this word (from the wombe,) is as much in effect, as if it were sayd, from childhoode. But we may clearly see, that the Angel when he declared the same to Zachary, meant an other thing: that is, that it which was not yet borne, should be filled with the holy Ghost. Let vs not therefore attempt to appoint a lawe to God, but that he may sanctifie whom it pleased him, as he sanctified this child, forasmuch as his power is nothing diminished.

18 And truly Christ was therefore sanctified from his first infancy, that he might sanctifie in himselfe his elect out of every age without difference. For as, to do away the fault of disobedience which had bin committed in our flesh, he hath put on the same flesh vpon himselfe

selfe, that he might in it for vs and in our stede performe perfect obedience: so he was conceiued of the holy Ghost, that hauinge the holiness thereof fully poured into him in the fleshe which he had taken vpon him, he might poure forth the same into vs. If we haue in Christ a most perfect paterne of all the graces which God continually sheweth to his childre, verily in this behalfe also he shalbe a professe vnto vs, that the age of infancy is not so farre vnfit for sanctification. But howsoever it be, yet this we hold out of controuersie, that none of the elect is called out of this present life, which is not first made holy and regenerate by the Spirite of God. Whereas they object to the contrary, that in the Scriptures the Spirite acknowledgeth no other regeneration but of incorruptible seede, that is, of the word of God: they do wrongefully expounde that sayinge of Peter, wherein he comprehendeth onely the faithfull which hadde bin taught by preaching of the Gospell. To such in deede we graunt that the word of the Lorde is the onely seede of spirituall regeneration: but we deny that it ought therupon to be gathered, that infantes can not be regenerate by the power of God, which is to him as easie & ready as to vs it is incomprehensible and wonderfull. Moreouer it shoulde not be safe enough for vs to take this away from the Lorde, that he may not be able to shewe himselfe to be knownen to them by whatsoeuer way he wil.

1. Pet. 2.
23.

19 But Faith, say they, is by hearinge, whereof they haue not yet gotten the vse, neither can they be able to knowe God, whom Moses teacheth to be destitute of the knowledge both of good and euill. But they consider not that the Apostle, when he maketh hearing the beginning of faith, describeth onely the ordinary distribution of the Lorde and disposition which he useth to keepe in callinge them that be his: but appointeth not to him a perpetuall rule, that he may not vse any other way. Which way verily he hath vsed in the callinge of many, to whom he hath giuen the true knowledge of himselfe by an inward maner, by the enlightening of the Spirite, without any preachinge vsed for meane thereof. But whereas they thinke it shalbe a great absurditie, if any knowledge of God be giuen to infantes, from whom Moses taketh away the vnderstanding of good and euill: I beseech them to aunswere me, what danger is there if they be said to receiue some part of that grace, whereof a little after they shal enioy the full plentifulnes. For if the fulnes of life standeth in the perfect knowledge of God, when many of them, whom in their very first infancy death by and by taketh away, do passe into eternall life, truely they are receiued to beholde the most present face of God. Whom therefore

Deut. 29.
39.

the Lorde will enlighten with the full brightnesse of his light, why may he not presently also, if it so please him, sende out to shine vpon them some small sparcle thereof: specially if he do not first vnclouth them of ignorance, before that he take them out of the prison of the fleshe? Not that I meane rashly to affirme that they be endued with the same Faith which we feele in our selues, or that they haue altogether like knowledge of faith: (which I had rather leaue in suspense) but somewhat to restraîne their foolish arrogance, which according as their mouth is puffed vp with fulnes, do boldly deny or affirme they care not what.

Rom. 14
21.

20 But that they may yet stande more strongly in this point, they adde, that baptisme is a Sacrament of repentance and of Faith: wherefore sith neither of these can befall in tender infancy, we ought to beware least if they be admitted to the communion of baptisme, the signification of it be made voyde and vaine. But these dartes are thrown rather against God than against vs. For it is most euident by many testimonies of Scripture, that circumcision also was a signe of repentance. Moreouer it is called of Paule the seale of the righteousness of Faith. Let therefore a reason be required of God himselfe why he commaunded it to be marked in the bodies of infantes. For sith baptisme and circumcision are both in one case, they can giue nothing to the one but that they must also therewithall graunt the same to the other. If they looke backe to their wonted startinge hole, that then by the age of infancy were figured spirituall infantes, the way is already stopped vp against them. We say therefore, sith God hath communicated to infantes circumcision a Sacrament of repentance and Faith, it seemeth no absurdity if they be made partakers of baptisme: vnlesse they list openly to rage against the ordinance of God. But both in all the doings of God, & in this selfe same doing also shineth wisdom and righteousness enough, to beate downe the backebittings of the wicked. For though infantes, at the same instant that they were circumcised, did not comprehend in vnderstandinge what that signe meant: yet they were truely circumcised into the mortification of their corrupt and defiled nature, in which mortification they should afterward exercise themselues when they were growen to riper age. Finally it is very easie to asswoyle this obiection, with sayinge that they be baptised into repentance and Faith to come: which although they be not formed in them, yet by secrete workinge of the Spirite the seede of both lyeth hidden in them. With this answer at once is ouerthrowen whatsoeuer they wrest against vs which they haue fetched out of the signification of baptisme. Of which sort is that title where with it

is commended of Paul, where he calleth it the washing of regeneration. Tit. 3. 5. tion and of renewing. Whereupon they gather that it is to be given to none but to such a one as is able to conceive those things. But we on the contrary side may answer, that neither was circumcision which betokened regeneration, to be given to any other than to them that were regenerate. And so shall we condemne the ordinance of God. Wherefore (as we have already touched in diuerse places) whatsoever argumentes do tend to the shakinge of circumcision, they haue no force in the assailinge of baptism. Neither do they so escape away, if they say that we ought to take that for determined & certaine, which standeth vpon the authority of God, although there appeare no reason of it: which reuerence is not due to the baptism of infantes, nor to such other things which be not commended vnto vs by the expresse word of God: sith they are still fast holden with this double argumēt. For the commaundement of God concerning infantes to be circumcised, was either lawfull & subiect to no cauillations, or worthy to be found fault withall. If there were no inconuenience nor absurdity in the commaundement of circumcision, neither can there any absurdity be noted in obseruing the baptism of infantes.

21 As for the spot of absurdity which in this place they go about to lay vpon it, we thus wipe it away. Whom the Lord hath vouchsafed to elect, if hauinge receiued the signe of regeneration, they departe out of this present life before that they be come to riper age, he reneweth them with the power of his Spirit incomprehensible to vs, in such manner as he alone foreseeeth to be expedient. If they chaunce to grow vp to age, whereby they may be taught the truth of baptism, they shal hereby be the more enkindled to the endeour of renewing, the token whereof they shall learne to haue bin given them from their first infancy, that they should exercise themselves in it throughout y whole course of their life. To the same entent ought that to be applied which Paule teacheth in two places, that by baptism we are buried together with Christ. For he doth not meane thereby, that he which is to be baptised, must be already first buried together with Christ: but simply declareth what doctrine is contained vnder baptism, yea & that to them that be already baptised: so that very mad men woulde not affirme by this place that it goeth before baptism. After this maner Moses & the Prophets did put the people in mind what circumcision meant, wherewith yet they had bin marked while they were infantes. Of the same effect also is that which he writeth to the Galatians, that they when they were baptised, did put on Christ. To what ende? verily that they should from thence forth

Ro. 6. 4
Colo. 2.
12.

Gala. 3.
27.

1. Pet. 3.
21.

liue to Christ, because they had not liued before. And although in the older sort the receiuing of the signe ought to follow the vnderstanding of y^e mystery: yet it shalbe by and by declared that infants ought to be otherwise esteemed & accompted of. And no otherwise ought we to iudge of y^e place of Peter, in which they thinke that they haue a strong hold: when he saith that it is not a washing to wipe away the filthinesses of the body, but the witnesse of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Christ. They in deede do gather thereby, that nothing is left to the baptisme of infants, but that it should be a vaine smoke, namely from which this trueth is farre distant. But they often offend in this error, that they will haue the thing in order of time to go alway before the signe. For the trueth of circumcision also consisted of the same witnesse of good conscience. If it ought of necessity to haue gone before, infants should neuer haue bin circumcised by the commaundement of God. But he shewing that the witnesse of a good conscience was contained vnder the trueth of circumcision, & yet therewithall also commaunding infants to be circumcised, doth in y^e point sufficiently declare that circumcision is applied to the time to come. Wherefore there is no more present effectualnes to be required in baptisme of infants, thā y^e it should confirme & stablish the couenāt made by the Lord with them. The rest of the signification of that Sacrament shall afterward folow at such time as God himselve foreseeth.

22 Now I thinke there is no man, that doth not clearely see that all such reasons of theirs are mere misconstrings of Scripture. As for the rest that be of a nere kinde to these, we wil lightly runne through them by the way. They obiekt that baptisme is giuen vnto the forgiuenes of sinnes: which whē it is graunted, will largely make for defense of our sentence. For sith we be borne sinners, we do euen from our mothers wombe nede forgiuenes and pardon. Now seeinge the Lord doth not cut of, but rather assure to that age the hope of mercy: why shoulde we take from them the signe which is much inferiour than the thing it selfe? Wherefore that which they go about to throw against vs, we thus throw backe against themselves: infants haue remission of sinnes giuen them, therefore they ought not to haue the signe takē from them. They alleage also this out of the Epistle to the Ephesians: that the Church is cleansed of the Lord, with the washing of water in the word of life. Than which there could nothinge be alleaied more fit to ouerthrowe their error: for thereupon groweth an easie proff of our side. If the Lord wil haue the washing wherewith he cleanseth his Church, to be testified by baptisme: it seemeth not

Ephes. 5.
26.

rightful

rightful that it should want the testimony of it in infantes, which are rightfully accepted part of the Church, forasmuch as they be called heires of the heavenly kingdome. For Paule speaketh of the whole Church, where he saith that it was cleansed with the baptisme of water. Likewise of this that in an other place he sayth that we be by baptisme grafted into y^e body of Christ, we gather that infants, whom he reckoneth amonge his members, ought to be baptised, least they be plucked away from his body. Beholde with what violence with so many engines they assault the fortresses of our faith. 1. Cor. 12. 17.

23 Then they come downe to the practise & custome of y^e time of y^e Apostles, wherein none is found to haue bin admitted to baptisme, but he which hath before professed Faith & repentance. For where Peter was asked of them that were minded to repēt, what was needefull to be done, he counselled them first to repent, & then to be baptised, into the forgiuenes of sinnes. Likewise Philip, whē the Eunuch required to be baptised, answered that he might be baptised if he beleued with all his hart. Hereby they thinke that they may winne, that it is not lawfull that baptisme be graunted to any, but where Faith & repentance go before. Truly if we yeelde to this reason, the first of these two places where is no mention made of Faith, will proue that repentance alone sufficeth: and the other place, wherein repentance is not required, will proue that Faith only is enough. I thinke they will aunswere that the one place is holpen with the other, and therefore must be ioyned together. I say also likewise, that other places must be laid together which make somewhat to the vndoing of this knot: forasmuch as there be many sentences in Scripture, the vnderstanding whereof hangeth vpon the circumstance of the place. As this presently is an example. For they to whom Peter and Philip spake these thinges were of age sufficient to haue practise of repentance and to conceiue Faith. We earnestly deny that such ought to be baptised, vntill after perceiuing of their conuersion and Faith, at least so farre as it may be searched out by the iudgemēt of men. But, that infantes ought to be accompted in an other number, it is more than euident enough. For in old time if any man did ioyne himselfe into communion of religion with Israell, it behoued that he should first be taught the couenant of the Lord, & instructed in the law, before that he were marked with circumcision, because in birth he was a straunger from the people of Israell, with whom the couenant had bin made which circumcision stablished. Aa. 2. 37. Aa. 8. 37.

24 As also the Lord, when he adopteth Abrahā to himselfe, doth not begin at circumcision, hidinge in the meane time what he mea- Gen. 15.

neth by that signe: but first he declareth what couenāt he entēdeth to make with him, & then after Faith giuen to the promise, he maketh him partaker of the Sacramēt. Why doth in Abraham the Sacrament follow Faith, & in Isaac his sonne it goeth before all vnderstanding? Because it is mete that he, which being in full growen age is receiued into fellowship of the couenant, from which he had bin hitherto a stranger, should first learne the conditions thereof: but an infant begotten of him neded not so, which by right of inheritance according to y^e forme of the promise is euen frō his mothers wombe cōtained in the couenant. Or (that the matter be may more clearly & briefly shewed) if the children of the faithful, without the help of vnderstandinge, are partakers of the couenant, there is no cause why they shoulde be debarred from the signe for this that they can not

Gen. 16
16.
Gen. 16
20. & 23
37.
swear to the forme of the couenant. This verily is the reason, why in some places God affirmeth that the infantes which are issued of the Israelites, are begottē & borne to him. For without doubt he esteemeth as his children the children of them to whose seede he promiseth y^e he will be a Father. But he which is vnfaithfull, issued of vngodly parents, till he be by Faith vnited to God, is iudged a straunger from the communion of the couenant. Therefore it is no maruel if he be not partaker of the signe, the signification whereof should be deceitfull and voyde in him. To this effect Paule also writeth, that the

Eph. 3.
12.
Matt. 3.
6.
Gentiles so long as they were drowned in their idolatry, were out of the Testament. With this short summe, (as I thinke) the whole matter may be clearly opened: that they which in growen age, embrace the Fayth of Christ, forasmuch as they were hitherto straungers from the couenant, are not to be marked with baptisme, but whereas Faith and repentance come betwene, which onely can open them the entrie into fellowship of the couenant: but the infantes that are issued of Christians, as they are receiued of God into the inheritance of the couenant so soone as they be borne, so ought to be receiued to baptisme. Hereunto must that be applied which the Euangelist speaketh of, that they were baptised of Iohn which confessed their sinnes. Which exāple at this day also we thinke mete to be kept. For if a Turke offer himselfe to baptisme, he shoulde not be rashely baptised of vs, namely not till after cōfession whereby he may satisfie the Church.

25
Joh. 3. 5
Moreouer they bring forth the wordes of Christ, which are rehearsed in the third Chapter of Iohn, wherby they thinke that a present regeneration is required in baptisme. Vnlesse a man be borne againe of water and the Spirite, he can not enter into the kingdom of God.

God. Lo (say they) howe baptisme is by the Lordes owne mouth called regeneration. Them therefore whom it is more than enough known to be vnable to receiue regeneratiō, by what colour do we admit to baptisme which can not be without regeneratiō? First they are deceiued in this that they thinke that in this place mention is made of baptisme, because they heare the name of water. For after that Christ had declared to Nicodemus the corruption of nature, & taught him that mē must be borne of new, because Nicodemus dreamed of a bodily newe birth, he there shewed the maner howe God doth regenerate vs, namely by water and the Spirite: as though he should say, by the Spirite which in cleansinge and wateringe faithfull soules, doth the office of water. Therefore I take water and the Spirite simply for the Spirit, which is water. Neither is this a new forme of spech, for it altogether agreeth with the same which is in the third Chapter of Mathewe: He that foloweth me, it is he that baptiseth in the holy Ghost and fier. Therefore as to baptise in the holy Ghost and fier, is to giue the holy Ghost, which hath the office and nature of fier: so to be borne againe of water and the Spirite, is nothing else but to receiue that power of the holy Spirite which doth the same thinge in the soule that water doth in the body. I knowe that other do otherwise expounde it: but I am out of dout that this is the naturall meaninge: because the purpose of Christ is none other, but to teach that all they must put of their owne nature which aspire to the heauenly kingdom. Howbeit if we list to cauil vnfauorily as they do, it were easie for vs (when we haue graunted as they woulde haue it) to inferre vpon them that baptisme is before Fayth and repentance: forasmuch as in the wordes of Christ it goeth before the Spirite. It is certayne that this is vnderstanded of spirituall gistes: which if they come after baptisme, I haue obtayned what I require. But leauinge caullations, we must holde fast the plaine exposition, which I haue brought, that no manne till he haue beene renewed with liuinge water, that is, with the Spirite, can enter into the kingdome of God.

26 Now hereby also it is euident that their fained inuention is to be hissed out, which adiudge all the vn baptised to eternall death. Therefore let vs accordinge to their request imagine baptisme to be ministred to none but to them that be growen in age: what will they say, shall become of a childe, which is rightly and well instructed with the introductions of godlinesse, if when the day of baptisinge is at hand, he happen to be taken away with sudden death beside all mens hope? The Lordes promise is cleare, that whosoever hath beleued

Cap. 16. Of the outward meanes

in the Sonne, shall not see death, nor shall come into iudgement, but is already passed from death into life: and it is no where founde that he euer damned him that was not yet baptised. Which I woulde not haue so taken of me as though I meant that baptisme might freely be despised (by which despisinge I affirme that the Lordes couenant is defiled: so much lesse can I abide to excuse it) only it is enough for me to proue, that it is not so necessary, that he should be immediatly thought to be lost, from whome power is taken away to obtaine it. But if we agree to their fained deuise, we shall damne all them without exception, whom any chaunce withholdeth from baptisme, with howe great Faith soeuer (by which Christ himselfe is possessed) otherwise they are endued. Moreover they make all infantes gilty of eternall death, to whom they deny baptisme, which by their owne confession is necessary to saluation. Nowe lette them looke howe trimly they agree with the wordes of Christ, by which the kingdom of heauen is adiudged to that age. But, to graunt them euery thinge so much as pertaineth to the vnderstandinge of this place, yet they shall gather nothinge thereof, vnlesse they ouerthrowe the former doctrine, which we haue established concerninge the regeneration of infantes.

27 But they glory that they haue the strongest holde of all in the very institution of baptisme, which they fetch out of the last Chapter of Matthew: where Christ sending forth his Apostles to all nations, giueth them the first commaundement to teache them, and the seconde to baptise them. Then also out of the last of Marke they adioyne this, He that beleueth and is baptised, shalbe saued. What seke we further (say they) when the Lordes owne words do openly sound, that we must first teache ere we baptise, and do assigne to baptisme the second state after Faith? Of which order the Lord also shewed an example in himselfe, which would be baptised not till the thirtieth yeare. But here, O good God, how many waies do they both entangle themselues, and bewray their owne ignorance? For herein they now more than childishly erre, y they fetch the first institutiō of baptisme from thense, which Christ had from the beginning of his preachinge giuen in charge to his Apostles to minister. Therefore there is no cause why they shoulde affirme that the lawe and rule of baptisme is to be fetched out of these places, as though they contained the first institution thereof. But, to beare with them for this fault, yet how strong is this maner of reasoning? Truly if I listed to dally with them, there is not a litle lurking hole, but a most wide felde offereth it selfe open for vs to escape them. For when they sticke so fast to the order

Mat. 19.
14.

Mat. 28
19.

Mar. 16.
16.

Matt. 3.
13.

Luc. 3.
23.

order of wordes, that they gather that because it is sayd, Go, preach Mar. 16
 and baptise, Againe, he that beleueth and is baptised, therefore they 15.
 must preach before that they baptise, & beleue before that they re-
 quire baptism: why may not we againe answer them with sayinge
 that we must baptise before that we must teache the keeping of those
 thinges that Christ hath commaunded: namely sith it is sayd, bap-
 tise ye, teaching them to kepe whatsoeuer thinges I haue commaun-
 ded you? which same thinges we haue noted in that sayinge of Christ
 which haue bin euen now alleaged concerninge the regeneration of
 water and the Spirit. For if it be so vnderitode as they would haue it,
 verily in that place baptism must be before spirituall regeneration,
 because it is named in the first place. For Christ doth teache that we
 must be regenerate, not of the Spirit and water, but of water and the
 Spirit.

28 Now this inuincible reason whereupon they beare themselves
 so bolde, seemeth to be somewhat shaken: but because trueth hath de-
 fense enough in simplicity, I will not escape away with such light ar-
 gumentes. Therefore let them take with them a full answer. Christ
 in this place giueth the chiefe commaundement concerninge preach-
 ing of the Gospell, whereunto he adioyneth the ministry of bap-
 tisme as an addition hanging vpon it. Againe he speaketh none o-
 therwise of baptism but so farre as the ministratio of it is vnder the
 office of teachinge. For Christ sendeth the Apostles to publishe the
 Gospel to all y nations of the world, that they should fro echwhere
 with the doctrine of saluation gather together into his kingdom men
 that before were lost. But whom, or what maner of men? It is certaine
 that there is no mention but of thē that are able to receiue teachinge.
 Afterward he addeth that such, when they are instructed, ought to be
 baptised, adioyninge a promise, that they which beleue and are bap-
 tised shalbe saued. Is there in all that saying so much as one sillable
 of infantes? What forme therefore of reasoning shall this be where-
 with they assaile vs: they which are of growen age, must first be in-
 structed, that they may beleue, ere they be baptised: therfore it is vn-
 lawful to make baptism common to infantes? Although they would
 burst themselves, they shall proue nothing else by this place but that
 the Gospel must be preached to thē that are of capacity able to heare
 it, before y they be baptised, forasmuch as he there speaketh of such
 only. Let them hereof, if they can, make a stoppe to debarre infantes
 from baptism.

29 But, that euen blinde men also may with groping finde out their
 deceites, I will point them out with a very cleare similitude. If any

2. Theſ.
3. 10.Luc. 3.
23.

man caull that infantes ought to haue meate taken from them, vpon this pretense that the Apostle suffereth none to eate but them that labour, shall he not be worthy that all men should spit at him? Why for? Because he without difference draweth that to all men, which was spoken of one kinde & one certaine age of mē. No whit handsomer is their handeling in this present cause. For, that which euery man seeth to belonge to one age alone, they draw to infantes, that this age also may be subiect to y rule which was made for none but thē that were more growen in yeres. As for the example of Christ, it nothinge vp-holdeth their side. He was not baptised before y he was thirty yeres olde. That is in deede true: but there is a reason thereof ready to be shewed: because he then purposed by his preachinge to lay a sounde foundation of baptisme, or rather to stablish the foundation which had bin before layd of Iohn. Therefore when he minded with his doctrine to institute baptisme, to procure the greater authority to his institution, he Sanctified it with his owne body, and that in such fitnesse of time as was most conuenient, namely when he began his preaching. Finally they shall gather nothing else hereof, but that baptisme toke his originall and beginninge at the preachinge of the Gospell. If they list to appoint the thirtith yere, why do they not keepe it, but do receiue euery one to baptisme as he hath in their iudgement sufficiently profited? yea & Seruettus one of their maisters, when he stiffely required this time, yet began at the 21. yere of his age to boast himselfe to be a Prophete. As though he were to be suffered that taketh vpon himselfe the place of a teacher in the Church, before that he be a mēber of the Church.

30 At the last they obiekt, that there is no greater cause why baptisme should be giuen to infantes, than the Lordes Supper, which yet is not graunted them. As though the Scripture did not euery way expresse a large difference. The same was in dede vsually done in the old Church, as it appeareth by Cyprian and Augustine: but that maner is worthily growen out of vse. For if we consider the nature and property of baptisme, it is truely an entry into the Church and as it were a forme of admission, whereby we are adnumbred into the people of God, a signe of our spirituall regeneration by which we are borne againe into the children of God: whereas on the other side the Supper is giuen to them that be more growen in age, which hauing passed tender infancy, are now able to beare strong meate. Which difference is very euidently shewed in the Scripture. For there the Lord so much as pertaineth to baptisme, maketh no choise of ages. But he doth not likewise giue the Supper to all to take part of it, but only to them
which

which are fit to discerne the body and blood of the Lord, to examine their owne conscience, to declare the Lordes death, to weye the power thereof. Would we haue any thing plainer, than that which the Apostle teacheth whē he exhorteth that euery man should proue and examine himselfe, and then eate of this bred and drinke of this cup? Therefore examination must go before, which should in vaine be looked for of infantes. Againe, he that eateth vnworthily, eateth and drinketh damnatiō to himselfe, not discerning the Lordes body. If none can partake worthily but they that can well discerne the holinesse of the Lordes body, why should we geue to our tender children, poison in steede of liuely foode? What is that commaundement of the Lorde, ye shall do it in remembrance of me? what is that other which the Apostle deriueth from the same, So oft as ye shall eate of this bread, ye shall declare the Lordes death till he come? What remembrance (I beseeche you) shall we require at our infantes of the thing which they neuer attained with vnderstanding? what preaching of the crosse of Christ, the force and benefite whereof they do not yet comprehend in minde? None of these things is prescribed in baptisme. Therefore betwene these two signes is great difference: which we note also in like signes in the olde testament. Circumcision, which is knowne to aunswere to our baptisme, was appointed for infants. But the passeouer into whoes place the Supper hath nowe succeded, did not receiue all maner of gestes without difference, but was rightly eaten of them onely that might by age enquire of the signification of it. If these men had remaining one crumme of sounde braine, would they be blinde at a thing so clere and offring it selfe to sight?

1. Cor.
11.28.

31 Although it greueth me to lode the readers with a heape of trifles: yet it shalbe worth the trauaill brefely to wipe away such gay reasons as Seruettus not the least of the Anabaptistes, yea the great glory of that company, thought himselfe to bring when he prepared himselfe to cōflict. He allegeth, that Christes signes as they be perfect, so do require them that be perfect or able to conceiue perfection. But the solution is easy: that the perfection of baptisme, which extendeth euen to death, is wrongfully restrained to one point of time. I say yet further, that perfection is foolishly required in man at the first day, whereunto baptisme allureth vs all our life long by continual degrees. He obiecteth that Christes signes were ordeined for remembrance, that euery man should remember that he was buried together with Christ. I aunswere that, that which he hath fained of his owne head, needeth no confutation: yea that which

he draweth to baptisme, Paules wordes shewe to be prope to the holy Supper, that euery man should examine himself: but of baptisme there is no where any such thing. Whereupon we gather that they be rightly baptised which for their smalnesse of age, are not yet able to receiue examination. Whereas he thirdly allegeth, that all they abide in death which beleue not the Sonne of God, and that the wrath of God abideth vpon them: and therefore that infants which can not beleue lie in their damnation: I aunswere that Christ there speaketh not of the generall guiltinesse wherewith all the posteritie of Adam are enwrapped, but onely thretneth the despisers of the Gospell, which do proudly and stubbornly refuse the grace offered them. But this nothing pertaineth to infantes. Also I set a contrarie reason against thē: that whomsoever Christ blesteth, he is discharged from the curse of Adam and the wrath of God: Sith therefore it is knownen that infantes are blessed of him, it followeth that they are discharged from death. Then he falsly citeth that which is no where red, that whosoever is borne of the Spirit, heareth the voice of the Spirit. Which although we graunt to be written, yet shall proue nothing els but that the faithfull are framed to obedience, according as the Spirit worketh in them. But that which is spoken of a certaine number, it is faultie to drawe indifferently to all. Fowerthly he obiekteth: because that goth before which is naturall, we must tarry ripe time for baptisme which is spirituall. But although I graunt that all the posteritie of Adam begotten of the fleshe do from the very wombe beare their owne damnation, yet I denie that that withstandeth but that God may presently bring remedy. For neither shall Seruettus proue that there were many yeares appointed by God that the spirituall newnesse of life many beginne. As Paule testifieth, although they which are borne of the faithfull are by nature damned: yet by supernaturall grace they are saued. Then he bringeth forth an allegorie, that Dauid going vp into y^e toure of Sion, did leade neither blinde men nor lame men with him but strong souldiors. But what if I set a parable against it, wherein God calleth to the heavenly banquet blinde men and lame men: howe will Seruettus vnwinde himselfe out of this knott? I aske also whether lame and maimed men had not first bene souldiors with Dauid. But it is superfluous to tary longer vpon this reason, which the readers shall finde by the holy historie to be made of mere falsehod. There followeth an other allegorie, that the Apostles were fishers of men, not of litle children. But I aske, what that saying of Christ meaneth, that into the nette of the Gospel are gathered all kindes of fishes. But because I like not to play with allegories,

Iohn. 3.
36.

1. Cor.
15. 46.

1 Cor.
7. 14.

2. Sam.
5. 8.
Luc 14.
21.

Mat. 4.
19.
Mat. 13.
47.

allegories,

allegories, I aunswere that when the office of teaching was enioined to the Apostles, yet they were not forbidden from baptising of infantes. Howbeit I would yet knowe, when the Euangeliste nameth them Anthropous men, (in which word is comprehended all mankinde without exception) why they should deny infantes to be men. Seuenthly he allegeth, that sith spirituall things agree with spirituall, infantes which are not spirituall, are also not mete for baptisme. But first it is plainly euident howe wrongfully they wrest the place of Paule. There is entreated of doctrine: when the Corinthians did to much stande in their owne conceite for vaine sharpnesse of witte, Paule rebuketh their sluggishnesse, for that they were yet to be instructed in the first introductions of heauenly wisdom. Who can thereof gather that baptisme is to be denied to infants, whom being begotten of the flesh God doth by free adoption make holy to himselfe? Whereas he saith, that they must be fed with spirituall meate, if they be newe men, the solution is easy, that by baptisme they are admitted into the flocke of Christ, and that the signe of adoption sufficeth them, till being growen to age they be able to beare strong meate: that therefore the time of examination which God expressly requireth in the holy Supper, must be taried for. Afterward he objecteth that Christ calleth all his to the holy Supper. But it is certaine enough that he admitteth none, but them that be already prepared to celebrate the remembrance of his death. Whereupon followeth that infantes, whom he vouchesaues to embrace, do stay in a seuerall and proper degree by themselves till they growe to age, and yet are not strangers. Whereas he sayeth, that it is monstrous that a man after that he is borne, should not eate: I aunswere that soules are otherwise fed than by the outward eating of the Supper: and that therefore Christ is neuerthelesse meate to infantes, although they abstaine from the signe. But of baptisme the case is otherwise, by which onely the gate into the Church is opened to them. Againe he objecteth that a good Stewarde distributeth meate to the householde in due time. Which although I willingly graunt: yet by what right will he appoint vnto vs the certaine time of Baptisme, that he may proue that it is not geuen to infantes out of time. Moreouer he bringeth in that commaundement of Christ to the Apostles, that they should make hast into the haruest, while the fieldes waxe white. Verily Christ meaneth this onely, that the Apostles seying the fruit of their labor present, should the more cherefully prepare themselves to teache. Who shall thereof gather that the onely time of haruest is the ripe time for baptisme? His eleuenth reason is, that in the first Church

1 Cor.
2.13.Mat. 24.
46.Iohn. 4.
35.Act. 18.
26.

Christians and disciples were all one: but we see now that he fondly reasoneth from the parte to the whole. Disciples are called men of full age, which had bene already throughly taught, and had professed Christ: as it behoued that the Iewes vnder the lawe should be the disciples of Moses: yet no man shall thereof rightly gather, that infantes were strangers, whom the Lorde hath testified to be of his householde. Beside these he allegeth, that all Christians are brethren, in which number infantes are not vnto vs, so long as we debarre them from the Supper. But I returne to that principle, that none are heires of the kingdome of heauen, but they that are the membres of Christ: then, that the embracing of Christ was a true token of the adoption, whereby infantes are ioined in common with full growen men, and that the absteyning for a time from the Supper withstandeth not but that they pertaine to the body of the Church. Neither did the these that was conuerted on the Crosse, cesse to be brother of the godly, although he neuer came to the Supper. Afterward he addeth, that none is made our brother but by the Spirit of adoption, which is geuen onely by the hearing of faith. I aunswere, that he still fallerh backe into the same deceitefull argument, because he ouerthwartly draweth y to infants which was spokē only of growē men. Paule teacheth there that this is Gods ordinarie maner of calling to bring his elect to the faith, whē he stirreth vp to them faithfull teachers, by whoes ministerie and trauaile he reacheth his hande to them. Who dare thereby appoint a lawe to him, but that he may by some other secret way graffe infantes into Christ? Where he obiecteth that Cornelius was baptised after that he had receiued the Holy Ghost: howe wrongfully he doth out of one example gather a generall rule, appereth by the Eunuch and the Samaritanes, in whom the Lorde kepte a cōtrary order, that baptisme went before the gifts of the Holy Ghost. The fiftenth reason is more than foolish. He saith that we are by regeneration made gods: and that they be gods to whom the word of God is spoken, which accordeth not to children that be infantes. Whereas he faineth a Godhead to the faithfull, that is one of his dotages, which it pertaineth not to this present place to examine. But to wrest the place of the Psalme to so cōtrarie a sense, is a point of desperate shamelesnesse. Christ saith, that Kings and Magistrates are called of the Prophet goddes, because they beare an office appointed them of God. But, that which concerning the speciall commaundement of gouernance is directed to certaine men, this handsome expositor draweth to the doctrine of the Gospell, that be may banish infantes out of the Church. Againe he obiecteth,

A.C. 10.

24.

A.C. 8.

27.

Iohn. 1.

35.

that

that infantes can not be accompted newe men, because they are not begotten by the word. But I do nowe againe repete that which I haue often said, that to regenerate vs doctrine is the vncorruptible seede, if we be fit to receiue it: but when by reason of age there is not yet in vs aptnesse to learne, God kepeth his degrees of regenerating. Afterward he commeth backe to his allegories, that in the lawe a shepe and a goate were not offred in sacrifice so sone as they came out of the wombe. If I listed to drawe figures to this purpose, I could likewise redily obiekt against him, that all first begotten things were consecrate to God so sone as they had opened the wombe: then, that a lambe must be killed at a yeares age. Wherupō followeth that manly strength is not to be taried for, but rather that the newe and yet tender issues are chosen of God for sacrifices. Furthermore he affirmeth that none can come to Christ, but they that haue bene prepared of Iohn. As though Iohns office were not enduring but for a time. But, to omitt this, truely that same preparation was not in the children whom Christ embraced and blessed. Wherefore let him go with his false principle. At length he calleth for patrones Trismegistus and the Sibylles, to proue that holy washings pertaine not but to them that are of growen age. Lo howe honorably he thinketh of the baptisme of Christ, which he reduceth to the Ceremonies of the Gentiles, that it may be no otherwise ministred than pleaseth Trismegistus. But we more esteeme the authoritie of God, whom it hath pleased to make infantes holy to himself, and to admitte them with the holy signe, the force whereof they did not yet by age vnderstād. Neither do we compt it lawfull to borowe out of the cleanings of the Gentiles any thing that may change in our baptisme the euerlasting and inuiolable lawe of God, which he hath stablised concerning circumcision. Last of all, he maketh this argument: that if it be lawfull to baptise infantes without vnderstanding, then baptisme may enterludelike and in sport be ministred of boyes when they play. But of this matter let him quarell with God by whoes commaundement circumcision was common to infantes before that they had attained vnderstanding Was it therefore a playing matter, or subiect to the follies of children, that they might ouerthrow the holy ordinance of God? But it is no meruaile that these reprobate Spirits, as though they were vexed with a phrenesie, do thrust in all the grossest absurdities for defence of their errors: because God doth with such giddinesse iustly take vengeance of their pride and stubborneesse. Verily I trust I haue made plaine with howe feble succors Seruettus hath holpen his silly brethren the Anabaptists.

Exo. 13.

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Exo. 13.

5.

32 Nowe I thinke it will be doutfull to no sobre man, howe rashly they trouble the Church of Christ, that moue brawles and contentions for the baptisme of infantes. But it is profitable to cōsider, what Satan goeth about with this so great suttelty: euen to take away from vs the singlar fruit of affiance and spirituall ioy which is to be gathered hereof, & to diminish as much also of the glory of the goodnesse of God. For howe swete is it to godly mindes, to be certified not onely by word, but also by sight to be seene with eyes, that they obteine so much fauor with the heauenly father, that he hath also care of their posteritie? For here it is to be seene, howe he taketh vpon him the person of a most prouident Father of householde toward vs, which euen after our death doth not lay away his carefulnesse of vs, but prouideth and forseeth for our children. Ought we
 Psal. 48. 11. not here after the example of Dauid with al our hart to leape vp vnto thankesgeuing, that by such shewe of his goodnesse, his name may be sanctified? This, verily Satan intendeth, in assailing with so great armies the baptisme of infantes: namely, that this testifying of the grace of God being taken away, the promise which by it is present before our eyes, may at length by little and little vanish away. Wherevpon should growe not onely a wicked vnthankfulnesse toward the mercy of God, but also a certaine slouthfulnesse in instructing our children to godlinesse. For by this spurre we are not a little pricked forward to bring them vp in the earnest feare of God & in the keeping of his lawe, when we cōsider that euen immediatly from their birth, he taketh and acknowledgeth them for his children. Wherefore vnlesse we list enuiously to darken the bountifullnesse of God, let vs offer to him our children, to whom he geueth a place among them that be of his familie and householde, that is to say, the members of the Church.

The xvij. Chapter.

Of the holy Supper of Christ: and what it auaieth vs.

After that God hath ones receiued vs into his familie, and not onely to take vs as his seruantes, but as his children: that he may fulfill the office of a most good Father, and carefull for his issue, he taketh also vpon him to nourish vs throughout the whole course of our life. And not cōtented therewith, it pleased him by a pledge geuen, to assure vs of this continuall liberaltie. To this ende therefore he hath geuen his Church an other Sacrament by the hand of his only begotten Sonne, namely a spirituall banker, wherein Christ testifieth himselfe to be the quickning bread, where-
 with

with our soules are fed to true & blessed immortalitie. But forasmuch as the knowledge of so great a misterie is very necessarie, and according to the greatnesse thereof, requireth a diligent declaration: and Satan, that he might bereue the Church of this inestimable treasure, hath long ago spread mistes, and sins that time darknesse, to obscure the light of it, and then hath stirred strues and battels that might estrange the mindes of the simple from tasting of this holy fode, and hath also in our time attempted the same craft: therefore when I shall haue brefely knit vp the summe for the capacitie of the vnlearned, I will vndo those knottes, wherewith Satan hath endeuored to snare the world. First, bread and wine are signes, which represent vnto vs the inuisible foode, which we receiue of the flesh and blood of Christ. For as in baptisme God againe begetting vs doth graffe vs into the fellowship of his Church, and by adoption doth make vs his owne: so we haue said that he performeth the office of a prouident Father of householde, in this that he continually ministrereth vs meate, that he susteineth and preserueth vs in that life whereinto he hath by his word begotten vs. Nowe the onely meate of our soule is Christ, and therefore the heauenly Father calleth vs to him, that being refreshed with common partaking of him, we may from time to time gather liuely force, vntill we attein to heauenly immortalitie. But forasmuch as this misterie of the secret vniting of Christ with the godly is by nature impossible to be comprehended, he geueth the figure and image thereof in visible signes most fit for our small capacitie: yea as it were by earnestes and tokens geuen, he maketh it so assured vnto vs as if it were sene with our eies, because this so familiar a similitude entreth euen into the grossest mindes, that soules are so fed with Christ, as bread and wine do susteine the bodily life. Nowe therefore we haue it declared, to what ende this mysticall blessing tendeth, namely to assure vs, that the body of the Lorde was so ones offred for vs, that we nowe eate it, and in eating it do fele in vs the effectuall working of that onely sacrifice: that his blood was so ones shed for vs, that it is vnto vs continuall drinke. And so founde the words of the promise there adioined. Take, this is my body, which is deliuered for you. The body therefore which was ones offred vp for our saluation, we are commaunded to take and eate: that when we see our selues to be made partakers of this, we may certainly determine that the power of his death which bringeth life shalbe effectuall in vs. Whereupon also he calleth the cuppe, the couenāt in his blood. For after a certaine maner it reneweth, or rather continueth the couenāt which he hath ones stablished with his blood, so much as pertaineth

Mat. 26

26

Mar. 14.

17.

Luc. 22.

19.

1. Cor.

11. 24.

to the confirming of our faith, so ofte as he reacheth vnto vs that holy blood to be tasted of.

2 A great fruit verily of affiāce and swetenesse may godly soules gather of this Sacrament, because they haue a witnesse, that we are growen together into one body with Christ, so that whatsoeuer is his we may call ours. Hereupon followeth that we may boldly promise vnto our selues, that euerlasting life is ours, whereof he is heire : and that the kingdome of heauen, whereinto he is nowe entred, can no more fall away from vs than from him : againe that we can not nowe be condemned by our sinnes, from the giltyneſſe whereof he hath acquitted vs, when he willed them to be imputed to himself as if they were his owne. This is the maruailous exchange, which of his immeasurable bouifulnesse he hath made with vs : that he being made with vs the sonne of man, hath made vs with him the sonnes of God : that by his comming downe into earth, he hath made vs a way to go vp into heauen : that putting vpon him our mortalitie, he hath geuen vs his immortalitie : that taking on him our weakenesse, he hath strengthened vs with his power : that taking our pouerty to himselfe he hath conueyed his riches to vs : that taking to him the weight of our vnrighteousnes, wherewith we were oppressed, he hath clothed vs with his righteousness.

3 Of all these things we haue so full a witnessing in this sacrament, that we must certainly determine, that Christ is truly geuen vs, as if Christ himself were set present before our eyes, and handled with our handes. For this word can neither lie to vs, nor mocke vs: Take, eate, drinke : this is my body which is deliuered for you: this is the blood, which is shed into the forgeuenesse of sinnes. Whereas he commaundeth to take, he signifieth that it is ours. Whereas he commaundeth to eate, he signifieth that that is made one substance with vs. Whereas he saith of the body, that it is deliuered for vs : of the blood, that it is shed for vs : therein he teacheth that both are not so much his as ours : because he toke and laide away both, not for his commoditie, but to our saluation. And truly it is to be diligently marked, that the chiefe and in a maner whole pith of the sacrament standeth in these words, Which is deliuered for you, Which is shed for you. For, otherwise it should not much profit vs, that the body and blood of the Lorde are nowe distributed, vnlesse they had bene ones geuen forth for our redemption and saluation. Therefore they are represented vnder bread and wine, that we should learne that they are not onely ours, but also ordeined for the nourishment of spirituall life. This is it that we before sayed, that from the corporall

porall things which are shewed forth in the Sacrament, we are by a certaine proportionall relation guided to spirituall things. So when bread is geuen vs for a signe of the body of Christ, we ought by and by to conceiue this similitude: As bread nourisherh, susteineth, and mainteineth the life of our body: so the body of Christ is the onely meate to quicken and geue life to our soule. When we see wine set forth for a signe of his blood: we must call to minde what vses wine bringeth to the body, that we may consider that the same are brought to vs spiritually by the blood of Christ: those vses be, to cherish, to refresh, to strengthen, to make mery. For if we sufficiently weye, what the deliuering of this holy body, what the shedding of this holy blood, hath profited vs: we shall plainly perceiue that these things which are spoken of bread and wine, according to such proportionall relation do very well accorde with them toward vs when they are communicated vnto vs.

4 Therefore the chiefe partes of the Sacrament are not, simply and without hier consideration to reach to vs the body of Christ: but rather that same promise, whereby he testifieth, that his fleshe is verily meate, and his blood is drinke, with which we are fed into eternall life: whereby he affirmeth himselfe to be the breade of life, of which who so eateth, he shall liue for euer: to seale (I say) and confirme that promise: and for bringing the same to passe, to sende vs to the crosse of Christ, where that promise hath bene truly performed, and in all pointes fulfilled. For we do not well and healthfully eate Christ but crucified, when we do with liuely feeling conceiue the effectualnesse of his death. For whereas he called himselfe the breade of life, he did not borrowe that name of the sacrament, as some do wrongfully expounde it: but because he was geuen vs such of the Father, and performed himselfe such, when being made partaker of our humane mortallitie, he made vs parteners of his diuine immortalitie: when offering himselfe for sacrifice, he toke our accursednesse vpon himselfe, that he might fill vs with blessing: when with his death he deuoured and swallowed vp death: when in his resurrection he raised vp this our corruptible flesh which he had put on, to glory and vncorruption.

5 It remaineth that by appliance all the same may come to vs. That is done, both by the Gospell, and more cleerely by the holy Supper, where both he offereth himselfe to vs with all his good things, and we receiue him by faith. Wherefore the sacrament maketh not that Christ first beginneth to be the bread of life: but when it bringeth into remembrance, that he was made the bread of life, which we continually eate, and when it geueth vnto vs the tast and savor of

that breade then it maketh vs to fele the strength of that bread. For it promiseth vs, that whatsoeuer Christ did or suffred, the same was done to geue life to vs. Then, that this geuing of life is euerlasting, by which we may without ende be nourished, susteined, & preserued in life. For as Christ should not haue bene to vs the bread of life, vnlesse he had bene borne and had died for vs, vnlesse he had risen againe for vs: so now he should not be the same vnlesse the effectualnesse and fruit of his birth, death and resurrection, were an euerlasting and immortall thing. All which Christ hath very well expressed in these wordes: The bread which I will geue, is my flesh, which I will geue for the life of the world. By which words without dout he signifieth, that his body should therefore be to vs for bread, to the spirituall life of the soule, because it should be geuen forth to death for our saluation: and that it is deliuered to vs to eate of it, when by faith he maketh vs partakers of it. Ones therefore he gaue it, that he might be made bread, when he gaue forth himselfe to be crucified for the redemption of the world: daily he geueth it, when by the word of the Gospell he offreth it vnto vs to be receiued, so farre as it was crucified: where he sealeth that deliuerance with the holy misterie of the Supper: where he inwardly fulfilleth that which he outwardly be-tokeneth. Nowe herein we must beware of two faultes, that neither doing to much in abacing the signes, we seeme to plucke them from their misteries to which they are in a maner kniute fast: nor that being immeasurable in aduancing the same, we seeme in the meane time somewhat to darké the misteries themselues. That Christ is the bread of life, wherewith the faithfull are nourished into eternall saluation, there is no man but he graunteth, vnlesse he be altogether without religion. But this point is not likewise agreed vpon among all men, what is the maner of partaking of him. For there be that in one word define, that to eate the flesh of Christ, and to drinke his blood, is nothing els but to beleue in Christ himselfe. But I thinke that Christ meant some certainer and hier thing, in that notable sermon where he commenderh to vs the eating of his fleshe: namely, that we are quickned by the true partaking of him: which also he therefore expressed by the wordes of eating and drinking, least any man should thinke, that the life which we receiue of him is conceiued by bare knowledge only. For as not the sight, but the eating of bread suffiseth the body for nourishment: so it behoueth that the soule be truely and thoroughly made partaker of Christ, that by the power of him it may be quickened into a spirituall life. But in the meane time we confesse that there is no other eating, but of faith: as there can no other be
imagined.

imagined. But this is the difference betweene my wordes and theirs, that whith them to eate is onely to beleue: but I say that the fleshe of Christ is eaten with beleuing, becaute by faith he is made ours, and I say that eating is the fruite and effect of faith. Or, if you will haue it plainer, with them eating is faith: and I thinke it rather to followe of faith. In wordes verily the difference is but smalle: but in the thing it selfe, not small. For though the Apostle teacheth that Ephes. 3. Christ dwelleth in our hartes by Faith: yet no man will expounde 17. this dwelling to be faith: but all men do perceiue that there is expressed a singular effect of faith, for that by it the faithfull do obtaine to haue Christ dwelling in them. After this maner, the Lorde meant, Iohn. 6. in calling himselfe the bread of life, not onely to teache that in the 51. faith of his death and resurrection, saluation is reposed for vs: but also that by true partaking of himselfe it is brought to passe, that his life passech into vs, and becometh oures: like as bread, when it is taken for foode, ministreth liuelinesse to the body.

6 Neither did Augustine, whom they bring in for their patron, in any other meaning write that we eate by beleuing, than to shewe that this eating is of faith, not of the mouth. Which I also denie not: but yet therewithall I adde, that we do by faith embrace Christ, not appearing as farre of, but making himselfe one with vs, that he may be our head, and we his membres. Yet do not I vtterly disallowe that maner of speaking: but onely I deny it to be a full declaration, if they meane to define what it is to eate the fleshe of Christ. Otherwise I see that Augustine hath ofte vsed this forme of speche: as when he saith in the thirde booke Of Christian doctrine, Vnlesse ye eate the fleshe of the sonne of man: this is a figure teaching that we must communicate with the passion of the Lorde, and must sweetely and profitably lay vp in remembrance that for vs his fleshe was crucified and wounded. Againe when he sayeth, that the three Homel. in Ioh. 31. and 40. thousande menne which were conuerted at Peters sermon, did drinke the bloode of Christ by beleuing, which they had shedde by cruell dealing. But in many other places he honorably setteth out A& 2. 41. that benefit of faith, that by it our soules are no lesse refreshed with the communicating of the fleshe of Christ, than our bodies are with the breade which they eate, And the same is it which in a certaine place Chrysostome writeth, that Christ doth not onely by Homel. 60. faith, but also in deede make vs his body. For he meaneth not that we do from any other where than from faith, obtaine such a benefite: but this onely he meaneth to exclude, that none when he heareth faith to be named, shoulde conceiue a naked imagination. As for

Inc. 23.
20.

them that wil haue the Supper to be onely a marke of outward profession, I do nowe passe them ouer: because I thinke that I haue sufficiently confuted their error, when I entreated of Sacraments generally. Onely this thing let the reders marke, that when the cup is called the couenant in the blood, there is a promise expressed that may be of force to confirme faith. Wherupon followeth, that vnlesse we haue respect to God, and embrace that which he offereth, we do not rightly vse the holy Supper.

7 Moreover they also do not satisfie me, which acknowledging that we haue some communion with Christ, when they meane to expresse it, do make vs partakers onely of the Spirit, without making any mention of fleshe and blood. As though all those things were spoken of nothing, that his flesh is verily meate, that his blood is verily drinke: that none hath life, but he that eateth that fleshe, and drinketh that blood: and such other sayings that belong to the same ende. Wherfore if it be certaine that the full communicating of Christ procedeth beyonde their description, as it is to narrowly strained: I will nowe go about to knit vp in fewe wordes, howe large it is and howe farre it extendeth it selfe, before that I speake of the contrarie fault of excesse. For I shall haue a longer disputation with the excessive teachers, which, when according to their owne grossnesse they frame a maner of eating and drinking full of absurditie, do also transfigure Christ stripped out of his fleshe into a fantasie: if yet a man may with any wordes comprehend so great a misterie, which I see that I can not sufficiently comprehend with minde: and therefore I do willingly confesse it, that no man shoulde measure the hinesse thereof by the small proportion of my childishnesse. But rather I exhorthe the reders, that they do not restraine the sense of their minde within these to narrowe boundes: but endeupr to rise vp much higher, than they can by my guiding. For I my selfe, so oft as I speake of this thing, when I haue trauailed to say all, thinke that I haue yet said but litle in respect of the worthinesse thereof. And although the minde can do more in thinking, than the tong in expressing: yet with greatnesse of the thing, the mind also is surmounted and overwhelmed. Finally therefore nothing remaineth, but that I must breake fourth into admiration of that misterie, which neither the minde can suffice to thinke of, nor the tong to declare. Yet after such maner as I can, I will set fourth the summe of my sentēce: which as I nothing dout to be true, so I trust that it will not be disallowed of godly harres.

8 First of all, we are taught out of the Scripture, that Christ was
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from the beginning that life bringing word of the Father, the fountaine and originall of life, from whence all things euer receiued their hauiing of life. Wherefore Iohn sometime calleth him the word of life, and sometime writeth that life was in him: meaning that he euen then flowing into all creatures, poured into them the power of breathing and liuing. Yet the same Iohn addeth afterwards, that the life, was then and not till then openly shewed, when the Sonne of God, taking vpon him our flethe, gaue himselfe to be sene with eyes and felte with handes. For though he did before also spred abroad his power into the creatures: yet because man, being by sinne estranged from God, hauiing lost the communion of life, sawe on euery side death hanging ouer him: that he might recouer hope of immortalitie, it behoued that he should be receiued into the communion of that word. For howe small a confidence mayest thou conceiue thereof, if thou heare that the word of God in deede, from which thou art most farre removed, containeth in it selfe the fulnesse of life, but in thy selfe and rounde about thee nothing offreth it selfe and is present before thine eyes but death? But sins that fountaine of life beganne to dwell in our flethe, nowe it lieth not a farre of hidden from vs, but presently deliuereth it selfe to be partaken of vs. Yea and it maketh the very flethe, wherein it resteth, to be of power to bring life to vs, that by partaking thereof we may be fed to immortalitie. I am (saith he) the bred of life, that am come downe from heauen. And the bred which I will geue, is my flethe, which I will geue for the life of the world. In which wordes he teacheth, not onely that he is life, in respect that he is the eternall word of God which came downe to vs from heauen, but that in coming downe he poured the same power into the flethe which he did put on, that from thence the communicating of life might flowe fourth vnto vs. Hereupon also these things nowe followe, that his flethe is verily meate, and his blood is verily drinke, with which sustenances the faithfull are fostered into eternall life. Herein therefore consisteth singular comfort to the godly, that nowe they finde life in their owne flethe. For so they do not onely with easy passage attein vnto it, but haue it of it selfe laid abroad for them and offering it selfe vnto them. Onely let them holde open the bosome of their hart, that they may embrace it being present, and they shall obtaine it.

9 But although the flethe of Christ haue not so great power of it selfe, that it can geue life to vs, which both in the owne first estate of it was subiecte to mortalitie, and nowe being endued with immortalitie, lieth not by it selfe: yet it is rightfully called life bringing,

Iohn. 5.
19

which is filled with fulnesse of life, to poure it into vs. In which meaning I do with Cirill expounde that saying of Christ: as the Father hath life in himselfe, so he hath also geuen to the Sonne to haue life in himselfe. For there he properly speaketh of his giftes, not which he from the beginning possessed with the Father, but with which he was garnished in the same fleshe in which he appeared. Therefore he sheweth that in his manhode also dwelleth the fulnesse of life, that whosoeuer partaketh of his fleshe and blood, may therewithall also enioy the partaking of life. Of what sort that is, we may declare by a familiar example. For as out of a fountaine water is sometime dronke, sometime is drawn, sometime by forrowes is conueyed to the watering of groundes, which yet of it selfe doth not ouerflowe into so many vses, but from the very spring it selfe which with euermolting flowing yeldeth and ministreth vnto it from time to time new aboundance: so the fleshe of Christ is like a riche and vnwasted fountaine which poureth into vs the life springing from the Godhead into it selfe. Nowe who seeth not, that the communion of the fleshe and blood of Christ is necessarie to all that aspire to heauenly life? Hereunto tendeth that saying of the Apostle, that the Church is the body of Christ and the fulfilling of it: and that he is the head out of which the whole body coupled and knit together by iointes, maketh encrease of the body: that our bodies are the members of Christ. All which things we vnderstande to be impossible to be brought to passe, but that he must wholly cleaue to vs in Spirit and body. But that most nere fellowship whereby we are coupled with his fleshe, he hath yet set out with a more glorious title, when he said that we are members of his body, and are of his bones and of his fleshe. At the last, to declare it to be a matter greater than all wordes, he concludeth his saying with an exclamation, This is (saith he) a great secret. Therefore it should be a pointe of extreme madnesse, to acknowledge no communion of the faithfull with the fleshe and blood of the Lord, which the Apostle declareth to be so great, that he had rather wonder at it than expresse it.

Eph. 5.
30.

10 Let the summe be, that our soules are so fed with the flesh & blood of Christ, as bred and wine do mainteine and susteine the bodily life. For otherwise the proportionall relation of the signe should not agree, vnlesse soules did finde their fode in Christ. Which cannot be done, vnlesse Christ do truly growe into one with vs, and refresh vs with the eating of his fleshe and drinking of his blood. But although it seeme incredible, that in so great distance of places the flesh of Christ reacheth to vs that it may be meate to vs: let vs remeber
howe

howe much the secret power of the Spirit surmounteth aboue all our senses, and howe foolish it is to go about to measure his vnmeasurable by our measure. That therefore which our minde comprehendeth not, let our faith conceiue, that the Spirit truly knitteth in one those things that are seuered in places. Nowe that same holy communicating of his body and blood, whereby Christ poureth his life into vs, euen as if he pearced it into our bones and marowes, he in the Supper also testifieth and sealeth: and that not with setting before vs a vaine or void signe, but bringing fourth there the effectuall working of his spirit, whereby he fulfilleth that which he promisseth. And verily he there offereth and deliuereth the thing signified to all them that sit at that spirituall banquet: although it be receiued with fruit of the faithfull onely, which receiue so great bountifullnesse, with true faith and thankfulness of minde. After which maner the Apostle said, that the bred which we breake is the communion of the body of Christ: and that the cup which we hallowe with the word, and prayers to that purpose, is the communion of his blood. Neither is there any cause why any man should object, that it is a figuratiue speche, by which the name of the thing signified is geue to the signe. I graunt verily that the breaking of the bred is a signe, not the thing it selfe. But this being admitted, yet we shall rightly gather of the deliuerance of the signe, that the thing it selfe is deliuered. For vnlesse a man will call God a deceiver, he can neuer be so bolde to say that he setteth before vs an empty signe. Therefore if by the breaking of bred the Lorde doth truly represente the partaking of his body, it ought to be out of dout that he truly performeth and deliuereth it. And this rule is alway to be holden of the godly, that so oft as they se the signes ordeined of the Lorde, they certainly thinke and perswade them selues that y^e truth of the thing signified is there present. For to what purpose should the Lord deliuer to thee into thy hande the signe of his body, but to assure thee of the true partaking of it? If it be true, that a visible signe is geuen vs, to scale the gift of an inuisible thing: when we receiue the signe of the body, let vs no lesse certainly beleue that the body it selfe also is geuen vs.

11 I say therefore (which both hath bine alway receiued in the Church, and all they teach at this day that thinke right) that the holy misterie of the Supper consisteth of two things: that is to say, of the bodily signes, which being set before our eyes do represent vnto vs inuisible things according to the capacitie of our weakenesse: and of spirituall trueth, which is by those signes both figured and deliuered. Of what sort that is, when I meane to shewe it familiarly,

I vse to set three things: the signification, the matter which hangeth of the signification, the vertue or effect wich followeth of both. The signification consisteth in the promises, which are after a certaine manner wrapped together with the signe. The matter or substance I call Christ with his death and resurrection. By effect I vnderstande the redemption, righteousness, sanctification, and eternall life, and whatsoeuer other benefites Christ bringeth vs. Nowe although all these things haue respect to faith: yet I leaue no place to this caualation: as though when I say that Christ is receiued by faith, I would haue him conceiued with vnderstanding onely and imaginatiō. For the promises offer him, not that we should sticke fast in the sight alone and in bare knowledge: but that we should enioy the true communicating of him. And truly I se not howe any man may haue confidence that he hath redemption and righteousness in the crosse of Christ, and life in his death, but principally standing vpon the true communion of Christ himselfe. For those good things should not come to vs, vnlesse Christ first made himselfe ours. I say therefore, that in the misterie of the Supper, by the signes of bread and wine Christ is truly deliuered to vs, yea and his body and blood, in which he hath fulfilled all obedience for purchasing of righteousness to vs: namely that first we should growe together into one body with him, and then being made partakers of his substance, we may also fele his power in the communicating of all his good things.

12. Nowe I come downe to the excessive mixtures which superstition hath brought in. For herein Satan hath played with maruelous subtiltie, that withdrawing the mindes of men from heauen, he might fill them with peruerse error, as though Christ were fastened to the element of bred. And first we must not dreame such a presence of Christ in the Sacrament, as the craftesment of the court of Rome haue fained: as though the body of Christ were made present with presence of place, to be handled with handes, to be broosed with teethe, and swallowed with mouth. For this forme of recantation Pope Nicolas endited to Berengarius, to be a witnesse of his repentance: namely with wordes so far monstrous, that the author of the glose crieth out that there is danger, if the reders do not wisely take heede to themselues, least they should sucke out of them an heresie worse than was that of Berengarius. In the seconde distinction, in the Chapter beginning thus, Ego Berengarius. But Peter Lombarde, although he trauaile much in excusing the absurdie, yet more inclineth to the contrary sentēce. For as we nothing doubt that it hath limites according to the perpetuall nature of the body of men, and

is holden in heauen, into which it was once receiued, vntill he returne to iudgement: so to draw it backe vnder these corruptible elementes or to imagine it present euery where, we accompt it to be vtterly vnlawfull. Neither verily is it so needfull to this that we may enioy the partakinge of it: forasmuch as the Lord giueth vs this benefit by his Spirite, that we be made one with him in body, Spirite, and soule. The bonde therefore of this conioyninge is the Spirite of Christ, by the knitting wherof we be coupled together, and as it were a certaine conduit, by which whatsoever Christ himselfe both is and hath, is conueied to vs. For if we beholde the sunne shaninge forth with his beames vppon the earth after a certaine maner to cast forth his substance vnto it to engender, nourishe, and quicken the frutes thereof: why should the extendinge of beames of the Spirite of Christ be inferiour to conuey the communion of his fleshe and blood into vs? Wherefore the Scripture, when it speaketh of our partakinge with Christ, referreth the whole force thereof to the Spirite. Yet in stede of many, one place shalbe sufficient. For Paule in the eight Chapter to the Romanes, sayeth that Christ dwelleth in vs: none otherwise than by his Spirite: whereby yet he taketh not away that communion of his fleshe and blood of which we now speake, but teacheth that the Spirite alone worketh that we possesse whole Christ and haue him dwelling in vs.

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13 The Schoolemen thought more shamefully which were withholden with horreur of so barbarous vngodlinesse. Yet they also themselves do nothing but mocke with subtler deceits. They graunt that Christ is not contained there by way of circumscription nor after a bodily maner: but afterward they inuent a way, which neither themselves do vnderstande, nor they can declare to others: yet it is such as falleth to this point that Christ must be sought in the forme of bred as they call it. For what is it? When they say that the substance of bread is turned into Christ, do they not fasten him to the whitenes which they there leaue? But (say they) he is so contained in the Sacrament, that he abideth in heauen: and we determine no other presence but of habitude. But whatsoever words they bring in to cloke it with a deceitfull colour, this is the ende of all, that that is by consecration made Christ, which before was bread: that from thence forth Christ lieth hid vnder that colour of bread. Which also they are not ashamed in plaine words to expresse. For these be y words of Lombarde: that the body of Christ, which in it selfe is visible, when the consecration is ended, lieth hidden and is couered vnder the forme of bred. So the forme of that bread is nothing else but a visour, that taketh a-

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way the sight of the flesh from the eies. Neither nede we many coniectures, to finde what snares they minded to lay with these wordes, sith the thinge it selfe plainly speaketh it. For it is to be seene with howe great superstition in certaine ages past, not onely the common sorte of men, but also the very chiefe of them haue bin holden, and at this day be holden in popishe Churches. For hauinge litle care of true Faith (by which alone we both come into y^e fellowship of Christ, and do cleaue together with him) so that they haue a carnal presence of him, which they haue framed beside the worde, they thinke that they haue him present enough. Therefore in a summe, we see that this hath bin gotten by this witty subtlety, that bread was taken for God.

14 From hense proceeded that same fained transubstantiation, for which at this day they fight more earnestly than for all the other articles of their faith. For the first builders of that locall presence could not vnwinde themselues frō this dout how the body of Christ should be mingled with the substance of bread, but that by and by many absurdities did thrust themselues in place. Therefore they were driuen of necessity to flee to his inuention, that there is made a turninge of bread into the body: not that the body is properly made of God, but because Christ, that he might hide himselfe vnder the forme, bringeth the substance to nothing. But it is maruelous, that they fell to so great ignorance, yea senselesse dulnesse, that not onely the Scripture but also the consent of y^e old Church fighting against it, they brought abroad that monster. I graunt in dede that some of the olde writers sometime vsed the name of turning: not for that they woulde destroy the substance in the outwarde signes, but that they might teache that the bread dedicate to the mystery differeth farre from common bread and is nowe other. But ech where they all plainly declare, that the holy Supper consisteth of two partes, an earthly parte, and a heauenly: and the earthly part they do without controuersie expound to be bread and wine. Truly whatsoever they babble, it is plaine that in confirming of this doctrine they want the defense of antiquity, which they oftentimes presume to set against the euident word of God. For it is not so long ago since it was inuented: it was verily vnknowē not only to those better ages, in which the purer doctrine of religion yet florished, but also euen when that same purenesse was much defiled. There is none of the old writers that doth not in expresse words confesse that the holy signes in the Supper are bread and wine: although, as we haue sayd, they sometime sette it out with diuerse titles, to aduance the dignity of the mystery. For whereas they say that in the

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consecration is made a secrete turning, that now it is an other thing than bread and wine: I haue euen now giuen warninge that they do not thereby meane that the things theselues are brought to nought, but that they are now to be otherwise esteemed than comon meates, which are appointed only to feede the belly: forasmuch as in them is deliuered to vs the spirituall meate and drinke of the soule. This we also deny not. If (say these men) there be a turninge, it must needes be that there is of one thinge made an other thinge. If they meane that there is some thinge made which before was not, I agree with them. If they will draw it to y^e their owne imagination, let them answer me what chage they thinke to be made in baptisme. For herein the Fathers also do determine a maruellous turning, whē they say that of a corruptible element is made a spirituall washing of the soule, yet none of them denieth that water remaineth. But (say they) there is no such thing in baptisme, as is that in the Supper. This is my body. As though the question were of those words, which haue a meaning plaine enough: & not rather, of y^e word of turning, which ought to signify no more in the Supper thā in baptisme. Therefore farewell they with these snares of syllables, whereby they do nothing else but bewray their owne hungrienesse. For otherwise the signification woulde not agree together, vnlesse the trueth which is there figured, had a liuely image in outward signe. Christes wil was by the outward signe to testifie that his flesh is meate. If he did set before vs only an empty imaginatiue forme of bread not true bread, where were the correlation or similitude which shoulde leade vs frō the visible thing to the inuisible? For, that all thinges may agree together, the signification shall extende no further, but that we be fed with the forme of the flesh of Christ. As, if in baptisme y^e forme of water should deceiue our eies, it shoulde not be to vs a certaine pledge of our washinges: yea by that deceitfull shewe there shoulde be giuen vs an occasion of waueringe. Therefore the nature of the Sacrament is ouerthrowen, vnlesse in the maner of signifying, the earthly signe answere to the heauenly thing. And therefore we loose the trueth of this mystery, vnlesse true bread represent to vs the true body of Christ. I repeate it againe: Sith the Supper is nothing else, than a visible testifyinge of that promise which is in the 6. chapter of Iohna, namely y^e Christ is the bread of life, which came downe frō heauen: there must be visible bread vsed for a meane, whereby that same spiritual bread may be figured: vnlesse we will that we loose all the fruite, which in this behalfe God tenderly graunteth to sustaine our weakenesse. Now by what reason should Paule gather, 1. Cor. that all we are one body and one bread, which do together partake 10. 17.

Cap. 17. Of the outward meanes

of one bread, if there remained only an imaginatiue forme & not rather a naturall trueth of bread?

15 But they could neuer haue bin so fowly begiled with $\bar{y}$ deceites of Satan, but because they were already bewitched with this error, that the body of Christ enclosed vnder bread was by $\bar{y}$ bodily mouth sent downe into the belly. The cause of so brutish imagination was, that consecration signified as much amonge them as a magicall enchauntment. But this principle was vnknownen to them, that bread is a Sacrament to none but to men, to whom the word is directed: like as the water of baptisme is not changed in it selfe, but so soone as the promise is adioined, it beginneth to be that to vs which it before was not. This shall better appeare by example of a like Sacrament. The water springing out of the rocke in the desert was to the fathers a token and signe of the same thing, which the wine doth figure to vs in the Supper. For Paule teacheth that they dronke the same spirituall drinke. But it was a common wateringe for the beastes and catell of the people. Whereupon it is easily gathered, that in earthly elements, when they are applied to a spirituall vse, there is made no other turninge but in respect of men, in so much as they are to them seales of the promises. Moreover sith Gods purpose is (as I often repeate) as it were by hand some chariots to lift vs vppe to him selfe, they do by their waywardnesse wickedly disappoint the same, which do in deede call vs to Christ, but lurking inuisibly vnder bread. For it is not possible that the minde of men, vncombring it selfe from the immeasurable nesse of places, should attaine to Christ euen aboue the heauens. That which nature denied them, they attempted to amende with a more hurtfull remedy: that abiding in earth, we should neede no heauenly neerenesse of Christ. Loe, this is the necessity, that compelled them to transfigure the body of Christ. In Bernardes time, although a harder maner of speaking was growen in vse, yet transubstantiation was not then kuowen. And in all ages before that, this similitude did flie about in euery mans mouth, that there is with bread and wine a spirituall thing ioyned in this mystery. Of the wordes they answered, as they thinke, wittily: but bringing nothing fit for this present cause. The rod of Moses (say they) being turned into a Serpent, although it did get the name of a Serpent, yet keepeth still the olde name, and is called a rod. So in their opinion it is as probable, that although the bread passe into a newe substance, it may be abusiue and yet not vnaptly called that which it appeareth to the eies. But what likelihoode or neerenesse finde they betwene a cleare miracle, and their fained illusion, of which no eie in earth is witnesse? The Magicians had mocked with

Exo. 17

6.

1. Cor.

10 4

Exo. 4 3

& 7. 10.

with deceites, so that the Egyptians were perswaded, that they excelled in diuine power to change creatures about the order of nature. Moses came forth, and dringing away all their deceites, shewed that the inuincible power of God was on his side, because his owne rod consumed all the rest. But forasmuch as that was a turning discernable with eyes, therefore as we haue sayd, it pertaineth nothinge to this present cause: and in a litle time after, the rod visibly returned into his owne forme. Beside that it is not knowen, whether that sudden turning was of substance or no. Also the alluding to the rods of the Magicians is to be considered, which the Prophet therefore would not call Serpentes, least he shoulde seeme to signifie a turninge where none was: because those deceiuers had done nothinge but cast a myst before the eyes of the beholders. What likenesse herewith haue these formes of speeche, The bread which we breake, So oft as ye shall eate this bread, They communicated in breaking of bread, & such others. It is certaine that their eyes were onely deceiued with the enchauntment of the Magicians. As concerninge Moses, the matter is more doubtfull, by whose hande it was no more hard for God to make of a rod a Serpent, and againe of a Serpent to make a rod, than to cloth Angels with fleshely bodies, and by and by after to vncloth them. If the nature of this mystery were the same or like, there were some colour for their solution. Let this therefore remaine certaine, that it is not truely nor fully promised vs that in the Supper the flesh of Christ is truely to vs for meate, vnlesse the true substance of the outwarde Signe agree with it. And (as one error groweth of an other) the place of Jeremy is so foolishly wrested to proue transubstantiation, that it irketh me to rehearse it. The Prophet complaineth that wood is put in his bread: meaninge that by the cruelty of his enemies, his bread was infected with bitternesse. As Dauid with a like figure bewaileth that his meate was corrupted with gall, and his drinke with vineger. These men will haue it that the body of Christ was by way of allegorie fastened to the crosse. But some of the olde fathers thought so. As though we ought not rather to pardon their ignorance, and to burie their shame, than to adde shamelesnesse to compell them yet still to fight like enemies with the naturall meaninge of the Prophet.

16 Other, which see that the proportionall relation of the signe & the thinge signified, can not be ouerthrowen, but that the trueth of the mystery must fall, do confesse that the bread of the Supper is verily a substance of an earthly and corruptible element, and suffereth no change in it selfe, but hath vnder it selfe the body of Christ enclou-

1. Cor.
10. 16.
& 11.

26.
Act. 2.4

Ier. 12.
19.
Pla 69.
22.

sed. If they did so declare their meaninge, that when the bread is deliuered in the mysterie, there is adioyned the deliueringe of the body, because the trueth is vnseuerable from the signe: I woulde not much strue with them. But because they placing the body in the bread, do faine to it a beinge euery where contrary to the nature therof, and in adding vnder the bread, they will haue it lie there hid-den: it is necessarie a litle while to drawe such suttelties out of their dennes. For my mind is not yet as of set purpose to go through with all this point: but only that I may lay the foundations of the disputa-tion which shall by and by folowe in place fitte for it. They will there-fore haue the body of Christ to be inuisible and immeasurable, that it may lie hid vnder the bread: because they thinke they do not other-wise communicate with him than if he descend into bread: but they comprehend not the maner of descending, wherby he listeth vs vp-ward to himselfe. They lay vpon it all the colours that they can: but when they haue said all, it sufficiently appeareth, that they stay vpon the locall presence of Christ. Whense commeth that? euen because they can abide to conceiue no other partaking of the flesh & blood, but which consisteth either of ioyning and touchinge of place, or of some grosse enclosing.

- 17 And, that they may obstinately defende the errour once rashly conceiued, some of them sticke not to say, that the flesh of Christ had neuer any other measurings, but so far & wide as heauen and earth is broad. Whereas he was borne a child out of the wombe, whereas he grew, whereas he was spread abroad on the crosse, whereas he was enclosed in the sepulchre, the same was done by a certaine dispensa-tion, that he might be borne & die, & performe the other duties of
- AA. 1. 3 man. Whereas after his resurrectiō he was seene in his wonted forme
 9. & 7. of body, whereas he was taken vp to heauē, whereas last of all also after
 35. & 9. his ascension he was seene of Stephen and Paule: it was done by the
 3- same dispensation, that it might appeare to the sight of men that he
 was made a king in heauen. What is this else, but to raise vp Marcion
 out of hell? For no man can dout that the body of Christ was a fan-
 tastic or a fantastickall thinge, if he was of such state. Some slippe away
 somewhat more suttelly, with saying that this body which is giuen in
 the Sacrament is glorious and immortall: and that therefore it is no
 absurdity, if it be contained in many places, if in no place, if with no
 forme, vnder the sacrament. But I aske what manner of body Christ
 gaue to the disciples the day before that he suffred: do not the words
 Mn. 17. sounde that he gaue the same mortall body, which was within a litle
 9. after to be deliuered? He had already before (say they) shewed his
 glory

glory to be seene to three of the disciples. That is true in deede, but his will was by that brightnes to giue them a tast of immortality for an houre. In the meane time they shall not there finde a double body, but that one body which Christ did beare, garnished with newe glory. But when he distributed his body at his first Supper, the time was now at hand, when he being stricken of God, and humbled should lie without glory as a leproous man: so far is it of that he then would shew forth the glory of his resurrection. And how great a window is here opened to Marcion, if the body of Christ was seene in one place mortal and base, and in an other place was holden immortall & glorious: Howbeit if their opinion take place, the same happeneth daily: because they are compelled to confesse that the body of Christ beinge visible in it selfe, lieth hid inuisibly vnder the signe of bread. And yet they that vomit out such monstrousnes, are so not ashamed of their owne shame, that they do vnprouoked hainously raile at vs, because we do not subscribe to them. Esa. 53.

18 Now if they list to faste the body & blood of the Lord to bred & wine: the one shall of necessity be plucked in sunder from the other. For as the bread is deliuered seuerally from the cup, so the body vnited to the bread must nedes be diuided from the blood enclosed in the cup. For when they affirme that the body is in the bread & the blood in the cup: & the bread & wine are by spaces of place distant the one from the other: they can by no shift escape, but that the body must be seuered from the blood. But whereas they are wont to alleage, that by accompaning (as they saie) in the body is the blood, & likewise in the blood is the body, that verily is too trifling: forasmuch as the Signes in which they are enclosed, are so seuered. But if we be lifted vp with our eies & mindes to heauen, that we seeke Christ there in the glory of his kingdom: as the signes do allure vs to him whole, so vnder the signe of bread, we shalbe fed with his body, vnder the signe of wine we shall seuerally drinke his blood, that at length we may enioy him whole. For although he hath taken away his fleshe from vs, and in his body is ascended vp into heauen, yet he sitteth at the right hande of the Father, that is to say, he reigneth in the power, & maiesty, & glory of the Father. This kingdom is neither bounded with any spaces of place, nor compassed about with any measuringes, but that Christ may shew forth his might wheresoeuer it pleaseth him both in heauen and in earth: but that he may shew himselfe present with power and strength: but that he may alway be at hande with them that be his, breathing his life into them, may liue in them, strengthen them, quicken them, preserue them safe, euen as if he were present in body:

finally but that he may feede them with his owne body, the communion whereof he doth by the power of his Spirit pour into them. After this manner the body & blood of Christ is deliuered to vs in the Sacrament.

19 But we must appoint such a presence of Christ in y^e Supper, as may neither fasten him to the element of bread, nor shut him up in the bread, nor by any meane compasse him in, (for it is plaine that all these thinges abate his heavenly glory) finally such as may neither take from him his owne measure, nor diuersly drawe him in many places at once, nor saue to him such an vnmeasurable greatnesse as is spread abroade throughout heauen and earth, for these thinges are plainly against the truth of the nature of manhoode. Let vs (I say) neuer suffer these two exceptions to be taken away from vs. The one, that nothing be abated from the glory of Christ, which is done, when he is brought vnder the corruptible elementes of this worlde, or is bound to any earthly creatures. The other, that nothing be by faining applied to his body, that agreeth not with the nature of man: which is done, when it is either sayd to be infinite, or is set in many places at once. But these absurdities being taken away, I willingly receiue whatsoeuer may auayle to expresse the true and substantiall communicating of the Body and Blood of the Lord, which communicating is deliuered to the faithfull vnder the holy signes of the Supper: & so that they may be thought not to receiue it by imagination only or vnderstanding of minde, but to enioy it in deede to the foode of eternall life. Why this sentence is so hatefull to the world, & all defence taken away from it by the vniust iudgements of many, there is no cause at all, but for that the deuill hath with horrible bewitchinge madded their mindes. Truly that which we teach, doth in all points very well agree with the Scriptures: it containeth neither any absurdity, nor darkenesse, nor doubtfulnesse: it is not against true godlinesse and sound edification: finally it hath nothing in it, that may offend, sauing that in certaine ages past, whē that ignorance and barbarousnesse of Sophisters reigned in the Church, so cleaie light and open truth hath bin vnworthily oppressed. Yet because Satā at this day also trauaileth by troublesome Spirites to spot it with all the scandailes and reproches that he can, and bendeth himselfe to no other thinge with greater endeuour: it is profitable the more diligently to defend and rescue it.

20 Nowe before that we go any further, we must entreate of the selfe institution of Christ: specially because this is the most glorious obiection that our aduersaries haue, that we depart from the wordes
of

of Christ. Therefore that we may be discharged of the false cause of malice wherewith they burden vs, our fittest beginnunge shall be at the exposition of the words. Three Euangelistes and Paul rehearse, Mat. 26 that Christ tooke bread, when he had giuen thanks he brake it, gaue 26. it to his disciples and sayd, Take eate: this is my Body which is de- Mar. 14. liuered, or broken for you. Of the cuppe Matthewe and Marke say 22. thus. This cuppe is the blood of the Newe testament, which shall be Luc. 22. shedde for many vnto forgiuenesse of sinnes. But Paul and Luke say 17. thus: This cuppe is the Newe testament in my blood. The patrones 1. Cor. of transubstantiation will haue by the pronounce (this) the forme of 11. 24. bread to be signified, because the consecration is made in the whole content of the sentence, and there is no substance that can be shewed. But if they be holden with religious care of the wordes, because Christ testified, that that which he reached into the disciples handes, was his body: truely this their deuise, that that which was bread is nowe the body, is most farre from the proper meaninge of them. That which Christ tooke into his handes and gaue the Apostles, he affirmeth to be his body: but he tooke bread: who therefore can not vnderstande that bread is yet shewed? and therefore there is no greater absurdity, than to remoue that to the forme, which is spoken of the bread. Other, when they expounde this worde (is) for (to be transubstantiate,) do flee to a mere enforced and violently wraisted glose. Therefore there is no cause why they should pretende that they be moued with reuerence of wordes. For this was vnheard of amonge all nations and languages, that the word (is) should be taken in this sense, namely for to be turned into an other thing. As for the that leaue bread in the Supper, and affirme that there is the body of Christ, they much differ among themselues. They which speake more modestly; although they precisely exact the letter, This is my body, yet afterward swarue from their precisenesse, and say that it is as much in effect as that the body of Christ is with bread, in bread, and vnder bread. Of the matter it selfe which they affirme, we haue alreedy touched somewhat, and we shall by and by haue occasion yet to speake more. Now I dispute only of the wordes, by which they say they are restrained that they can not admit bread to be called the body, because it is a signe of the body. But if they shunne all figures, why do they leape away from the plaine shewing of Christ, to their owne maners of speaking farre differinge from it? For there is great difference berwene this that bread is the body, and this that the body is with bread. But because they sawe it to be impossible, that this simple proposition might stande, that bread is the body: they haue at-

tempted to scape away by those formes of speeche, as it were by crooked turnings. Some more bolde sticke not to affirme that euen in proper speakinge, bread is the body, and by this meane they truly proue themselues to be literall men. If it be obiected, that therefore the bread is Christ, and is God: this verily they will deny, because it is not expressed in the wordes of Christ. But they shall nothinge preuaile by denyinge it: forasmuch as all do agree that whole Christ is offered vs in the Supper. But it is an intolerable blasphemy, that it be without figure spoken of a fraile and corruptible element, that it is Christ. Now I aske of them, whether these two propositions be both of one effect, Christ is the Sonne of God, and bread is the body of Christ. If they graunt that they are diuers, (which we will enforce them to graunt whether they will or no) then lette them aunswere whence commeth the difference. I thinke they wil bring none other but that the bread is after the sacramentall manner called the body. Whereupon foloweth, that Christes wordes are not subiect to the common rule, nor ought to be tried by Grammar. Also I aske of all the precise and stiffe requirers of the letter, where Luke and Paule do call the cuppe the testament in the blood, whether they do not expresse the same thing which they did in the first parte, where they call bread the body. Truly the same religion was in the one parte of the mystery that was in the other: and because shortnesse is darke, longer speech doth better open the meaninge. So oft therefore as they shall affirme by one worde, that the bread is the body: I will out of moe wordes bringe a fitte exposition, that it is the Testament in the body. For why? Shall we neede to seeke a more faithfull or surer expositor than Paule and Luke? Neither yet do I tende hereunto, to diminish any thing of that communicating of the body of Christ which I haue confessed: only my purpose is to confute that foolish waiwardnesse, wherby they do so hatefully brawle about words. I vnderstand, by the authority of Paul & Luke, that the bred is the body of Christ, because it is the couenant in the body. If they fight against this, they haue warre not with me, but with the Spirit of God. Howsoever they cry out that they be touched with reuerence of the wordes of Christ, whereby they doe not figuratiuely vnderstand those things that are plainly spoken: yet this is not a pretence rightfull enough, why they shoulde so refuse all the reasons which we obiect to the contrary. In the meane time, as I haue already given warning, it is conuenient to learne, what maner of thing this is, The testament in the body and blood of Christ: because the couenant stablished with the sacrifice of death, should otherwise not profit vs, vnlesse there were

adioyned

Luc 22.
20
1. Cor.
11. 25.

adioynd that secret communicating whereby we growe into one with Christ.

21 It remaineth therefore that for the affinity which y^e things signified haue with their signes, we confesse that the selfe name of the thing was giuen to the signe: figuratiuely in deede, but not without a most fit proportionall agreement. I leaue allegories and parables, least any man should quarell that I seeke starting holes, and wander out of the present purpose. I say that this is a speecche by figure of transnomination which is commonly vsed in the Scripture, when mysteries are entreated of. For neither can you otherwise vnderstand that which is sayd: that circumcision is a couenant: that the lambe is the Passeouer: that the Sacrifices of the lawe are expiations: finally that the rocke, out of which water flowed in the desert, was Christ: vnlesse you take it to be spoken by way of transferringe of names. Neither are names transferred only from the hier name to the lower: but contrariwise the name of the visible signe is also giuen to the thing signified: as when it is sayd that God appeared to Moses in the bushe: when the arke of couenant is called God, and the face of God: and the doue is called the holy Ghost. For though the signe differ in substance from the thing signified: because this is spiritual and heauenly, and that is corporall and visible: yet because it doth not only figure the thing which it is holily appointed to represent, as a naked and empty token, but doth also truely deliuer it in deede: why may not the name of the thing rightly accorde with it? If signes deuised by menne, which are rather images of thinges absent, than markes of thinges present, which selfe absent things, they do oftentimes deceitfully shadow, are yet sometime garnished with the titles of the things: then those things that are ordained of God, do by much greater reason borrow the name of those things, of which they alway both beare a sure and not deceitfull signification, and haue the trueth adioyned with them. There is therefore so great likenesse and nere nesse of the one to the other, that it is easie to draw their names to & froe. Therefore let our aduersaries cease to heape vnfauory scoffings against vs, in callinge vs Tropistes: because we expounde the Sacramentall manner of speaking after the common vse of the Scripture. For whereas the Sacramentes agree together in many thinges: in this transferringe of names, they haue all a certaine community together. As therefore the Apostle teacheth, that the stone out of which spirituall drinke did springe to the Israelites, was Christ, because it was a visible signe, vnder which that spirituall drinke was truely in deede but not discernably to y^e cie perceiued: so bread is at this day called y^e body of Christ,

Exo. 3. 2
Psal 84.
8 & 42.
3.
Matt. 3.
16.

1. Cor.
10. 4.

Epi. 23
ad Boni-
fac.

forasmuch as it is a signe whereby the Lorde offereth to vs the true eatinge of his bodie. Neither did Augustine otherwise thinke or speake, least any man shoulde despise this as a newe inuention. If (sayth he) the Sacramentes hadde not a certayne likenesse of those thinges whereof they are Sacramentes, they shoulde not be Sacramentes at all. And of this likenesse oftentimes they take the names of the thinges themselues. As therefore after a certaine manner the Sacrament of the body of Christ, is the body of Christ: the Sacrament of the blood of Christ, is the blood of Christ: so the Sacrament of faith is faith. There be in him many like places, which it were superfluous to heape together, sith that same one suffiseth: sauing that the readers must be warned that the holy man teacheth the same thinge in the Epistle to Enodius. But it is a triflinge shift to say, that where Augustine teacheth, that when transferringe is often and commonly vsed in mysteries, he maketh no mention of the Supper: because if this shift were receiued, we might not reason from the generaltie to the speciallie, neither were this a good argument: Euery feeling creature hath power of mouinge, therefore an ox and a horse haue power of mouinge. Howbeit long disputation hereof is in an other place ended by the wordes of the same holy man, where he saith, that Christ sticke not to call it his bodie, when he gaue the signe of his body. Against Adimantus, the Manichean, in the twelue Chapter. And in an other place, vpon the third Psalme. Maruelous (sayth he) is the patience of Christ, that he receiued Iudas to the banket, wherein he committed and deliuered to his disciples the figure of his body and blood.

22 But if some precise man, beinge blinde at all the rest, do stande onely vpon this worde (this is) as though it seuered this mysterie from all other, the solution is easie. They say that the vehemence of the substantiue verbe (is) is so great that it admitteth no figure. Which if we graunt to them: euen in the wordes of Paule is redde the substantiue verbe, where he calleth bread the communicinge of the body of Christ. But the communicinge is an other thinge than the body it selfe. Yea commonly where sacramentes are entreated of, we finde the same worde vsed. As: This shall be to you a couenant with me. This lambe shall be to you a Passeouer. To rehearse no moe: when Paule sayeth that the rocke was Christ, why do they take the substantiue verbe in that place to be of lesse vehemence than in the speeche of Christ? Lette them also aunswere, where Iohn sayth, the holy Ghost was not yet, because Iesus was not yet glorified, of what force the substantiue verbe is in that place. For if they abide faste-
ned

1. Cor.
10. 16.

Gen. 17

13.

Exo. 12

41.

1. Cor.

10. 4.

Iohn. 7.

39.

ned to their rule, the eternall essence of the holy Ghost shalbe destroyed, as though it tooke beginning at the Ascension of Christ. Finally let them aunswere, what meaneth that saying of Paul, that baptism is the washing of regeneration and renewing, which it is euident to be vnprofitable to many. But nothing is stronger to confute them, than that saying of Paule, that the Church is Christ. For, bringinge a similitude of the body of manne, he addeth, So is Christ: in which place he vnderstandeth the only begotten sonne of God, not in him selfe, but in his members. Hereby I thinke I haue obtayned that to soundewitted and vncorrupted men the sclaunders of our enemies, are lothsome, when they spread abroad, that we withdrawe credit from the wordes of Christ: which we do no lesse obediently embrace than they, and do wey them with more godly reuerence. Yea their negligent carelesnesse sheweth that they do not greatly care what Christ ment, so that it giue them a buckler to defende their obstinacie: like as our earnest searchinge ought to be a witnesse howe much we esteeme the authority of Christ. They odiously spread abroad, that naturall sense of man withholdeth vs from beleuing that which Christ hath vttered with his owne holy mouth: but how maliciously they burden vs with this sclander, I haue a great parte already made plaine, and hereafter it shall more clearly appeare. Therefore nothing withholdeth vs from beleuing Christ when he speaketh, nor from obeying so soone as he doth but with becke will this or that. Only this is the question, whether it be vnlawefull to enquire of the naturall meaning.

23 These good maisters, that they may seme well lettred, do forbid men to departe be it neuer so litle from the letter. But I on the other side, when the Scripture nameth God a warlike man, because I see that without figuratiue translatiō it is too rough a maner of speaking, do not dout that it is a comparison taken from men. And truly vpon none other pretence in the old time the Anthropomorphits troubled the true teachinge Fathers, but that catchinge fast holde of these sayings, The eies of God do see, It wēt vp to his eares, His hand stretched out, The earth his foote stole, they cried out that God had his body taken from him, which the Scripture assigneth vnto him. If this lawe be receiued, outragious barbarousnesse shall ouerwhelme the whole light of faith. For, what monsters of absurdities may not phrentike mē picke out, if it be graunted them to alleage euery small title to stablish their opinions? That which they object, that it is not likely, that when Christ prepared for his Apostles a singular comfort in aduersities, he did then speake in a riddle or darkely, maketh of our

side. For if it had not come in the mindes of the Apostles, that bread was figuratiuely called the body, because it was the signe of the body, they had without doubt bin troubled with so monstrous a thing. Almost at the same moment Iohn reporteth that they did sticke in perplexitie at euery of the least difficulties. They which strue among themselves, how Christ will go to the Father: and do moue question, how he will go out of the world: they which vnderstand nothing of those things that are spoken concerninge the heauenly Father, till they see him: how would they haue bin so easie to beleue that which all reason refuseth, that Christ sitteth at the boorde in their sight, and is enclosed inuisible vnder bread? Whereas therefore they in eating the bread without doutinge, testified their consent, hereby appeareth that they tooke Christes wordes in the same sense that we do, because they remembred that which ought not to seeme strange in mysteries, that the name of the thing signified is transferred to the signe. Therefore it was to the disciples, as it is to vs, a certaine and cleare comforte, entangled with no riddle. Neither is there any other cause why some shoulde departe from our exposition, but because the enchantment of the deuill hath blinded them, namely that they should faine darkenesse to themselves, where the exposition of an apt figure offreth it selfe. Moreover if we precisely stand vpon the words, Christ should wrongfully haue spoken in one place seuerally an other thing concerninge the bread than he speaketh of the cup. He calleth the bred his body, he calleth y wine his blood: either it shalbe a confused vaine repetition, or it shalbe such a partitiō as shal diuide the body from the blood. Yea it shall as truely be said of the cup, This is my body, as of the bread it selfe, & it may likewise enterchangeably be sayd, that the bread is the blood. If they answer that we must cōsider to what end or vse the signes were ordained: I graunt it in dede: but in the meane time they shal not vnwinde theselues, but that their error must draw this absurdity with it, that the bread is the blood, and the wine is the body. Nowe I wote not what this meaneth, when they graunt the bread and the body to be diuerse things, yet to affirme that the one is spoken of the other properly & without any figure: as if a man should say that a garment is in dede a thing differing from a man, & yet that it is properly called a man. In the meane while as though their victory consisted in obstinacy & railing, they say that Christ is accused of lyinge, if an exposition be sought of the wordes. Nowe it shalbe easie for vs to shew to the readers how vniust wrong these catchers of syllables do to vs, when they fill the simple with this opinion, that we withdraw credit from the words of Christ, which we haue proued to be

be furiously peruerterd and confounded by them, but to be faithfully and rightly expounded by vs.

24 But the ſclaunder of this lie can not be vtterly purged, till an other crime be wiped away. For they ſpread abroad, that we be ſo addicted to naturall reaſon, that we giue no more to the power of God, than the order of nature ſuffereth, & cōmon ſenſe teacheth. Frō ſo malicious ſclaunders I appelle to the very doctrine it ſelf which I haue declared: which doth clearly enough ſhew, y I do not meaſure this myſtery by the proportion of mans reaſon, nor do make it ſubiect to the lawes of nature. I beſeech you, haue we learned out of naturall philoſophie, that Chriſt doth ſo frō heauen feede our ſoules and bodies with his fleſh, as our bodies are nourished with bread and wine? Whence cōmeth this power to fleſh, that it may giue life? All men wil ſay that it is not done naturally. It wil no more pleaſe mans reaſon, that the fleſhe of Chriſt reacheth to vs, that it may be foode vnto vs. Finally whoſoeuer hath taſted of our doctrine, ſhalbe raiſhed into admiration of the ſecrete power of God. But theſe good mē that be ſo zealous of it, forge to theſelues a miracle, which being taken away, God himſelfe vaniſheth with hi power. I deſire to haue the readers once againe warned, that they diligently wey what our doctrine bringeth, whether it hang vpon common ſenſe, or with the wings of Faith, ſurmounting the world, climbeth vp beyonde it into the heauens. We ſay that Chriſt as well with the outwarde ſigne as with his Spirit, deſcendeth to vs, that he may truly quicken our ſoules with the ſubſtance of his fleſh and of his blood. In theſe fewe words he that perceiueth not to be cōtained many miracles, is more than ſenſeleſſe for aſmuch as there is nothinge more beſide nature, than that ſoules ſhoulde borrowe ſpirituall and heauenly life, of the fleſh which tooke her beginning of the earth, and which was ſubiect to death. Nothinge is more incredible, than that thinges diſtant and a ſunder by the whole ſpace of heauen and earth, ſhould in ſo great diſtance of places not only be conioyned, but alſo vnited, that ſoules may receiue foode of the fleſh of Chriſt. Therefore let waiward men ceaſſe to procure hatred to vs by a filthy ſclaunder, as though we did enuiouſly reſtaine any thing of the immeaſurable power of God. For they do either to fooliſhly erre or to maliciously lie. For it is not here in queſtion what God could, but what he would. We affirme y to be done which pleaſed him. But it pleaſed him, y Chriſt ſhould be made like to his brethren in all things, except ſinne. What maner of thing is our fleſh? Is it not ſuch as conſiſteth of the certaine meaſure of it, as is contained in place, as is touched, as is ſcene? And why (ſay they) may

Heb. 4.
15.

not God make, that one selfe same flesh may occupy many & diuerse places, may be contained in one place, may be without measure and forme? Thou maddest man, why requirest thou of the power of God, to make flesh at one selfe time to be and not to be flesh? Like as if thou shouldest instantly require him to make at one selfe time the light to be both light and darkenesse. But he willeth light to be light, darkenesse to be darkenesse, flesh to be flesh. He shall in deede when it pleaseth him, turne darkenesse into light, and light into darkenesse: but when thou requirest that light and darkenes may not differ, what doest thou else but peruert the order of the wisdom of God? Therefore flesh must be flesh: and Spirit, Spirit: every thinge in such law and condition as God hath created it. But such is the condition of flesh, that it must be in one yea and that a certaine place, and consist of her measure and of her forme. With this condition Christ took flesh vpon him, to which (as Augustine witnesseth) he hath giuen in deede vncorruption and glory, but he hath not taken from it nature and truth.

25 They answered, that they haue the worde, whereby the will of God is made plaine: namely if it be graunted them to banishe out of the Church the gift of expositiō, which may bring light to the word. I graunt that they haue the worde: but such as in olde time the Anthropomorphites had, when they made God hauinge a body: such as Marcion & the Manichees had, when they fained the body of Christ to be either heauēly or fantastical. For they alleaged for testimonies, The first Adam was of the earth, earthly: the second Adam is of heauen, heauenly. Againe, Christ abaced himselfe, taking vpon him the forme of a seruant, and was founde in likenes as a man. But the grosse eaters thinke that there is no power of God, vnlesse with the monster forged in their braines the whole order of nature be ouerthrowen: which is rather to limit God, when we couet with our fained inuentions to proue what he cā do. For out of what word haue they taken, that the body of Christ is visible in heauen, but lurketh inuisible in earth vnder innumerable litle peces of bread? They will say that necessity requireth this, that the body of Christ should be giuen in the Supper. Verily because it pleased them to gather a fleshly eatinge out of y words of Christ: they being caried away by their own foreiudgement, were driuen to necessity to coine this subtlety, which the whole Scripture crieth out against. But that any thing is by vs diminished of the power of God, is so false, y by our doctrine the praise of it is very honorably sette out. But forasmuch as they alway accuse vs, that we defraude God of his honor, when we refuse that which accordinge to

Epi. ad
darda.

1. Cor.
15 47.
Phi. 2.7

to cōmō sense is hard to be beleued, although it haue bine promised by the mouth of Christ: I make againe the same aunswere that I made euen nowe, that in the misteries of faith we do not aske counsell of common sense, but with quiet willingnesse to learne, and with the Spirit of mekenesse which Iames commendeth, we receiue the doctrine come from heauen. But in that when they perniciously erre, I deny not that we followe a profitable moderation. They hearing the wordes of Christ, This is my body, imagine a miracle most farre from his minde. But when out of this fained inuention arise fowle absurdities, because they haue already with hedlong hast put snares vpon themselves, they plunge themselves into the bottomlesse depthe of the almightinesse of God, that by this meane they may quenche the light of truth. Hereupon commeth that proude precisenesse: We will not know howe Christ lieth hidde vnder the bred, holding our selues contented with this saying of his, This is my body. But we, as we do in the whole Scripture, do with no lesse obedience than care, study to obtaine a sounde vnderstanding of this place: neither do we with preposterous heate rashly and without choise catch holde of that which first thrusteth it selfe into our mindes: But vsing diligent musing vpon it, we embrace the meaning which the Spirit of God ministreth: and standing therupon we do from alofte despise whatsoever earthly wisdom is set against it. Yea we holde our mindes captiue, that they may not be bolde so much as with one litle worde to carpe against it: and do humble them, that they may not dare to rise vp against it. Hereupon sprong vp the exposition of the wordes of Christ, which to be by the continuall vsage of the Scripture common to all Sacraments, all they that haue bene though but meanly exercised therein, do knowe. Neither do we, after the exāple of the holy virgin, thinke it lawefull for vs, in a hard matter to enquire howe it may be done.

Iam. 1.
21.

Luke. 1.
34.

26 But because nothing shall more auaille to confirme the faith of the godly, than when they haue learned that the doctrine which we haue taught, is taken out of the word of God, and standeth vpon the authoritie thereof: I will make this also euident with as great brevenes as I can. The body of Christ, sins the time that it rose againe, not Aristotle but the Holy Ghost teacheth to be limited, and that it is comprehended in heauen vntill the last day. Neither am I ignorāte that they boldly mocke out those places that are alleged for this purpose. So oft as Christ saith that he will departe, leauing the world, Ioh. 14. they aunswere that that departing is nothing els but a changing of 22. and mortall state. But after this maner, Christ should not set the Holy 28. Ghost in his place to supplie (as they call it) the wante of his absence:

forasmuch as he doth not succede into his place, nor Christ himselfe doth descende againe out of the heavenly glorie to take vppon him the state of mortall life. Truly the comming of the Holy Ghost, and the ascending of Christ are things set as contrarie: therefore it can not be that Christ should accordinge to the fleshe dwell with vs after the same maner that he sendeth his Spirit. Moreouer he in plaine wordes expresseth, that he will not be alway with his disciples in the world. This saying also they thinke that they do gaily wipe away, as though Christ said that he will not alway be poore and miserable or subiect to the necessities of this fraile life. But the circumstance of the place crieth plainely to the contrarie, because there is not entreated of pouertie and neede, or of the miserable state of earthly life, but of worship and honor. The anointing pleased not the disciples, because they thought it to be a superfluous and vnprofitable cost, and nere vnto riotous excesse, therefore they had rather that the price thereof which they thought to be il wasted, had bene bestowed vppon the poore. Christ aunswereth that he shall not alway be present, that he may be worshipped with such honor. And none otherwise did Augustine expounde it, whos wordes be these which are nothing doutfull. When Christ said, Ye shall not alway haue me, he spake of the presence of his body. For according to his maiestie, according to his providence, according to his vnspeakable and inuisible grace, this was fulfilled which he said, Behold, I am with you euen to the ending of the world. But according to the fleshe which the word toke vnto him, according to this that he was borne of the Virgin, according to this that he was take of the Iewes, that he was fastened to the tree, that he was taken downe from the crosse, that he was wrapped in linnen clothes, that he was layed in the graue, that he was manifestly shewed in the resurrection, this was fulfilled, Ye shal not alway haue me with you. Why so? Because he was conuersante according to the presence of his bodie fortie dayes with his disciples, and while they accompanied him in seing not in following, he ascended. He is not here: for he sitteth there at the right hande of the Father. And yet he is here: because he is not gone away in presence of maiestie. Otherwise according to the presence of maiesty we haue Christ alway: and according to the presence of the flesh it is rightly said, But me ye shall not alway haue. For according to the presence of the fleshe, the Church had him a fewe dayes: nowe she holdeth him by faith, but seeth him not with eies. Where (that I may note this also brefely) he maketh him presente to vs three wayes, by maiestie, providence, and vnspeakable grace, vnder which I comprehend this maruelous communion

Mat. 26
11.

Trac. in
Ioh. 50.

Mat. 28.
20.

munion of his body and blood: if so that we vnderstande it to be done by the power of the Holy Ghost, not by that fained enclosing of his body vnder the element. For our Lorde hath testified, that he hath fleshe and bones which may be felt and sene. And to Go away and Ascende do not signifie to make a shewe of one ascending and going away, but to do in deede that which the wordes sounde. Shall we then (will some man say) assigne to Christ some certaine coast of heauen? But I aunswere with Augustine, that this is a most curious Lib. de
and superfluous question, if so that yet we beleue that he is in heauē. fide &
symb.
cap. 6.

27 But what doth the name of ascending so oft repeted: doth it not signifie a remouing from one place to an other? They denie it: because after their opinion, by heighth is onely signified maiestie of Empire. But what meaneth the very maner of ascending? was he not, in sight of his disciples loking on, lifted vp on hy? Do not the Euan- Act 1. 9.
gelittes plainly declare, that he was taken vp into the heauens? These Mark.
witty Sophisters do aunswere, that with a cloude set betweene him 16. 16.
and them, he was conueyed out of their sight, that the faithfull might Luc. 24.
learne that from thense fourth he should not be visible in the world. 31.
As though, to make credit of his inuisible ptesence, he ought not rather to vanishe away in a moment: or as though the cloude ought not rather to compasse him before that he stirred his foote. But when he is carried vp on hy into the aire, and with a cloude cast vnderneath him, teacheth that he is no more to be sought in earth: we safely gather, that now he hath his dwelling place in the heauens: as Paule Phil. 3.
also affirmeth, and from thense biddeth vs to loke for him. After this 10.
maner the Angels warned the disciples, that they in vaine gazed vp into heauen: because Iesus which is taken vp into heauen, shall so come as they haue sene him go vp. Here also the aduersaries of sounde doctrine starte away with a pleasante shifte as they thinke, saying that he shall then come visible, which neuer wente out of the earth but that he abideth inuisible with them that be his. As though the Angells did there signifie a double ptesence, and do not simply make the disciples witnesses of his going vp seing it with their eyes, that no douting might remaine: euen as if they had said: he in your sightes beholding it, being taken vp into heauen, hath claimed to himselfe the heauenly Empire: it remaineth that ye patiently abide in expectation, till he come againe the iudge of the world: because he is now entered into heauen, not that he may alone possesse it, but that he may gather together with him you and all the godly.

28 But forasmuch as the defenders of this bastarde doctrine are not ashamed to garnishe it with the consenting voices of the olde

writers and specially of Augustine: I will in fewe wordes declare howe peruersly they go about it. For whereas their testimonies haue bene gathered together of learned & godly mē, I will not do a thing already done: let him that will, seke them out of their workes. I will not heape together, neither out of Augustine himselfe, all that might make to the purpose: but will be contente to shewe by a fewē that he is without controuersie whole on our side. As for this that our aduersaries, to writhe him from vs, do allege that it is commonly red in his bookes, that the fleshe and blood of Christ is distributed in the Supper, namely the Sacrifice ones offred in the crosse: it is but trifling: sith he also calleth it either Thankesgeuing, or the Sacramēt of the body. But in what sense he vseth the words of fleshe & blood, we neede not to seke with long compassing about: forasmuch as he declareth himselfe, saying that Sacraments take their names of the likenesse of the things which they signifie: and that therefore after a certain maner y Sacramēt of the body is the body. Wherwith accordeth an other place which is wel enough knowen: The Lord sticked not to say, This is my body, when he gaue the signe of it. Againe they object, that Augustine writeth expressly, that y body of Christ falleth to the grounde, and entreth into the mouth: euen in the same sense, that he affirmeth it to be consumed, because he ioineth them both together. Neither doth that make to the contrarie, which he saith, that when the misterie is ended the bred is consumed: because he had a litle before said: sith these things are knowē to men, forasmuch as they are done by men, they may haue honor as things: but as maruelous things, they may not. And to no other ende tendeth that which our aduersaries do to vnaduisedly drawe to themselves: that Christ did (after a certaine maner) beare himselfe in his owne hādes, when he reached y mysticall bred to the disciples. For by enterlacing this aduerbe of liknesse (after a certain maner) he sufficiently declareth, that he was not truely nōr really enclosed vnder the bred. And

In Psal. 33. if spaces of places be taken from them, shalbe no where: and because they shalbe no where, they shall not be at all. It is a hungry cauillation, to say that in that place is not entreated of the Supper, in wich God vttereth speciall power: because the questiō was moued concerning the fleshe of Christ, and the holy man of set purpose answering saith: Christ gaue immortalitie to his fleshe, but toke not nature from it. After this forme it is not to be thought that he is eche where spred abroad: for we must beware that we do not so affirme the Godhed of the man, that we take away the trueth of the body.

Ad Bo.
nifac.
Epist.
25.

Cōtra.
Adama.
Manic.
Lib. 12.

Libr. 5.
de trin.
cap. 10.

In Psal.
33.

Epi. ad.
Dardā.

body. And it followeth not, that that which is in God must be eche where as God is. There is a reason by and by added: for one person is God and man, and both are one Christ: eche where, by this that he is God: in heauen, by this that he is man. What a negligence had it bene, not to excepte the misterie of the Supper being a thing so earnest and weighty, if there had bene in it any thinge against the doctrine which he entreated of. And yet if a manne do heedelessly read that which followeth within a litle after, he shall finde that vnder that generall doctrine, the Supper is also comprehended, that Christ the onely begotten Sonne of God, and the same the sonne of man, is eche where whole present as God: that he is in the temple of God (that is in the Church) God as it were there dwelling, and in some certaine place of heauen by reason of the measure of his true body. We see howe, to the vniting of Christ with the Church, he doth not drawe his body out of heauen: which surely he would haue done, if the body of Christ were not truely meate to vs vnlesse it were enclosed vnder bred. In an other place defining howe the faithfull do now possesse Christ, Thou hast him (saith he) by the signe of the Tra. 1. in loh. crosse, by the Sacrament of Baptisme, by the meate and drinke of the altar. Howe rightly he reckoneth a superstitious vsage among the Signes of the presence of Christ, I do not now dispute: but he that compareth the presence of the fleshe to the signe of the crosse, sufficiently sheweth that he faineth not a two bodied Christ, that the same he may lurke hidden vnder the bred, which sitteth visible in heauen. If this neede plainer declaration, it is by and by after added Mat. 26 in the same place, that according to the presence of maiestie, we alway haue Christ: that according to the presence of the fleshe, it is rightly sayed, Me ye shall not alway haue. They aunswere, that this is Mat. 28. also added, that according to an vnspeakable and inuisible grace, it is fulfilled which is said of him, I am with you, euen vnto the ending of the world. But that is nothing for their auantage: because this is at length restrained to his maiesty, which is ever in cōparison set against the body, and his fleshe by expresse name is made different from his grace and power. As in an other place the same comparison of contraries is red in him, that Christ by bodily presence left the disciples, that by spirituall presence he may be still with them: where it is plaine that the substance of the fleshe is distinguished from the power of the Spirit, which conioineth vs with Christ, though we be otherwise farre seuered by distance of places. The same maner of speaking he oftentimes vseth, as when he saith: He is to come againe to the quicke and the dead with bodily presence, according to the rule of

Faith and sounde doctrine. For with spirituall presence he was also to come to them, and to abide with the whole Church in the world vntill the ending of the world. Therefore this speche is directed to the beleuers, whom he had already begonne to saue with bodily presence, and whom he was to leaue with bodily absence: that he might with his Father saue them with spirituall presence. To take bodily for visible is but trifling: sith he setteth also the body in comparison against the diuine power: and adding (to saue with the Father) he clearly expresseth that he doth poure abroad his grace from heauen to vs by his Spirit.

29 And sith they put so much confidence in this lurking hole of inuisible presence, go to, let vs see howe well they hide themselves in it. First they shall not bring fourth one syllable out of the Scriptures, whereby they may proue that Christ is inuisible: but they take that for confessed which no man that hath his sounde witt will graunt them, that the body of Christ can not otherwise be geuen in the Supper but being couered with the visor of bred. And this is the very pointe about which they strue with vs; so farre is it of from hauing the place of a principle. And when they so babble, they are cōpelled to make a double body of Christ: because after their opinion, it is in it selfe visible in heauen, but inuisible in the Supper after a speciall manner of dispensation. But howe trimly this agreeth, it is easy to iudge both by other places of Scripture, and by the witnesse of Peter. Peter saith that Christ must be holden or contained in heauen, till he come againe. These men teache that he is euery where, but without forme. They take exception and say that it is vniust dealing, to make the nature of a glorified body subiect to the lawes of common nature. But this aunswere draweth with it that dotting error of Seruettus, (which is worthily to be abhorred of all the godly) that the body was swallowed vp of the Godhed. I do not say that they thinke so. But if this be reckened among the qualities of a glorified body, to fill all things after an inuisible maner, it is euident that the bodily substance is destroyed, and that there is left no difference of the godhed and the nature of man. Againe if the body of Christ be so of many fashions and diuerse, that it is sene in one place, and is inuisible in an other: where is the very nature of a body which consisteth of his measured proportions? and where is the vnitie? Much more rightly doth Tertullian say, which affirmeth that the body of Christ was a true and naturall body, because in the mysterie of the Supper the figure of it is set before vs for a pledge and assurance of the spirituall life. And verily Christ said of his glorified body, see and sefe, for a

Spirit

Ad. 3.
81.

Euc. 24.
39.

Spirit hath not fleshe and bones. Lo by Christs owne mouth the truth of his fleshe is proued, because it can be felt and sene. Take away these things, than it shall cesse to be fleshe. They still flee to their denne of dispensation which they haue framed to themselues. But it is our part so to embrace that which Christ absolutely pronounceth, that that which he meaneth to affirme may be of force with vs without exception. He proueth himselfe to be no ghost, because he is visible in his fleshe. Let that be taken away which he claimeth as propre to the nature of his body: must they not then be faine to coine a newe definitiō of a body? Nowe whether soeuer they turne theselues about, their fained dispensation hath no place in that place of Paul where he saith, that we loke for a Sauior from heauen, which shall fashion our base body like to his glorious body. For we may not hope for a like fashioning in those qualities which they faine to Christ, that euery one should haue an inuisible and vnmeasurable body. Neither shall there be founde any man so dull witted whom they may make to beleue so great an absurdity. Let them not therefore ascribe this gift to Christs glorified body, to be at ones in many places, and to be contained in no space. Finally let them either opely deny the resurrection of the fleshe, or let them graunt that Christ beinge clothed with heavenly glory, did not put of his fleshe, who shall make vs in our fleshe fellowes and parteners of the same glory, when we shall haue the resurrection common with him. For, what doth the Scripture teache more plainly, than that as Christ did put on our true fleshe when he was borne of the Virgin, and suffred in our true fleshe when he satisfied for vs: so he received againe also the same true fleshe in rising againe, and caried it vp to heauen. For this is to vs the hope of our resurrection and ascending into heauen, that Christ is risen againe and ascended: and (as Tertullian saith) he carried the earnest of our resurrection into the heauens with him. Nowe howe weake and fraile should that hope be, vnlesse this our selfe flesh had bene raised vp with Christ & entred into the kingdome of heauen? But this is the propre trueth of a body, to be contained in space, to consist of his measured proportions, to haue his forme. Therefore away with this foolish deuise, which doth fasten both the mindes of men and Christ to the bred. For to what purpose serueth the secret presence vnder bred, but that they which couet to haue Christ ioined with them, may rest in that signe? But the Lorde himselfe willed vs to withdrawe not onely our eyes but all our senses from the earth, forbidding himselfe to be touched of the women vntill he had gone vp to his Father. When he seeth Marie with godly

Phil. 3.

21.

Ioh. 10.

27.

zele of reuerēce to make hast to kisse his fete, there is no cause why he should disallowe and forbid this touching till he haue bene taken vp into heauen, but because he will be sought no where els. Whereas

A&. 7. they obiekt that he was afterwarde sene of Stephen, the solution is **56.** easy. For neither was it therefore necessary that Christ should change place, which could geue to the eyes of his seruant such sharpnesse of sight as might pearce through the heauens. The same also is to be

A&. 9. 4 said of Paule. Whereas they obiekt that Christ came out of the Sepulchre being shut: & entred in among the disciples, the dores being **Mat. 28** shut: that maketh neuer a whit more for maintenance of their error.

6. For as the water like a fast pauement made a way to Christ walking **Ioh. 20.** vpon the lake: so it is no maruell, if at his comming the hardnesse of **19.** the stone yelded it selfe. Howbeit it is more prouable, that by his **Mat 14.** commaundement the stone was remoued, and by and by after pas- **25.** sage giuen him returned into his place. And to enter, the dores being shut, is not asmuch in effect as to pearce through the whole substance, but by diuine power to open an entrie for himselfe, that he sodenly stode among the disciples, verily after a maruelous maner, when the

Luc. 24 dores were fast locked. That which they allege out of Luke, that **31.** Christ sodenly vanished away from the eyes of the disciples with whom he went to Emaus, profiteth them nothing, and maketh for vs. For, that he might take away the sight of himselfe from them, he was not made inuisible, but onely went out of sight. As when he went in

Luc. 24. journey together with them (as the same Luke witnesseth) he did **36.** not put on a newe face, that he might not be knowen, but helde their eyes. But these fellows do not onely transforme Christ, that he may be conuersant in earth, but in diuerse places they make him diuerse and vnlike himselfe. Finally in so trifling they do, not by one word in deede, but by a circumeuence, make of the fleshe of Christ a Spirit: and not contented therewith, they put vpon it altogether contrarie

qualities. Whereupon of necessity followeth that it is double.

30 Nowe although we graunt them that which they prate of the inuisible presence, y vnmeasurablenes shal not be yet proued, without which they shall in vaine attempt to enclose Christ vnder bred. Vnlesse the body of Christ may be euery where at ones, without any compasse of place, it shall not be likely that he lieth hidden vnder bred in the Supper. By which necessitie they brought in the monstrous being euery where. But it is shewed by strong and plaine witness of Scripture, that it was limited about by the measure of the body of a man: and then that by his ascending he hath made it plaine that he is not in all places, but that when he passeth into one place, he

leaueth the other that he was in before. Neither is the promise which they allege, to be drawe to the body, I am with you euen to the ending of the world. First the continuall conioining can not stande, Mat. 2
10. vnlesse Christ dwell in vs corporally without the vse of the Supper. Therefore there is no iust cause why they should so sharply brawle about the wordes of Christ, that they may in the Supper enclose Christ vnder bred. Againe the text it selfe proueth, that Christ speaketh nothing lesse than of his fleshe, but promiseth to his disciples inuincible helpe, whereby he may defende and susteine them against all the assaultes of Satan and the world. For when he enioined them a hard charge: least they should dout to take it in hande, or should fearefully execute it, he strēgheneth them with affiance of his presence: as if he had said, that his succor shall not faile them, which shalbe impossible to be ouercome. Vnlesse they list to confounde all things, ought they not to haue made distinction of the maner of presence. And verily some had rather with great shame to vtter their ignorance, than to yelde neuer so litle of their error. I speake not of the Papistes: whoes doctrine is more tolerable, or at the least more shamefast. But cōtentionusnes so carrieth some away, that they say that by reason of the natures vnited in Christ, wheresoeuer the Godhed of Christ is, there is also his fleshe, which can not be seuered from his Godhed. As though that same vniting haue compounded of those two natures I wote not what mean thing which was neither God nor man. So in deede did Eutiches, and after him Seruettus. But it is plainly gathered out of the Scripture, that the onely one person of Christ doth so consist of two natures, that either of them hath still her owne propertie remaining safe. And that Eutiches was rightfully condemned, they will be ashamed to deny: it is maruell that they marke not the cause of his condemning, that taking away the difference betwene the natures, enforcing the vnitie of person, he made of God man, and of man God. What madnesse therefore is it, rather to mingle heauen and earth together, than not to drawe the body of Christ out of the heauenly Sanctuarie? For whereas they bring for themselues these testimonies, None is gone vp to heauen but he that is come down, the Sonne of man which is in heauen. Againe, Iohn. 3.
13.
Iohn 1.
18. The sonne which is in the bosome of the Father, he shall declare them: it is a point of like senselesse dullnesse, to despise the communicating of properties which was in olde time not without cause inuented of the holy Fathers. Truly, when the Lorde of glory is said to be crucified, Paule doth not meane that he suffred any thing in his 1. Cor.
2.8. Godhed: but because the same Christ which being an abiect and

despised in the fleshe did suffer, was both God and Lorde of glory. After this maner also the Sonne of man was in heauen: because the selfe same Christ, which according to the fleshe did dwell the Sonne of man in earth, was God in heauen. In which sorte he is said to haue descended from the said place according to his Godhed: not that the Godhed did forsake heauen, to hide it selfe in the prison of the body: but because, although it filled all things, yet in the very manhode of Christ it dwelled corporally, that is to say naturally and after a certaine vnspeakable maner. It is a common distinction in scholes, which I am not ashamed to reherse: that although whole Christ be euery where, yet not the whole that is in him is euery where. And I woulde to God the Scholemen themselues had well weyed the pith of this saying: for so should the vnsauorie inuention of the fleshly presence of Christ haue bine met withall. Therefore our mediator, sith he is whole euery where, is alway at hande with his, & in the Supper after a speciall maner geueth himselfe present: but yet so, that whole he is present, not the whole that he is: because, as it is said, in his fleshe he is cōteined in heauen till he appeare to iudgemēt.

31 But they are farre deceiued, which conceiue no presence of the fleshe of Christ in the Supper, vnlesse it be made present in bread. For so they leaue nothing to the secret working of the Spirit, which vniteth Christ himselfe vnto vs. They thinke not Christ present, vnlesse he come downe to vs. As though if he did lift vs vp to him, we should not aswell enioy his presence. Therefore the question is onely of the maner: because they place Christ in the bread, but we thinke it not lawfull for vs to pluck him out of heauē. Let the readers iudge whether is the righter. Onely let this cauillatiō be driuen away, that Christ is taken away from his Supper, vnlesse he be hidden vnder the couer of bread. For sith this misterie is heavenly, it is no neede to drawe Christ into the earth, that he may be ioined to vs.

32 Nowe if any man do aske me of the maner, I will not be ashamed to confesse, that it is a hier secret than that it can be either comprehended with my witt, or vttered with my wordes: and, to speake it more plainly, I rather fele it, than I can vnderstand it. Therefore I do herein without cōtrouersie embrace the truth of God, in which I may safely rest. He pronounceth that his fleshe is the meate of my soule, and his blood is the drinke. With such foode I offre my soule to him to be fedde. In his holy Supper he commaundeth me vnder the signes of bread and wine to take, eate, and drinke his body and blood. I nothing dout that both he doth truely deliuer them, and I do receiue them. Onely I refuse the absurdities, which appeare to
be

be either vnworthy of the heavenly maiestie of Christ, or disagreeing from the truth of his nature of manhode: forasmuch as they must also fight with the word of God, which also teacheth that Christ was so taken vp into the glorie of the heavenly kingdome that it listeth him vp aboute all estate of the world, and no lesse diligently setteth forth in his nature of man, those things that are properly belonging to his true manhode. Neither ought this to seeme incredible, or not consonant to reason: because as the whole kingdome of Christ is spirituall, so whatsoever he doth with his Church, ought not to be reduced to the reason of this world. Or, that I may vse the wordes of Augustine, this misterie, as other are, is done by men, but from God: in earth, but from heauen. Such (I say) is the presence of the body, as the nature of the Sacramēt requireth: which we say here to excell with so great force, and so great effectualnesse, that it not onely bringeth to our mindes vndouted trust of eternall life, but also assureth vs of the immortalitie of our fleshe. For it is nowe quickened of his immortall fleshe, and after a certaine maner communicateth of his immortalitie. They which are caried aboute this with their excessiue speeches, do nothing but with such entanglements darken the simple and plaine truth. If any be not yet satisfied, I would haue him here a while to consider with me, that we nowe speake of a Sacrament, all the partes whereof ought to be referred to faith. But we do no lesse deintly and plentifully feede faith with this partaking of the body which we haue declared, than they that plucke Christ himselfe out of heauen. In the meane time I plainly confesse, that I refuse that mixture of the fleshe of Christ with our soule, or the pouring out of it such as they teache: because it suffiseth vs, that Christ doth out of the substance of his flesh breath life into our soules, yea doth poure into vs his owne life, although the very fleshe of Christ doth not entre into vs. Moreouer it is no dout that the proportion of faith, whereby Paul willeth vs to examine all exposition of Scripture, doth in this behalfe very well agree with me. As for them that speake against so euident a truth, let them looke after what rule of faith they fashion themselves. He that doth not confesse that Iesus Christ is come in the fleshe, is not of God. These men, although they cloke it, or marke it not, do spoile him of his fleshe.

Luc. 24.
26.Iren. li.
4. c. 34.Rom. 12
3.
1. Ioh. 7

33 Of communicating is to be likewise thought, which they acknowledge none, vnlesse they deuoure the fleshe of Christ vnder bread. But there is no small wrong done to the Holy Ghost, vnlesse we beleue that it is brought to passe by his incomprehensible power, that we communicate with the fleshe and blood of Christ. Yea if the

force of the misterie, such as it is taught of vs, and as it was knowen to the olde Church from fower hundred yeres ago, were weyed according to the worthinesse of it, there was enough and more whereupon we might be satisfied: the gate had bine shut against many fowle errors, out of which haue bene kindled many horrible dissensions wherewith both in olde time and in our age the Church hath bene miserably vexed, while curious men do enforce an excessiue maner of presence, which the Scripture neuer sheweth. And they turmoile about a thing fondly and rashely conceiued, as if the enclosing of Christ vnder bread were (as the prouerbe is) the prow and poupe of godlinesse. It principally behoued to knowe, howe the body of Christ, as it was ones deliuered for vs, is made ours: howe we are made partakers of his blood y was shedde: because this is to possesse whole Christ crucified, that we may enioy all his good things. Nowe these things, in which was so great importace, being omitted yea neglected and in a maner buried, this onely crabbed question pleaseth them, howe the body of Christ lieth hidde vnder bread or vnder the forme of bread. They falsly spread abroad that whatsoeuer we teache concerning spirituall eating, is contrarie to the true and reall eating, as they call it: because we haue respect to nothing but to the maner, which among them is carnall, while they enclose Christ in bread: but to vs it is spirituall, because the secret power of the Spirit is the bonde of our coioining with Christ. No truer is that other obiection, that we touche onely the frute or effect which the faithfull take of the eating of the fleshe of Christ. For we haue said before, that Christ himselfe is the substance of the Supper: and that thereupon followeth the effect, that by the sacrifice of his death we are cleansed from sinnes, by his blood we are washed, by his resurrection we are raised vp into hope of the heauenly life. But the foolish imagination, wherof Lombarde was the author, hath peruered their mindes, while they thinke that the eating of the fleshe of Christ is the Sacrament. For thus saith he: The Sacrament and not the thing are the formes of bread and wine: the Sacrament and the thing, are the fleshe and blood of Christ: the thing and not the Sacrament, is his mysticall fleshe. Againe within a littell after. The thing signified and contained, is the propre fleshe of Christ: the thing signified and not contained is his mysticall body. Whereas he maketh difference betwene the fleshe of Christ, and the effectuall power of nourishing, wherewith it is endued, I agree: but whereas he faineth it to be a Sacrament, yea and contained vnder bread, it is an error not to be suffred. Hereupon hath growen the false exposition of sacramentall eating, because

cause they haue thought that wicked men also and euell doers do eate the fleshe of Christ, howe much soeuer they be strangers from him. But the fleshe of Christ it selfe in the misterie of the Supper is no lesse a spirituall thing than eternall saluation. Whereupon we gather, that whosoever be voide of the Spirit of Christ, can no more eate the fleshe of Christ, than they can drinke wine wherewith is ioined no tast. Truly Christ is to hainously torne in sonder, when that dead body and which hath no liuely strength, is geuen forth in common to vnbeleuers: and his expresse wordes are directly against it, Who Iol. n. 6. 56. soeuer eateth my fleshe and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. They aunswere that in that place is not entreated of the sacramentall eating: which I graunt, so that they will not now and then stamble against the same stone, in saying that the fleshe it selfe is eaten without fruit. But I would knowe of them, howe long they holde it when they haue eaten it. Here, in my iudgement, they shall haue no way to gett out. But they obiekt, that nothing can be withdrawn or faile of the promises of God by the vnthankfulness of men. I graunt in decde, and I say that the force of the misterie remaineth whole, howsoever wicked men do, as much as in them lieth, endeuor to make it voide. Yet it is one thing to be offred, and an other thing to be receiued. Christ reacheth this spirituall meate and offreth this spirituall drinke to all men: some do gredily eate of it, some do lothingly refuse it: shall these men refusinge make the meate and the drinke to lose their nature? They will say that their opinion is holpen by this similitude, namely that the fleshe of Christ, though it be vsauorie, is neuerthelesse his fleshe. But I denie that it can be eaten without the tast of faith: or (if we list rather to speake as Augustine doth) I say that men beare away no more of this Sacrament, than they gather with the vessell of faith. So nothing is abated from the Sacramēt, yea the truth and effectualnesse therof remaineth vnminished, although the wicked depart emptie from the outward partaking of it. If they againe obiekt that this word, this is my body, is diminished, if the wicked receiue corruptible bread and nothing els: we haue a solution ready, that God will not be acknowen true in the receiuing it selfe, but in the stedfastnesse of his owne goodness, when he is ready to geue, yea liberally offreth to the vnworthy that which they refuse. And this is the fulnesse of the Sacrament, which the whole world can not breake, that the fleshe and blood of Christ is no lesse geuen to the vnworthy than to the chosen faithfull ones of God: but therewithall it is true, that as water lighting vpon a hard stone, falleth away, because there is no entrie open into the

stone: so the wicked do with their hardnesse driue backe the grace of God that it can not pearce into them. Moreouer, that Christ should be receiued without faith, is no more agreeing with reason, than seede to budde in the fire. Whereas they aske, howe Christ is come to damnation to some, vnlesse they receiue him vnworthily, it is a very colde question: forasmuch as we no where reade, that men do procure death to themselues by vnworthily receiuing Christ, but rather by refusing him. Neither doth Christs parable helpe them, where he saith that seede groweth vp among thornes, and afterwarde being choked is marred: because he there entreateth, of what value the faith is which endureth but for a time, which they do not thinke to be necessary to the eating of Christs flesh and drinking of his blood, that in this behalfe do make Iudas egally fellowe with Peter. But rather by the same parable their error is confuted, where Christ saith that some seede falleth in the hy way, other some vpon stones, and neither of them taketh roote. Whereupon followeth that to the vnbeleuers their owne hardnesse is a let that Christ atteineth not to them. Whosoever desireth to haue our saluation holpen by this misterie, shall finde nothing fitter, than that the faithfull being led to the very fountaine, should drawe life out of the Sonne of God. But the dignitie of it is honorably enough set out, when we keepe in minde that it is a helpe whereby we be grafted into the body of Christ, or being grafted do more & more growe together, till he do fully make himself one with vs in the heavenly life. They obiekt that Paul ought not to haue made them guiltie of the body & blood of Christ, vnlesse they were partakers of them. But I aunswere that they are not therefore cōdemned, because they haue eaten them, but only because they haue prophaned the misterie, in treading vnder feete y^e pledge of the holy coniointing with God, which they ought reuerently to receiue.

34 Now because Augustine among the olde writers chiefly hath affirmed that article of doctrine, that nothing is abated from the Sacraments, nor the grace which they figure is made voide by the infelicitie or noughtinesse of men: it shalbe profitable to proue clearly by his owne wordes, howe vnfitly and peruersly they do drawe that to this present cause, which cast the body of Christ to dogges to eate. The sacramentall eating, after their opinion, is whereby the wicked receiue the body & blood of Christ without the power of the Spirit, or any effect of grace. Augustine contrariwise weyeng wisely those wordes, He that eateth my fleshe, and drinketh my blood, shall not die for euer, sayeth: Namely the power of the Sacrament, not onely the visible Sacrament: and verily within, not without: he that eateth it

with

Mat. 13.

7.

1. Cor.

11. 29.

Homil.

in Ioh.

26.

Ioh. 6.

50.

with harte, nor he that presseth it with tooth. Whereupon at length he concludeth that the sacrament of this thing, that is to say, of the vnity of the body & blood of Christ, is set before men in the Supper of the Lord, to some vnto life, to some vnto destruction: but the thing it selfe whereof it is a sacrament, to all men vnto life, to none vnto destruction, whosoever be partaker of it. That none should here cauill, that the thing is called not the body, but the grace of the Spirit which may be seuered from the body, the contrarie cōparison betwene these two wordes of addition Visible and Inuisible driueth away all these mistes: for vnder the first of them can not be comprehended the body of Christ. Whereupō followeth that the vnbeleuers do cōmunicate onely of the visible signe. And that all doutinge may be better taken away, after that he had said that this bread requireth the hunger of the inward man, he addeth: Moses and Aaron and Phinees, and many other that did eate Manna, pleased God. Why so? Exo. 16. because the spirituall meate they spiritually vnderstoode, spiritually 14. hungered, spiritually tasted, that they might be spiritually filled. For we also at this day haue receiued spirituall meat: but the Sacramēt is one thing, and the power of the sacramēt is an other. A litle after: and by this he that abideth not in Christ, and in whom Christ abideth nor, without dout neither eateth spiritually his fleshe, nor drinketh his blood, though carnally and visibly he presseth with teeth the signe of the body and blood. We heare againe that the visible signe is set in cōparison as cōtrary to spirituall eating. Whereby that error is confuted, that the body of Christ inuisible is in deede eaten sacramētally, though not spiritually. We heare also that nothing is graūted to prophane & vncleane men beside y visible receiuing of the signe. Herupō Homil. cometh his famous saying, that the other disciples did eate the bred in Ioh. the Lord, but Iudas did eate the bread of the Lord: wherein he plainly 59. excludeth the vnbeleuers from the partaking of the body & blood. Neither tēdeth it to any other ende which he saith in an other place: What meruailest thou, if to Iudas was geuen the bread of Christ, by Homil. which he might be made bond to the deuil: when thou seest on the 62. cōtrary side that to Paul was geuen the Angel of the deuil, by whom 2. Cor. he might be made perfect in Christ: He saith verily in an other place, 11. 7. that the bread of the Supper was the body of Christ to thē to whom Libr. 5. Paul said, He that eateth vnworthily, eateth & drinketh iudgemēt to de bap. himselfe: and that they haue not therefore nothing, because they haue contra receiued noughtily. But in what sense, he declareth more fully in an Don2. other place. For (taking in hād purposely to define howe the wicked 1. Cor. and euell doers, which professe the Christian faith with mouth but 11. 29.

with deedes do deny it, do eate the body of Christ, and that against the opinion of some which thought that they did not eate in sacrament onely but in very deede.) But neither (saith he) ought it to be said that they eate the body of Christ, because they are not to be reckned among the membres of Christ. For (to speake nothing of the rest) they can not together be the members of Christ, and the membres of a harlot. Finally where himselfe saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him, he sheweth what it is not sacramentally but in very deede to eate y^e body of Christ. For this is to abide in Christ, that Christ may abide in him. For he so said this, as though he had said, he that abideth not in me, and in whom I abide not, let him not say or thinke that he doth eate my body, or drinke my blood. Let the readers wey the things set as contraries in the cōparison to eate, sacramentally, and in very deede: and there shall remaine no dout. He confirmeth the same, no lesse plainly in these wordes: Prepare not your iawes, but your hart: Hereupon is this Supper commended. Loe we beleue in Christ, when we receiue by faith: in receiuing we knowe what to thinke. We receiue a litle and are fatted in hart. Therefore not that which is seene, but that which is beleued, doth feede. Here also that which the wicked receiue, he restraineth to the visible signe: & teacheth that Christ is none otherwise receiued than by faith. So also in an other place, pronouncing expressly that the good and the euell do communicate together in the signes, he excludeth the euell from y^e true eating of the flesh of Christ. For if they receiued the thing it selfe, he would not vtterly haue left that vnspoken which was more fit for his matter. Also in an other place, entreating of the eating & the frute therof, he cōcludeth thus: Then shall the body and blood of Christ be life to euery man, if that which in the Sacrament is visibly receiued, be in the truth it selfe spiritually eaten, spiritually dronke. Therefore whoso make vnbeleuers partakers of the fleshe and blood of Christ, that they may agree with Augustine, let them shewe vs the visible body of Christ: forasmuch as, by his iudgement, the whole truth is spirituall. And it is certainly gathered out of his wordes, that the Sacramentall eating, when vnbelese closeth vp the entrie to truth, is as much in effect as visible or outwarde eating. If the body of Christ might be eaten truely and yet not spiritually, what should that meane which he saith in an other place? Ye shall not eate this body which ye see, and drinke the blood which they shall shedde that shall crucifie me. I haue commended a certaine Sacramente vnto you, being spiritually vnderstanded it shall quicken you. Verily he would not deny but that the same body which

Ioh. 6.
26.
Libr. de
ciuitat.
Dei 21.
cap. 25.

Con.
Fau. lib.
13. cap.
16. Ser.
mo. de
ver.
Apost.

In Psa.
98.

which Christ offered for sacrifice, is deliuered in the Supper: but he did set out the maner of eatinge: namely that beinge receiued into heauenly glory, by the secrete power of the Spirit, it breatheth life into vs. I graunt in dede that there is oftentimes founde in him this maner of speakinge, that the body of Christ is eaten of the vnbeleuers: but he expounderh himselfe, adding, In Sacrament. And in an other place he describeth spirituall eatinge, in which our bitinges consume not grace. And least mine aduersaries shoulde say, that I fight with them with a heape of places, I would knowe of them howe they can vnwinde themselues from one sayinge of his, where he sayeth that Sacraments do worke in the only elect that which they figure. Truly they dare not deny but that the bread in the Supper figureth the body of Christ. Wherupon foloweth that the reprobate are debarred from the partakinge of it. That Cyrill also thought none otherwise, these wordes do declare. As if a man vpon molten waxe do poure other waxe, he wholly tempereth the one waxe with the other: so is it necessary if any man receiue the fleshe and blood of the Lorde that he be ioyned with him, that Christ may be founde in him and he in Christ. By these wordes I thinke it is euident, that they are bereued of the true and reall eatinge, that do but sacramentally eate the body of Christ, which can not be seuered from his power: and that therefore faileth not the faith of the promises of God, which cesseth not to raine from heauen, although the stones and rockes conceiue not the liquor of the raine.

Homil.
in Ioh.
In 6.
Iohan.
cap. 17.

35 This knowledge shall also easily draw vs away from the carnal worshipping, which some haue with peruerse rashnesse erected in the Sacrament: because they made accompt with themselues in this maner: If it be the body, then both the soule and the Godhead are together with the body, which now can not be seuered: therefore Christ is there to be worshipped. First if their accompanyinge which they pretende be denied them, what will they do? For howe much soeuer they crie out vpo an absurdity, if the body be seuered from the soule and the godhead: yet what soundewitted and sober man can perswade himselfe that the body of Christ is Christ? They thinke themselues in dede gaily to proue it with their logical argumentes. But sith Christ speaketh distinctly of his body and blood, but describeth not the maner of presence: how will they of a doubtful thinge gather certainly that which they woulde? What then? If their consciences chaunce to be exercised with any more greuous feling, shall not they by and by with their logicall argumentes be dissolued and melt? namely when they shall see themselues destitute of the certain word of God, vpon

which alone our soules do stand fast, whē they are called to accompt, and without which they faint at euery first moment: when they shall call to mind that the doctrine & examples of the Apostles are against them, and that themselves alone are to themselves the authors of it. To such motions shalbe added other not small prickings. What? Shall it be a matter of no importance, to worship God in this forme, where nothing was prescribed vnto vs? When it concerned the true worship of God, ought they with so great lightnesse to haue attempted that of which there is no where read any one worde? But if they had, with such humblenesse as they ought, holden al their thoughtes vnder the word of God, they would truely haue harkened to y^e which he said, Take, eate, drinke, & would haue obeyed this commaundemēt, wherein he biddeth the Sacrament to be receiued, not to be worshipped. But they which, as it is commaunded of God, do receiue it without worshipping, are assured that they do not swarue from Gods cōmaundement: than which assurednes there is nothing better when we take any worke in hand. They haue y^e example of the Apostles, whom we read not to haue fallen downe flat and worshipped it, but euen as they were sitting, to haue receiued it & eaten it. They haue the vse of the Apostolike Church, wherein Luke reporteth that the faithfull did communicate not in worshippinge but in breakinge of bread. They haue the Apostles doctrine, wherewith Paule instructed the Church of the Corinthians, professing that he had receiued of the Lord that which he deliuered.

AQ. 2.4

2. Cor.
11.

36 And these thinges verily tend to this ende, that the godly readers should wey howe perillous it is in so hie matters to wander from the simple worde of God to the dreames of our owne braine. But those thinges that are aboue said, ought to deliuer vs from all dout in this behalfe. For, that godly soules may therein rightly take holde of Christ, they must needes be lifted vp to heauen. If this be the office of a Sacrament, to help the minde of man which otherwise is weake, that it may rise vpward to reache the height of spirituall mysteries: then they which are holdē downe in the outward signe do stray from the right way of seeking Christ. What then? Shall we deny that it is a superstitious worshippinge, when men do throwe themselves downe before bread, to worship Christ therein? Doubtlesse the Nicene Synode meant to mete with this mischiefe, when it forbade vs to be humbly intentiue to the signes set before vs. And for none other cause was it in old time ordained, that before the cōsecration the people should with a loude voice be put in minde to haue their hartes lifted vpward. The Scripture it selfe also, beside that it diligently declareth vnto vs
the

Sursum
corda.

the ascension of Christ, whereby he conueyed away the presence of his body from our sight and conuersation: to thake away from vs all carnall thinkinge of him, so oft as it maketh mention of him, commaundeth vs to be in mindes raised vpward, and to seke him in heauen sitting at the right hand of the Father. According to this rule he was rather to be spiritually worshipped in heauenly glorie, than this so perillous a kinde of worshipping to be deuised, full of carnall and grosse opinion of God. Wherefore they that haue inuented the worshipping of the Sacrament, haue not only dreamed it of themselues beside the Scripture, in which no mention of it can be shewed (which yet should not haue bin ouerpasse if it had bin acceptable to God.) But also all the Scripture cryinge out against it, they haue framed to themselues a God after the will of their owne lust, leauing the liuing God. For what is idolatry, if this be not, to worshippinge the giftes in steede of the giuer himselfe? Wherein they haue doublely offended: For both the honor taken from God was conueyed to a creature: & he himselfe also dishonored in the defiling and prophaning of his benefit, when of his holy Sacrament is made a cursed idole. But let vs contrariwise, least we fall into the same pit, thoroughly settle our eares, eyes, harts, mindes, & tongues in the holy doctrine of God. For that is the schole of the holy Ghost, the best scholemaister, in which such profit is attained, that nothing neede more to be gotten from any where else, but we willingly ought to be ignorant of whatsoever is not taught in it.

37 But nowe (as superstition, when it hath once passed the right boundes, maketh no end of sinning) they fel a great way further. For they haue deuised Ceremonies altogether straunge from the institution of the Supper, to this end only that they might giue diuine honors to the signe. We yeelde (say they) this worship to Christ. First, if this were done in the Supper, I would say that that worshipping only is lawfull, which resteth not in the signe, but is directed to Christ sitting in heauen. But nowe by what pretense do they boast that they worshippinge Christ in that bread: when they haue no promise thereof? They consecrate an host, as they call it, which they may cary about in pompe, which they may shewe forth in a common gazing to be looked vpon, worshipped, and called vpon. I aske by what power they thinke it to be rightly consecrate. Verily they will bring forth those words, This is my body. But I will obiect to the contrary, that it was therewithall said, Take and eate. Neither will I do that of nothing. For when a promise is knit to a commaundement, I say that the promise is so contained vnder the commaundement, that being seue-

Col. 3.2

red it is made no promise at all. This shalbe made plainer by a like example. God gaue a commaundement, when he said, Call vpon me: He added a promise, I will heare thee. If any man calling vpon Peter and Paule, do glory vpon this promise, will not all men crie out that he doth wrongfully? And what other thing I pray you, do they which leauing the cōmaundement concerning eating, do catch hold of a maimed promise, this is my body, to abuse it to strange ceremonies from the institution of Christ? Let vs therefore remember that this promise is giuen to them which kepe the commaundement ioined with it: but that they be destitute of all the word, which remoue the Sacramēt to any other way. We haue heretofore entreated how the mystery of the holy supper serueth our Faith before God. But forasmuch as the Lord doth here not only bringe into our remembrance so great largesse of his bounty, as we haue before shewed, but doth as it were from hande to hande bringe it foorth, and stirreth vs to acknowledge it: he doth therewithall warne vs that we be not vnthankfull to so plentifull liberality: but rather that we should publish it with such praises as it is meete, and aduaunce it with thankesgiuing. Therefore when he deliuered the institution of the Sacrament it self to the Apostles, he taught them that they shoulde do it in remembrance of him. Which Paule expoundeth, to declare the Lorde's death. That is, publikely and altogether with one mouth openly to confesse, that all our affiance of life and saluation is reposed in the death of the Lorde: that we may glorifie him with our confession, and may by our example exhorte other to giue glory to him. Here againe it appeareth whereunto the marke of this Sacrament is directed, namely to exercise vs in the remembrance of the death of Christ. For, this that we are commaunded to declare the Lorde's death till he come to iudge, is nothing else but that we should publish that with confession of mouth, which our faith hath acknowledged in the Sacrament, that is, that the death of Christ is our life. This is the second vse of the Sacrament, which pertaineth to outward confession.

38 Thirdly the Lorde also willed it to be to vs in steede of an exhortation, thā which none other can more vehemently encourage & enflame vs both to purenes and holines of life, and also to charitie, peace, and agreement. For the Lord doth therein so communicate his body to vs, that he is made throughly one with vs, and we with him. Now sith he hath but one body, whereof he maketh vs all partakers, it is necessary that all we also be by such partakinge made one body. Which vnity the bread which is deliuered in the Sacramēt, representeth: which as it is made of many graines in such sort mingled together

Psa. 50.
15.

Luc. 22.
19.
1. Cor.
11. 26.

together that one can not be discerned from an other: after the same maner we also ought to be conioyned & knit together with so great agreemēt of mindes, that no disagreement or diuision come betwene vs. This I had rather to be expressed with Paules wordes. The cup of blessinge (sayth he) which we blesse, is the communicating of the blood of Christ: & the bread of blessing which we breake, is the partakinge of the body of Christ. Therefore we all are one body, that partake of one bread. We shall haue very well profited in the Sacrament, if this thought so shalbe emprinted & engraue in our mindes, that none of the brethren can be hurt, despised, refused, abused, or in any wise be offended of vs, but that therewithall we do in so doinge hurt, despise and abuse Christ with our iniurious dealinges: that we can not disagree with our brethren, but that we must therewithall disagree with Christ: that Christ can not be loued of vs, but that he must be loued in our brethren: that what care we haue of our owne body, such also we ought to haue of our brethren which are members of our body: as no part of our body is touched with any feling of grieffe, which is not spread abroad into all the other parts, so we must not suffer, our brother to be greued with any euil wherof we should not also be touched with compassion. Therefore Augustine not without cause so oft calleth this Sacrament the bond of charity. For what sharper spur could be put to vs, to stirre vp mutuall charity among vs, than when Christ giuing himselfe to vs, doth not only allure vs with his owne example that we shoulde mutually dedicate and deliuer our selues one to an other: but in so much as he maketh himselfe cōmon to all, he maketh all vs also one in himselfe?

1. Cor.
10.16.

39 But hereby is that very well confirmed which I haue sayd in an other place, that the true ministratiō of the Sacramēt standeth not without the word. For whatsoeuer profit commeth to vs of the Supper, requireth the word: whether we be to be confirmed in Faith, or to be exercised in confession, or to be stirred vp to duety, praier is needefull. Therefore nothinge can be more disorderly done in the Supper, than if it be turned to a dumme action: as hath bin done vnder the tyranny of the Pope. For they would haue the whole force of consecration to hange vpon the intent of the Priest, as though this nothing pertained to the people, to whom it most of all behoued that the mystery should be declared. But thereupon hath growen this error, that they marked not that those promises wherewith the consecration is made, are directed not to the elementes themselues, but to them that receiue them. But Christ speaketh not to the bread, that it may be made his body, but commaundeth his disciples to eate, and

promiseth to them the communicating of his body and blood. And none other order doth Paul teach, than that together with the bred and the cup, the promises should be offered to the faithfull. Thus it is truly. We ought not here to imagine any magicall enchauntment, that it be sufficient to haue mumbled vp the wordes, as though the elementes did heare them: but let vs vnderstande that those wordes are a liuely preachinge, which may edifie the hearers, which may inwardly pearce into their mindes, which may be emprinted and settled in their hartes, which may shewe foorth effectualnesse in the fulfilling of that which it promiseth. By these reasons it clearely appeareth, that the layinge vp of the Sacrament, which many do earnestly require, that it may be extraordinarily distributed to the sicke, is vnprofitable. For either they shall receiue it without rehearsing of the institution of Christ, or the minister shall together with the signe ioyne the true declaration of the mystery. In silence is abuse & fault. If the promises be rehearsed, and the mysterie declared, that they which shall receiue it may receiue it with trute, there is no cause why we should dout that this is the true consecration. To what end then will that other consecration come, the force whereof cometh not so farre as to the sicke men? But they that do so, haue the example of the old Church. I graunt: but in so great a matter, & in which we erre not without great daunger, nothinge is safer than to folow the truth it selfe.

40 Now as we see that this holy bread of the Supper of the Lord is spirituall meate, no lesse sweete and delicate than healthfull to the godly worshippers of God, by the tast whereof they feele that Christ is their life, whom it raiseth vp to thanksgiving, to whom it is an exhortation to mutuall charity among themselues: so on the other side it is turned into a most noysome poyson to all them whose Fayth it doth not nourish and confirme, and whom it doth not stirre vp to confession of praise and to charity. For as bodily meate, when it findeth a stomach possessed with euill humors, being it selfe also thereby made euill and corrupted doth rather hurt than nourishe: so this spirituall meate, if it light vpon a soule defiled with malice and naughtinesse, throweth it downe headlong with greater fall: verily not by the fault of the meate it selfe, but because to defiled and vnbeleuinge men nothinge is cleane, though otherwise it be neuer so much sanctified by the blessing of the Lord. For (as Paule sayth) they that eate & drinke vnworthily, are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and do eate and drinke iudgement to themselues, not discerning the body of the Lord. For, such kinde of mē as without any sparcle of Faith, without
any

any zeale of charity, do thrust themselves forth like swine to take the Supper of the Lorde, do not discern the body of the Lorde. For in so much as they do not beleue that that body is their life, they do as much as in them lyeth dishonor it, spoylinge it of all the dignitie thereof, and finally in so receiuinge it they prophane and defile it. But in so much as being estraunged and disagreeinge from their brethré, they dare mingle the holy signe of the body of Christ with their disagreements, it is no thanke to them that the body of Christ is not rent in sunder, and limmemeale torne in peeces. And so not vnworthily they are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, which they do with vngodlines full of sacrilege so fowly defile. Therefore by this vnworthy eatinge, they take to themselves damnation. For whereas they haue no Faith reposed in Christ, yet receiuing the Sacrament they professe that there is saluation for them no where else than in him, and do forswear all other affiance. Wherefore they themselves are accusers to themselves, they themselves pronounce witnesse against themselves, and they themselves seale their owne damnation. Againe when they being with hatred and euill will diuided & drawen in sunder from their brethren, that is, from the members of Christ, haue no parte in Christ: yet they do testifie that this is the only saluation to communicate with Christ, & to be made one with him. For this cause Paule commaundeth, that a man proue himselfe, before that he eate of this bread or drinke of this cup. Whereby (as I expounde it) he meant that every man should descend into himselfe, and weie with himselfe, whether he do with inward affiance of hart rest vpon the saluatiō which Christ hath purchaced: whether he acknowledge it with confession of mouth: then whether he do with desirous endeouour of innocence and holinesse aspire to the following of Christ: whether after his example he be ready to giue himselfe to his brethren, & to cōmunicate himselfe to them with whom he hath Christ cōmon to him: whether, as he himselfe is accompted of Christ, he do likewise on his behalfe take all his brethren for members of his owne body: whether he couet to cherish, defende, and helpe them as his owne members. Not for that these duties both of Faith & charity can now be perfect in vs: but because we ought to endeuor this, & with all our desires to long toward it, that we may daily more & more encrease our Faith begon.

41 Commonly when they go about to prepare men to such worthines of eating, they haue in cruell wise tormented and vexed poore consciences: and yet they brought neuer a whit of all those thinges that might serue to the purpose. They said that thoe did eat worthily

1. Cor.
11. 28.

which were in state of grace. To be in state of grace they expounded to be pure & cleansed from all sinne. By which doctrine all the men that euer haue at any time bin or now be in earth, were debarred frō the vse of this Sacrament. For if we go about this, to fetch our worthinesse from our selues, we are vtterly vndone: onely despeire and damnable ruine abideth for vs. Though we endeuer with our whole strenghtes, we shall nothinge more preuaile, but that then at last we shalbe most vnworthy, when we haue most of all trauailed about seekinge of worthinesse. To salue this sore, they haue deuised a way to attaine worthinesse: that, as much as in vs lieth, making examination, and requiring of our selues accompt of all our doings, we should with contrition, confession, and satisfaction cleanse our vnworthinesse which way of cleansinge, what maner of thinge it is, we haue already shewed there where was more conuenient place to speake of it. So much as serueth for our present purpose, I say that these be to hungry and vanishinge comfortes to dismaied and discouraged consciences & such as are stricken with horreur of their sinne. For if the Lord by speciall forbidding, admitteth none to the partakinge of his Supper but the righteous & innocent: there needeth no smal heede that may make a man assured of his owne righteousness which he heareth to be required of God. But whereby is this assurednes confirmed vnto vs, that they are discharged afore God, which haue done so much as in them lay? But although it were so, yet when shall it be that a man may be bold to assure himselfe that he hath done as much as in him lay? So when there is made no certaine assurance of our worthinesse, the entry shall alway remaine shut by that horrible forbidding, whereby is pronounced that they eate & drinke iudgement to themselves, which eate and drinke vnworthily.

42 Now it is easie to iudge what maner of doctrine this is which reigneth in the Papacy, & frō what author it hath proceeded, which with the outrageous rigor thereof bereueth and spoyleth, miserable sinners and such as be tormented with feare and sorow, of the comfort of this Sacrament, in which yet all the swete delicates of the Gospell were set before them. Surely the deuill could by no redier way destroy men, than by so making them senselesse, that they could not perceiue the tast and sauour of such foode, wherewith it was the will of the most good heauenly Father to feede them. Least therefore we runne into such headlonge downefall, let vs remember that this holy banket is medicine to the sicke, comfort to sinners, liberall gift to the poore: which bring no profit to the healthy, righteous, and rich, if any such could be found. For wheras in it Christ is giuen vs for meate:

we vnderstande that without him we pyne, starue, and faint, like as famine destroyeth the liuely strength of the body. Againe whereas he is giuen vs for life: we vnderstande that without him we are in our selues vtterly dead. Wherefore this is the worthinesse both the only and best that we can bringe to God, if we offer to him our owne vilenesse and (as I may so call it) vnworthinesse, that of his mercy he may make vs worthy of him: if we despire in our selues, that we may be comforted in him: if we humble our selues, that we may be raised vp of him: if we accuse our selues, that we may be iustified of him: moreouer if we aspire to that vnity which he commendeth to vs in his Supper: and as he maketh vs all, one in himselfe, so if we wish to vs all altogether one soule, one hart one tonge. If we haue these things thoroughly well weyed and considered, such thoughtes although they shake vs, yet shall neuer ouerthrow vs. As, how should we being needy and naked of al good things, we defiled with filthinesse of sinnes, we halfe dead, eate the body of the Lorde worthily? We will rather thinke that we being poore come to the liberal giuer, we seeke to the Phisician, we sinners to the author of righteousness, finally we dead men to him that giueth life: that that worthinesse which is commaunded of God, consisteth chiefly of Faith, which repossesseth al things in Christ and nothinge in vs: and next of charity, and the selfe same charity which it is enough to offer vnperfect to God, that he may encrease it to better, forasmuch as it can not be giuen perfect. Some other agreeinge with vs in this, that the worthinesse it selfe consisteth in Fayth and charity: yet in the measure of worthinesse haue gone farre out of the way, requiringe a perfection of Fayth, whereunto nothing may be added, & a charity egall with that which Christ hath shewed toward vs. But hereby they do none otherwise than those other before, driue all men away from comminge to this holy Supper. For if their sentence shoulde take place, no man shoulde receiue but vnworthily, forasmuch as all without exception shoulde be holden guilty and conuict of their vnperfectnesse. And truly it were a point of too much amazed dulnesse, I will not say foolishnesse, to require such perfection in the Sacrament, as may make the Sacrament voide and superfluous: which was not ordained for the perfect, but for the weake and feeble to awake, to stirre vp, to pricke forward, and exercise the affection of Faith and charity, and to correct the default of either of them.

43 But so much as concerneth the outward forme of doing, whether the faithfull receiue it in their hand or no: whether they deuide it, or euery one eate that which is giuen him: whether they put againe

Luc. 22
17.

the cup in the hand of the Deacon, or deliuer it to the next: whether the bread be leuened, or vnleuened: whether the wine be redde or white: it maketh no matter. These thinges be indifferent and left in the liberty of the Church. Howebeit it is certaine, that the vsage of the old Church was, that euery one should take it into his hand. And Christ said, Diuide it among you. The histories report, that it was leuened and common breade before the time of Alexander bishoppe of Rome, which first delited in vnleuened bread: but for what reason I see not, vnlesse it were with a newe sight to draw the eies of the common people to wondring at it, rather than to instruct their mindes with good religion. I adiure all thē that are touched with any though but light zeale of godlines, to tell whether they do not euidently see, both how much more brightly the glory of God shineth herein, and how much more abundant sweetenes of spirituall comfort commeth to the faithfull, than in these colde and plaielike trifles, which bring none other vse but to deceiue the sense of the amased people. This they call the holdinge of the people in religion, when beinge made foolish and senslesse with superstition it is drawen whether they list. If any man will defende such inuentions by antiquity, I my selfe also am not ignorant how auncient is the vse of chresme, and blowing in Baptisme: Howe nye to the age of the Apostles the Supper of the Lorde was infected with rustinesse: but this verily is the waywardnesse of mans boldenesse, which can not withholde it selfe but that it must alway play and be wanton in the mysteries of God. But lette vs remember that God doth so highly esteeme the obedience of his word, that he willeth vs in it to iudge both his Angels and the whole worlde. Now, bidding farewell to so great a heape of ceremonies: it might thus haue bin most comlyly ministred, if it were oft and at least euery weke sette before the Church, but that first they shoulde begin with publike praiers: then a sermon should be made: then the minister, hauinge bread and wine sette vpon the boorde, shoulde rehearse the institution of the Supper: and then shoulde declare the promises that are in it leste vnto vs: and therewithall shoulde excommunicate all them that by the Lords forbiddinge are debarred from it, afterwarde they shoulde pray that with what liberality the Lorde hath giuen vs this holy foode, he woulde instruct and frame vs also with the same Faith & thankesfulnesse of minde to receiue it, & that forasmuch as we are not of our selues, he woulde of his mercy make vs worthy of such a banquet: that then either Psalmes should be song, or somewhat red, and the faithfull should in semely order cōmunicate of the holy bāket, the ministers breaking the bread & giuing it to the people: that when the

Supper

Supper is ended, exhortation should be made to pure Faith & confession of Faith, to charity, and to maners mete for Christians: last of all that giuing of thanks should be rehearsed, & praises be song to God: which being ended the congregation should be let go in peace.

44 These things that we haue hitherto spoken of this Sacrament do largely shewe, that it was not therefore ordained, that it should be receiued yearely once, & that slightly for maners sake (as now commonly the custome is) but that it should be in often vse to all Christians, that with often remembrance they should repeate the passion of Christ: by which remembrance they might sustaine and strengthen their Faith, & exhort themselves to sing confession of praise to God, and to publish his goodnes: finally by which they might nourish mutuall charity, and testifie it amonge themselves, whereof they saw the knot in the vnyty of the body of Christ. For so oft as we communicate of the signe of the body of the Lord, we do as by a token giuen & receiued, enterchaungeably binde our selues one to an other vnto all dueties of loue, that none of vs do any thing whereby he may offend his brother, nor leaue any thing vndone, whereby he may helpe him, when nede requireth and ability sufficeth. That such was the vse of the Apostolike Church, Luke rehearseth in the Actes, when he saith that the faithfull were continuinge in the doctrine of the Apostles, in communicating, in breaking of bread, and in praiers. So was it altogether mete to be done, that there shoulde be no assembly of the Church without the word, praier, partaking of the Supper and almes. That this order was also institute amonge the Corinthians we may sufficiently gather of Paule: and it is certaine that in many ages afterward it was in vse. For thereupon came those olde Canons, which they father vpon Anacletus & Calixtus, that when the consecration is done, all should communicate, that wil not be without the dores of the Church. And it is red in those olde Canons, which they call the Canons of the Apostles: that they which continue not vnto the end, & do not receiue the holy communion, must be corrected as mē that moue vniuersnes of the Church. Also in the Councell at Antioch, it was decreed that they which enter into y^e Church, & heare the Scriptures, & do abstaine from the communion, shoulde be remoued from the Church, till they haue amended this fault. Which although in the first Councell at Toletum it was either somewhat qualified or at least set forth in milder wordes, yet it is there also decreed, that they which when they haue heard the sermon are found neuer to communicate, should be warned: if after warning they abstaine, they shoulde be debarred from it.

Act. 2.
42.

45 Verily by these ordinances the holy men meant to retaine and maintaine the often vse of the Communion, which oftē vse they had receiued from the Apostles themselues, which they sawe to be most holisome for the faithfull, and by litle and litle by the negligence of the common people to growe out of vse. Augustine testifieth of his owne time: The Sacrament (saith he) of this thing, of the vnity of the Lords body, is somewhere daily, somewhere by certaine distances of daies, prepared vpon the Lordes table, and is there receiued at the table, to some vnto life, to other some vnto destruction. And in the first Epistle to Ianuarius: some do daily communicate of the body and blood of the Lorde: some receiue it at certaine daies: in some places there is no day let passe wherein it is not offered: in some other places onely vppon the Saturday and the Sunday, and in some other places neuer but on the Sunday. But forasmuch as the common people was (as we haue sayd) somewhat slacke, the holy men did call earnestly vpon them with sharp rebukinges, least they shoulde seeme to winke at such slothfulnesse. Such an example is in Chrysostome vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is not said vnto him that dishonored the banquet: wherefore didst thou sit downe? but, wherefore didst thou come in? Whosoever is not partaker of the mysteries, he is wicked and shamelesse for that he standeth here present. I beseeche you, if any be called to a banquet, washeth his handes, sitteth downe, seemeth to prepare himselfe to eate, and then doth tast of nothinge: shall he not shame both the banquet, and the maker of the banquet? So thou, standing among them that with prayer do prepare themselues to receiue the holy meate, hast euen in this that thou hast not gone away confessed that thou art one of the number of them, at the last thou doest not partake: had it not bin better that thou hadst not bin present. Thou wilt say, I am vnworthy. Therefore neither wast thou worthy of the communion of praier, which is a preparinge to the receiuing of the holy mystery.

46 And truly this custome, which commaūdeth to communicate yearly once, is a most certaine inuention of the deuill, by whose ministry fouler it was brought in. They say that Zepherinus was author of that decree, which it is not likely to haue bin such as we now haue it. For he by his ordinance did peraduenture not after the worst maner provide for y^e church, as the times then were. For it is no dout but that then the holy supper was sette before the faithfull so oft as they came together in assembly, neither is it any dout but that a good part of them did communicate. But when it scarcely at any time happened that all did communicate together, and whereas it was necessary

In 6.ca.
Iohan.
tract. 26

In ca. 1.
Hom.
26. 12.

sary that they which were mingled with prophane men & idolaters, shoulde by some outwarde signe testifie their faith: the holy man for order & policies sake, appointed that day, wherein the whole people of Christians should by partaking of the Lords supper vtter a cōfession of their faith. The ordinance of Zepherinus beinge otherwise good hath bin euill wrested of them that came after, whē a certaine law was made of one communicating yearly: whereby it is come to passe, that almost al men whē they haue once cōmunicate, as though they had gaily discharged themselues for al the rest of the yere, sleepe soundly on both cares. It ought to haue bin farre otherwile done. E- uery weke at the least, the Lordes table shoulde be set before the as- sembly of y^e Christians: the promises shoulde be declared, which might feede vs spiritually at it: none should in dede be compelled by neces- sity, but all should be exhorted and pricked forward: the sluggishnesse also of the slothfull should be rebuked. All should by heapes, as hun- gry men, come together to such dainties. Not without rightfull cause therefore at the beginning I complained, that by the craft of the deu- ill this custome was thrust in, which when it appointeth one cer- taine day of the yere, maketh men slothfull for all the rest of the yere. We see in dede that this peruerse abuse was crept in euen in the time of Chrysostome: but we may also therewithal see how much it displeased him. For he complaineth with greuous words in the same place which I euen now alleaged, that there is so great inequality of this matter, that often in some times of the yere they came not euen when they were cleane, but at Easter they came euen when they were vncleane. Then he crieth out: O custome. O presumption. Then in vaine is the daily offering vsed: in vaine we stande at the altar: there is none that partaketh together with vs. So farre is it of that he allo- wed it by his authority adioyned to it.

47 Out of the same shop proceded also an other ordināce, which hath stolen away or violently taken away the halfe of the supper from the better nūber of the people of God, namely the signe of the blood, which being denied to lay and profane men (for with such titles for- sooth they set out Gods inheritance) became a peculiar possession to shauen and annointed men. It is the commaundement of the eternall God, that al should drinke: which cōmaundement man dare disconti- nue and repell with a new & contrary law, commaunding that not all should drinke. And that these lawmakers shoulde not seeme to fight without reason against their God, they pretend perils that might hap- pen if this holy cup were commonly giue to all: as though those daū- gers had not bin foreseene & marked of the eternall wisdom of God.

And then suttelly forsooth they reason, that the one is enough for both. For if (say they) it be the body, it is whole Christ, which cā not now be seuered from his body. Therefore by accompanyinge the body containeth the blood. Loe how our wit agreeth with God, when it hath neuer so litle begon with loose reines, to be wanton & wilde. The Lord shewing bread, saith that it is his body: when he sheweth the cup, he calleth it his blood. The boldnesse of mans reason, crieth out contrariwise that the bread is the blood, and the wine is the body: as though the Lorde had for no cause seuered his body from his blood both in wordes and in signes: or as though it hadde euer bin heard spokē that the body or blood of Christ is called God & man. Verily if he had meant to signifie whole himself, he might haue said it is I: as he is wont to speake in the Scriptures, and not, this is my body, this is my blood. But he willinge to helpe our weakenesse, did set the cuppe seuerally from the bread, to teache that he suffiseth no lesse for drinke than for meate. Now let one part be takē away, then we shall finde but the one halfe of the nourishments in him. Therefore although it be true which they pretend, that the blood is in the bread by way of accompanyinge, and againe the body in the cup, yet they defraude godly soules of the confirmation of faith which Christ deliuereth vs as necessary. Therefore biddinge their suttelies farewell, we must holde fast the profite which is by the ordinance of Christ in the two earnest.

48 I know in deede that the ministers of Sathan do here cauill, as it is an ordinary thing with them to make mockery of the Scriptures. First they alleage that of one bare doinge ought not to be gathered a rule whereby the Church shoulde be bounde to perpetuall obseruinge. But they lye when they say that it was but a bare doinge: for Christ did not only deliuer the cup, but also did institute that his Apostles should in time to come do the same. For they are the words of a commaunder, drinke ye all of this cup. And Paule so rehearseth that it was a deede, that he also commendeth it for a certaine rule. Another startinge hole is, that the Apostles alone were receiued of Christ to the partakinge of this supper whom he had already chosen and taken into the order of the sacrificing. Priestes. But I woulde haue them answere me to fise questions, from which they shall not be able to escape, but that they shalbe easily conuincd with their lies. First, by what oracle haue they this solution reuealed, beinge so straunge from the worde of God? The Scripture reckeneth twelue that sate with Iesus: but it doth not so obscure the dignitie of Christ that it calleth them sacrificing. Priestes of which name we will speake here-

after

after in place fit for it. Though he gaue it then to the twelue, yet he commaunded that they should do the same, namely that they should so distribute it among them. Secondly, why in that better age, from the Apostles almost a thousand yeares, were all without exception made partakers of both the signes? was the olde Church ignorant what gestes Christ had receiued to his Supper? It were a point of most desperate shamelesnesse, here to sticke and dally in graunting it to be true. There remaine y^e ecclesiasticall histories, there remaine the booke of the olde writers, which minister euident testimonies of this matter. The fleshe (saith Tertullian) is fed with the body and blood of Christ, that the soule may be fasted which feeding vpon God. Howe (saith Ambrose to Theodosius) wilt thou receiue with such handes the holy body of the Lorde? With what boldnesse wilt thou with thy mouth partake of the cup of the precious blood? And Hierome saith. The priests which make the Thankesgeuing, and do distribute the blood of the Lorde to the people. Chrysostome. Not as in the olde lawe the Priest did eate part, and the people part: but one body is set before all, and one cup. Those things that pertaine to the Thankesgeuing, are all common betwene the Priest and the people. The selfe same thing doth Augustine testifie in many places.

49 But why dispute I about a thing most knowen? Let all the Greke and Latine writers be red ouer: such testimonies shall eche-where offer themselues. Neither was this custome growen out of vse, while there remained one drop of purenesse in the Church. Gregory, whom you may rightly say to haue bene the last Bishop of Rome, teacheth y^e it was kept in his time. What is the blood of the lambe, ye haue now learned, not by hearing but by drinking. His blood is poured into the mouthes of the faithfull. Yea it yet endured foure hundred yeares after his death, when all things were growen out of kinde. For neither was that taken onely for an vsage, but also for an inuiolable lawe. For then was in force the reuerence of Gods institution, and they doubted not that it was sacrilege, to seuer those things which the Lorde had conioined. For thus saith Gelasius. We haue founde, that some receiuing onely the portion of the holy body, do abstaine from the cup. Let them without dout, bycause they seeme to be bounde with I wote not what superstition, either receiue the Sacraments whole, or be debarred from them whole. For the diuiding of this ministry is not committed without great sacrilege. Those reasons of Cyprian were heard, which truly ought to moue a Christian minde. Howe (saith he) do we teache or prouoke them to shed their blood in the confessing of Christ, if we deny his blood to them that

Libr. de
resurre.
carnis.
Theodo
rit. lib.
3. ca. 8.
Eucha-
ristia
Hier in
2. Mal.
chris. in
2. Cor.
cap. 8.
Eucha-
ristia

De cō-
secr.
dist. 2.
ca. cō-
per.
Serm. 5.
de laps.

shall fight? Or how do we make them fit for the cup of Martyrdome if we do not first in the church by the right of cōmunion admit the to drinke the cup of the Lorde. Whereas the Canonists do restraine that decree of Gelasius to the Priestes, that is so childish a cauill that it nede not to be confuted.

150 Thirdly, why did he simply say of the bread, that they shoulde eate: but of the cuppe, that they should all drinke? euen as if he had meant of set purpose to mete with the craft of Sathan. Fourthly, if (as they would haue it) the Lord vouchsaued to admit to his supper only sacrificing Priestes, what man euer durst call to the partaking of it, straungers whom the Lord had excluded? yea and to the partaking of that gift, the power whereof was not in their hands, without any cōmaundement of him which only could giue it? Yea vpon confidence of what warrant do they vse at this day to distribute to the common people the Signe of the body of Christ, if they haue neither cōmaundement nor example of the Lord? Fifthly, did Paule lye, when he said to the Corinthians, that he had receiued of the Lord that which he had deliuered to them? For afterward he declareth the thing that he deliuered, that all without differēce should communicate of both the signes. If Paule receiued of the Lord, that all should be admitted without differēce: let them looke of whom they haue receiued which do driue away almost all the people of God: because they can not now pretend God to be the author of it, with whom there is not yea and nay. And yet still for clokinge of such abominations they dare pretende the name of the church, and with such pretence defende it. As though either these Antichristes were the church, which so easily treade vnderfoote, scatter abroad, & destroy the doctrine and institution of Christ: or the Apostolike Church were not the church, in which the whole force of religion flourished.

The xviij. Chapter.

*Of the Popish Masse, by which sacrilege the Supper of Christ
hath not onely bin praphaned, but also brought
to nought.*

With these and like inuentions Satan hath trauailed, as by ouerspreadinge of darkenesse to obscure and defile the holy supper of Christ, y at least the purenesse of it should not be kept still in the church. But the head of horrible abhōmination was when he aduanted a Signe, by which it might not onely be darkened and peruered, but beinge vterly blotted and abolished shoulde vanishe and fall out of the remembrance of men:
namely

namely when he blinded almost the whole world with a most pestilent error, that they should beleue that the Masse is a sacrifice and oblation to obtaine the forgiuenes of sinnes. Howe at the beginning the sounder sort of the scholemē toke this doctrine, I nothing regard: farewell they with their crabbed subtilties: which howe soeuer they may be defended with cauilling, yet are therefore to be refused of all good men because they do nothing els but spread much darknesse ouer the brightnesse of the Supper. Therefore bidding them farewell, let the readers vnderstande that I here match in fight with that opinion, wherewith the Romishe Antichrist and his Prophets haue infected the whole world, namely that the Masse is a worke whereby the sacrificing Priest which offreth vp Christ, and the other that do partake at the same oblation, do deserue the fauor of God: or that it is a cleansing sacrifice, whereby they reconcile God to themselues. Neither hath this bene receiued only in common opinion of the people, but the very doing it selfe is so framed, that it is a kinde of pacifying wherewith satisfaction is made to God for the purging of the quicke and dead. The wordes also which they vse, do expresse the same: and no other thing may we gather of the daily vse of it. I knowe howe deepe rootes this pestilence hath taken, vnder howe great seeming of goodnesse it lurketh, howe it beareth in shewe the name of Christ, howe in the one name of Masse many beleue that they comprehend the whole summe of faith. But when it shalbe by the word of God most clerely proued, that this Masse, howe much soeuer it be colored and glorious, yet shamefully dishonoreth Christ, burieth and oppresseth his crosse, putterh his death in forgetfulnesse, taketh away the frute that cometh therof vnto vs, doth weaken and destroy the Sacrament wherin was left the memorie of his death: shall there then be any so deepe rootes, which this most strong axe, I meane the worde of God, shall not cutt dowe and ouerthrowe? Is there any face so beautifull, that this light can not bewray the euell which lurketh vnder it?

Let vs therefore shewe that which hath bene set in the first place, that in it is intolerable blasphemie and dishonor done to Christ. For he was consecrate of his Father a Priest and Bishop, not for a time as we reade that they were ordeined in the olde testament, whoes life being mortall their priesthode also could not be immortal: for which cause also there needed successors that should from time to time be put in the place of them that died. But in place of Christ, which is immortal, there needeth no vicar to be set after him. Therefore he was ordeined of the Father a priest for euer, according to the order of

Hebr. 5.
5. & 7.
17. & 9.
11. and
21.

psa. 110
14.

Melchisedech, that he shoulde execute an euerlasting priesthode.

- Gen. 14. 18. This misterie had bine long before figured in Melchisedech, whom when the Scripture had ones brought in for the priest of the liuing God, it neuer afterwarde made mention of him, as though he had had no ende of his life. After this point of likenesse, Christ was called a priest according to his order. Nowe they that do daily sacrifice, must needes appoint priests to make the oblations, whom they must appoint as it were successors & vicars in the steede of Christ. By which putting in steede of him, they do not onely spoile Christ of his honor, and plucke from him the prerogatiue of eternall priesthode, but also trauaile to thrust him downe from the right hande of his Father, on which he can not sit immortall, but that he must therewithall remaine the eternall priest. Neither let them lay for themselues, that their pety sacrificers are not put in place of Christ as if he were dead, but onely are helpers of his eternall priesthod, which ceaseth not therefore to continue. For they are more strongly holden fast with the wordes of the Apostle, than that they may so escape: namely, that there were many other priests made, because they were by death letted to continue. Therefore there is but one that is not letted by death, and he needeth no cōpanions. Yet, such is their frowardnesse, they arme themselues with the example of Melchisedech to defend their wickednesse. For, because it is said that he offred bread & wine, they gather that he was a foreshewing of their Masse: as though the likenesse betweene him and Christ were in the offering of bread and wine. Which is so emptie and trifling that it needeth no cōfutation. Melchisedech gaue bread and wine to Abraham and his companiōs, to refreshe them being weary after their iorney and battail. What is this to a sacrifice? Moses praiseth the gentlenesse of the holy king: these fellows vnseasonably coine a misterie whereof no mention is made. Yet they deceitfully paint their error with an other color, because it followeth by and by after, And he was the priest of the hiest God. I aunswere, that they wrongfully drawe to the bread and wine that which the Apostle referreth to the blessing. Therefore when he was the priest of God he blessed Abraham. Wherupon the same Apostle (than whom we neede to seke no better expositor) gathereth his excellence, because the lesser is blessed of the greater. But if the oblation of Melchisedech were a figure of the sacrifice of the Masse, would the Apostle, I pray you, which searcheth out all euen the least things, haue forgotten so earnest & weightie a thing? Nowe (howe soeuer they trifle) they shall in vaine go about to ouerthrowe the reason which the Apostle himselfe bringeth, that the right and honor of

sacrificing priesthode ceaseth among mortall men, because Christ which is immortall, is the onely and perpetuall sacrificing priest.

3 An other vertue of the Masse was, that it oppresseth and bu-
 rieth the crosse and passion of Christ. This verily is most certaine, ^{Hebr. 9.}
 that the crosse of Chust is ouerthrowen so sone as the altar is set vp. ^{12.}
 For if he offred himselfe for a sacrifice vpon the crosse, that he might
 sanctifie vs for euer, and purchase to vs eternall redemption: vn-
 doubtedly the force and effectualnesse of that sacrifice continueth
 without any ende. Otherwise we should thinke nothing more hono-
 rably of Christ than of oxen and calues which were sacrificed vnder
 the lawe: the offerings whereof are proued vneffectuall and weake
 by this that they were oft renued. Wherefore either we must confesse,
 that the sacrifice of Christ, which he fulfilled vpon the crosse, wated
 the force of eternall cleansing, or that Christ hath made an ende of
 all with one sacrifice ones for euer. This is it that the Apostle saith, ^{Hebr. 9.}
 that this chiefe Bishop Christ ones appered by offering vp of himselfe ^{26. and}
 before the ending of the world, to the driuing away of sinne. Againe, ^{10. 10.}
 That we are sanctified by the will of God, by the offering of the body
 of Iesus Christ ones. Againe, That Christ with one oblation for euer
 hath made perfect them that are sanctified: wherunto he adioineth
 a notable sentēce that forgeuenesse of sinnes being ones purchaced,
 there remaineth no more any oblation. This also Christ signified by
 his last saying and vttered among his last gaspings, when he said. It is ^{Ioh. 19.}
 ended. We are wont to note the last sayings of men when they are ^{19.}
 dieng, for oracles. Christ dieng testifieth that by his one sacrifice is
 perfited & fulfilled whatsoever was for our saluatiō. Shall it be lawfull
 for vs daily to patch innumerable sacrifices to such a sacrifice, (the
 perfection whereof he hath so shiningly set forth) as though it were
 vnperfect? When the holy word of God not onely affirmeth, but also
 crieth out, and protesteth, that this sacrifice was ones fully done that
 the force thereof remaineth euerlasting: who so require an other sa-
 crifice, do they not accuse this of imperfection and weakenesse? But
 as for the Masse, which hath bene deliuered in such sort that there
 may euery day be made a hundred thousand sacrifices, to what ende
 tendeth it, but that the passion of Christ, whereby he offred him an
 onely sacrificed oblatiō to the Father, should ly buried and drowned?
 Who, vlesse he be blinde, can not see that it was y boldnes of Satan
 which wraisted against so open and clere truth? Neither am I igno-
 rant with what deceites that Father of lying vseth to color this his
 fraude, saying that there are not sondry nor diuerse sacrifices, but that
 one selfe same sacrifice is repeted. But such smokes are easily blown

away. For in the whole discourse the Apostle trauaileth to proue: not only that there are no other sacrifices, but that that one sacrifice was once offered vp, and shall no more be repeated. The sutteller men do yet slip out at a narrower hole, saying that it is not a repeating but an applying. But this Sophisticall argument also is no lesse easily confuted. For neither did Christ once offer vp himselfe with this condition, that his sacrifice shoulde be daily confirmed with newe oblations: but that by the preaching of the Gospel, and ministring of the holy Supper, the frute thereof shoulde be communicated vnto vs.

1. Cor. 5
7. So Paul saith that Christ our Passeouer was offered vp, and biddeth vs to eate of him. This (I say) is the meane whereby the Sacrifice of the Crosse is rightly applied to vs, when it is communicated to vs to take the vse of it, and we with true faith receiue it.

4 But it is worth the labour to heare, with what other fundation beside these they vpholde the sacrifice of the Masse. For they draw to this purpose the prophecy of Malachie, whereby the Lorde promisseth that the time shall come when throughout the whole world there shalbe offered to his name incense and a cleane sacrifice. As though it were a new & vnwonted thing among the Prophets, when they speake of the calling of the Gentils to expresse by the outward ceremony of the law the spiritual worshipping of God, to which they exhort the: that they might the more familiarly declare to y men of their age, that the Gentils should be called into the true felowship of religion. Like as also they are wont altogether to describe by figures of their law, the truth that was deliuered by the Gospell. So they set for turning to the Lord, ascende into Ierusalem: for the worshipping of God, the offering of all kindes of giftes: for larger knowledge of him which was to be giuen to the faythfull in the kingdome of Christ, dreames and visions. That therefore which they alleage, is like vnto an other prophecy of Esay, where the Prophet foretelleth of three altars to be set vp in Asiria, Ægipt, & Iury. For first I aske, whether they do not graunt that the fulfilling of this prophecy is in the kingdome of Christ. Secondly, where be these altars, or when they were euer sette vp. Thirdly whether they thinke that to euery seuerall kingdome is appointed a seuerall temple, such as was that at Ierusalem. These thinges if they wey, I thinke they will confesse, that the Prophet vnder figures agreeable with his time, prophecieth of the spirituall worship of God to be spread abroad into the whole worlde. Which we giue to them for a solution. But of this thing sith there do euery where examples commonly offer themselves, I will not busie my selfe in longer rehearsall of them. Howbeit herein also they

they are miserably deceiued, that they acknowledge no sacrifice but of the Masse, whereas in deede the faithfull do nowe sacrifice to the Lorde, & do offer a cleane offering, of which shalbe spoken by and by.

5 Nowe I come downe to the third office of the Masse, where I must declare howe it blotteth out the true and onely death of Christ, and shaketh it out of the remembrance of menne. For as among men the strength of a testament hangeth vpon the death of the testator: so also our Lorde hath with his death confirmed the testament whereby he hath geuen vs forgeuenesse of sinnes & eternall righteousnesse. They that dare varie or make newe any thing in this testament, do deny his death, and holde it as it were of no force. But what is the Masse, but a newe and altogether diuerse testament? For why? Doth not euery seuerall Masse promise newe forgeuenesse of sinnes, newe purchasing of righteousnesse: so that nowe there be so many testaments, as there be Masses? Let Christ therfore come again, and with an other death confirme this testament, or rather with infinite deathes confirme innumerable testaments of Masses. Haue I not therfore said true at the beginning, that the only and true death of Christ is blotted out by Masses? Yea what shall we say of this that the Masse directly tendeth to this ende, that if it be possible, Christ should be slaine againe? For where is a testament (sayeth the Apostle) Heb. 9. there of necessitie must be the death of the testator. The Masse sheweth it selfe to be a new testament of Christ: therefore it requireth his death. Moreover the hoste which is offred, must necessarily be slaine and sacrificed. If Christ in euery seuerall Masse be sacrificed, then he must at euery moment be in a thousand places cruelly slaine. This is not mine, but the Apostles argument, If he had needed to offer himselfe ofte, he must ofte haue died sins the beginning of the world. I knowe that they haue an aunswere in redinesse, whereby also they charge vs with sclâder. For they say that that is objected against them which they neuer thought, nor yet canne. And we knowe, that the death & life of Christ is not in their hande. We loke not whether they go about to kill him: onely our purpose is to shewe, what maner of absurdity followeth of their vngodly and wicked doctrine. Which selfe thing I proue by the Apostles owne mouth. Though they crie out to the contrarie a hundred times, that this sacrifice is vnbloody: I will deny that it hangeth vpon the will of men, that sacrifices should change their nature, for by this meane the holy and inuiolable ordinance of God should faile. Whereupon followeth that this is a sure principle of the Apostle, that there is required shedding of blood, that washing may not be wanting.

6 Nowe is the fourth office of the Masse to be entreated of, namely to take away from vs the fruit that came to vs of the death of Christ, while it maketh vs not to acknowledge it and thinke vpon it. For who can call to mind that he is redemed by $\hat{y}$ death of Christ when he seeth a newe redemption in the Masse? Who can trust that sinnes are forgiven him, when he seeth a newe forgiveness? Neither shall he escape that shall say, that we do for no other cause obtaine forgiveness of sinnes in the Masse, but because it is already purchased by the death of Christ. For he bringeth nothing els than as if he should boast, that Christ hath redemed vs with this condition that we should redeme our selues. For such doctrine hath bene spread by the ministers of Satan, and such at this day they mainteine with cryings out, with sword and fier, that we when in the Masse we offer vp Christ to his Father, by this worke of offering do obtaine forgiveness of sinnes, and are made partakers of the passion of Christ. What nowe remaineth to the passion of Christ, but to be an example of redemption, whereby we may learne to be our owne redemers? Christ himselfe, when in the Supper he sealerh the confidence of pardon, doth not bid his disciples to sticke in that doinge, but sendeth them away to the sacrifice of his death: signifying that the Supper is a monument or memoriall (as the common speech is) whereby they may learne that the satisfactorie cleansing sacrifice, by which the Father was to be appeased, must haue bene offered but ones. For neither is it enough to know that Christ is the onely sacrifice, vnlesse the onely sacrificing be ioined with it, that our faith may be fastened to his crosse.

7 Nowe I come to the conclusion, namely that the holy Supper, in which the Lorde had left the remembrance of his passion grauen and expressed, is by the setting vp of the Masse, taken away, defaced, and destroyed. For the Supper it selfe is the gift of God, which was to be receiued with thankesgeuing. The sacrifice of the Masse is fained to pay a price to God, which he may receiue for satisfaction. Howe much difference there is betweene to geue and to receiue, so much doth the sacrifice differ from the Sacramēt of the Supper. And this truely is the most wretched vnthankfulnesse of man, that where the largesse of Gods bountie ought to haue bene acknowledged, and thanks to be geuen, therein he maketh God his dettor. The Sacrament promised, that by the death of Christ we are not onely ones restored into life, but are continually quickned, because then all the partes of our saluation were fulfilled. The sacrifice of the Masse singeth a farre other song, that Christ must be daily sacrificed, that he
may

may somewhat profit vs. The Supper should haue bene distributed in the common assemblie of the Church, that it might enforme vs of the communion whereby we all cleaue together in Christ Iesus. The sacrifice of the Masse dissolueth and plucketh in sonder this communie. For after that the error grewe in force, that there must be sacrificers that should sacrifice for the people, the Supper of the Lorde as though it were posted ouer to them, cessed to be communicated to the congregation of the faithfull according to the commaundement of the Lorde. An entrie was made open to priuate Masses, which might rather resemble a certaine excommunication, than that same communie ordeined of the Lorde, when the pety sacrificer willing seuerally by him selfe to deuoure his sacrifice, doth seuer himselfe fro the whole people of the faithfull. I call priuate Masse (least any man be deceiued) wheresoeuer there is no partaking of the Lordes Supper among the faithfull, although otherwise a great multitude of men be present.

8 And whense the very name of Masse first sprong, I could neuer certainly iudge: sauing that it seemeth to me likely that it was taken of the offerings that were geuen. Whereupon the olde writers vse it commonly in the plurall number. But, to leaue struing about the name, I say that priuate Masses are directly against the ordinance of Christ, and therefore they are a wicked prophaning of the holy Supper. For what hath the Lord commaunded vs? not to take, and diuide it among vs? What maner of obseruing of the commaundement doth Paul teach? not the breaking of bread, which is the cōmunion of the body and blood? Therefore when one taketh it without distributing, what likenesse is there? But that same one man doth it in the name of the whole Church. By what commaundement? Is not this openly to mocke God, when one man priuatly taketh to him selfe that which ought not to haue bene done but amōg many? But because the words of Christ and Paule are plaine enough, we may bresely cōclude, that wheresoeuer is not breaking of bread to the cōmunion of the faithful, there is not the Supper of the Lord, but a false and wrongful counterfaising of the Supper. But a false counterfaising is a corrupting. Nowe the corrupting of so great a misterie is not without wickednesse. Therefore in priuate Masses is a wicked abuse. And (as one fault in religion from time to time bredeth an other) after that that maner of offering without cōmunion was ones crept in, by litle and litle they beganne in every corner of Churches to make innumerable Masses, and diuersly to drawe the people hether and thether, which should haue come together into one assembly, y they might reknowledge the

1 Cor.
10:16.

misterie of their owne vnitie. Nowe let them go and deny it to be ydolatrie, that in their Masses they shewe forth bread to be worshipped in steede of Christ. For in vaine they boast of those promises of the presence of Christ, which howsoever they be vnderstode, verily were not geuen to this purpose, that wicked and prophane men, so oft as they will, and to whatsoever abuse they list, may make the body of Christ: but that the faithfull, when with religious obseruation they do in Celebrating of the Supper followe the commaundement of Christ, may enjoy the true partaking of him.

9 Beside that, this peruersnes was vnknownen to y purer Church. For howsoever the more shamelesse sort among our aduersaries do here go about to disguise the matter with false colors, yet it is most sure that all antiquitie is against them, as we haue afore proued in other things, and it may more certainly be iudged by the continuall reding of olde writers. But ere I make an ende of speakinge of it, I aske our Massing doctors, sith they knowe that obedience is more esteemed of God than oblations, and that he more requireth that his voice be harkened to, than that sacrifices be offred: howe they beleue that this maner of sacrificing is acceptable to God, whereof they haue no certaine commaundement, and which they see not to be allowed by any one sillable of the Scripture. Moreover when they heare the Apostle say, that no man taketh to himselfe the name and honor of sacrificing priesthode, but he that is called as Aaron was: yea & that Christ himselfe did not thrust in himselfe, but obeyed the calling of his Father: either they must bring forth God the author and ordeiner of their sacrificing priesthode, or they must cōfesse that the honor is not of God, into which they haue with wicked rashnes broken in vncalled. But they can not shewe one title of a letter that mainteineth their sacrificing priesthod. Why therfore shall not their sacrifices vanish away, which can not be offred without a priest?

10 If any man do thrust in short sentences of the olde writers gathered here and there, and do by their authoritie trauaill to proue that the sacrifice which is done in the Supper is faire otherwise to be vnderstanded than we do expounde it: let him be bressly aunswered thus: if the question be of allowing the forged deuise of sacrifice, such as the Papistes haue fained in the Masse, the olde writers do neuer speake in defense of such sacrilege. They do in deede vse the word Sacrifice: but therewithall they expounde, that they meane nothing els but the remembrance of that true and onely sacrifice, which Christ our onely sacrificing priest (as they eche where report of him) made on the crosse. The Hebrues (sayeth Augustine) in the sacrifici-

1. Sam.

16. 22.

Lib. 20.
contra.
Faust.
cap. 18.

sacrifices of beastes which they offered to God, did celebrate a propheticke of the sacrifice to come, which Christ offered: the Christians do with the holy oblation and partaking of the body of Christ celebrate a remembrance of the sacrifice already made. Here verily he teacheth altogether the same thing, which is writtē in moe words in the booke of faith to Peter the Deacon, whosoever be the author of it. The words be these, Beleue most stedfastly and dout not at all, that the onely begotten himselſe, being made fleſhe for vs, offered himselſe for vs a sacrifice and oblation to God into a ſauor of ſweteneſſe: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt in the time of the olde teſtament beaſtes were ſacrificed: and to whom nowe with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt (with whom he hath one Godhed) the holy Church throughout y whole world ceſſeth not to offer the ſacrifice of bred and wine. For in thoſe fleſhly ſacrifices was a figuring of the fleſhe of Chriſt which he ſhould offer for our ſinnes, and of his blood which he ſhould ſhed to the forgeuenes of ſinnes. But in this ſacrifice is thankesgeuing and rehearſall of the fleſhe of Chriſt which he offered for vs, and of his blood which the ſame he hath ſhed for vs. Whereupon Auguſtine himſelſe in many places expoundeth it to be nothing els but a ſacrifice of praiſe. Finally you ſhall cōmonly finde in him, that the Supper of the Lorde is for no other reaſon called a ſacrifice, but becauſe it is the remembrāce, image, and witneſſe of that ſingular, true, and onely ſacrifice wherewith Chriſt hath cleaſed vs. Alſo there is a notable place in his fourth booke of the Trinitie the xxiiij. Chapter, where after that he hath diſcourſed of the onely ſacrifice, he thus concludeth: becauſe in a ſacrifice ſower things are cōſidered, to whom it is offered, & of whom, what is offered, & for whom. The ſame he himſelſe the one and true mediator reconciling vs to God by the ſacrifice of peace, remaineth one with him to whom he offered: maketh them one in him for whom he offered: is one himſelſe which offered, and the thing which he offered. To the ſame effect alſo ſpeaketh Chriſoſtome. But they ſo chalenge the honor of ſacrificing priethode to Chriſt, that Auguſtine teſtifieth it to be y voice of Antichriſt if any man make a Biſhop interceſſor betwene God and men.

II Yet do we not deny but that the offering vp of Chriſt is there ſo ſhewed in vs, that the ſpectacle of the croſſe is in a maner ſet before our eyes: as y Apoſtle ſaith that Chriſt was crucified in the eyes of the Galathians, when the preaching of the croſſe was ſet before them. But forasmuch as I ſe that thoſe olde Fathers alſo wreſted this remembrance an other way than was agreeable with the institution of the Lorde (becauſe their Supper contained I wote not what repeated

Contra
aduerſ.
legis.

Libr. 2.
contra
parric.
cap. 8.

Gal. 3. 1.

or at least renewed forme of sacrificing) the safest way for godly hartes shalbe to rest in the pure and simple ordinance of God: whoes also the Supper is therfore called, because in it his authority alone ought to be in force. Truly sith I finde that they haue kepte a godly & true sense of this whole misterie, and I do not perceiue that they meante to abate any thing were it neuer so litle from the only sacrifice of the Lord, I can not cōdemne them of vngodlinesse: yet I thinke that they can not be excused, but that they haue offended somewhat in y^e maner of the celebration. For they counterfaieted the Iewishe maner of sacrificing more nerely than either Christ had ordeined, or the nature of the Gospell did beare. Therefore that same ouerthwart appliance to heauenly things is the onely thing wherein a man may worthily blame them, for that being not cōtented with the simple and naturall institution of Christ, they swarued to the shadowes of the lawe.

12 If a man do diligently wey, that this difference is put by the word of the Lorde betwene the sacrifices of Moses, and our Thankesgeuing, that whereas those did represent to the Iewishe people, the same effectualnesse of the death of Christ, which is at this day deliuered to vs in the Supper, yet the maner of representinge was diuerse. For in those, y^e Leuiticall Priests were cōmaunded to figure that which Christ should performe: there was brought a sacrifice which should be in the steede of Christ himself: there was an altar wherupō it should be offred: Finally all things were so done, that there was set before their eyes an image of the sacrifice which was to be offred to God for a satisfactorie cleansing. But sins the time that the sacrifice is ended, the Lorde hath apointed to vs an other order: namely that it should cōuey to the faithfull people the frute of the sacrifice offred to him by the Sonne. Therefore he hath geuen vs a table whereat we should eate, not an altar wherupon sacrifice should be offred: he hath not cōsecrated priests to sacrifice, but ministers to distribute the holy banquet. Howe much more hy and holy the misterie is, so much more religiously and with greater reuerēce it is mete to be handled. Therefore there is no way safer, than putting away all boldnesse of mā's vnderstanding, to sticke fast in that alone which the Scripture teacheth. And truly if we cōsider that it is y^e Supper of the Lord & not of men, there is no cause why we should suffer our selues to be remoued one heare bredth frō it by any authority of men or prescription of yeres. Therefore when y^e Apostle minded to cleanse it from all faultes which had already crept into the church of the Corinthiās, he vseth the rediest way therunto, that is, he calleth it backe to the only institution of it, from whence he sheweth y^e a perpetuall rule ought to be fetched.

1. Cor.
11. 20.

13 Nowe least any wrangler should stirre vs vp strife by reason of the names of sacrifice and sacrificing priest, I will also declare, but yet bresely, what in the whole discourse I haue meant by a sacrifice, and what by a Sacrificing priest. Whoso stretche the word sacrifice to all holy Ceremonies and doings of religion, I se not by what reason they do it. We do knowe that by the continuall vse of the Scripture a sacrifice is called that which the Grekes call sometime Thusia, sometime Prosphora, sometime Telete. Which being generally taken comprehendeth whatsoever is in any wise offred to God. Wherefore we must make distinction: but yet so that this distinction may haue a supernall appliance of similitude from the sacrifices of the lawe of Moses: vnder the shadowes whereof the Lorde willed to represent to his people the whole truth of sacrifices. Of those although there were diuerse formes, yet they may all be referred to two sortes. For either there was oblation made for sinne after a certaine maner of satisfaction, whereby guiltinesse was redemed before God: or it was a signe of the worshipping of God, and a testifying of religiō: sometime in steede of supplication, to craue the fauor of God: sometime in steede of thankesgeuing, to testifie thankfulnessse of minde for benefites receiued: sometime onely for an exercise of godlinesse, to renewe the stablishinge of the couenant: to which latter sort pertained burnr offrings, drinke offrings, oblatiōs, first frutes, and peace offrings. Wherefore let vs also diuide ours into two kindes: and for teachinges sake let vs call the one the sacrifice of worship and of godly deuotion, because it consisteth in the honoring and worshipping of God, which the faithfull both owe and yelde vnto him: or, if you will, the sacrifice of Thankesgeuing: forasmuch as it is geuen to God of none but of them the being loden with immeasurable benefites, do render to him themselues with all their doinges. The other may be called propitiatorie or of expiation. The sacrifice of expiation is that which tenderth to appease the wrath of God, to satisfie his iudgement, and so to wash and wipe away sinnes: whereby the sinner cleansed from the filthy spottes of them and restored into puritie of righteousness, may returne into fauor with God himselfe. So in the lawe those were called sacrifices that were offred for the purging of sinnes: not for that they were sufficient to recouer the fauor of God, or to put away iniquitie: but for that they shadowed out such a true sacrifice which at length was fully done by Christ alone: & by him alone, because it could be done by none other: and ones, because the effectualnesse and force of that one sacrifice which Christ hath fully done, is eternall, as he himself hath testified with his own mouth, whē he said y it was ended &

Exo. 29

39.

Ioh. 19.

30.

fulfilled: that is to say, that whatsoeuer was necessarie to the reconciling of the Fathers fauor., to the obtaining of the forgeuenesse of sinnes, to righteousness and to saluation, all the same was performed and fulfilled with that his onely oblatiō, and there so nothing wanted thereof, that there was afterward no place left to any other sacrifice.

14 Wherefore I determine, that it is a most wicked reproch, and blasphemy not to be suffered, as well against Christ as against the sacrifice which he hath fully done by his death vpon the crosse for vs, if any man by renewinge an oblation thinke to purchase the pardon of sinnes, to appease God, and to obtaine righteousness. But what is els done by Mailling, but that by deseruing of newe oblation we may be made partakers of the passion of Christ? And, that there might be no measure of madding, they thought it but a smal thing to say that there is made indifferently a cōmon sacrifice for the whole Church, vnlesse they further said that it is in their choise to apply it peculiarly to this man or that man to whom they would, or rather to euery one whosoever he were that would buy for himselfe such ware with redy money. Nowe because they could not reache to the price that Iudas had, yet that they might in some marke resemble their author, they

The cōmon price of a masse in fraunce is. 3. Karolus. which make. 20. deniers, about the value of a sterling groat. Hbr. 5. 4.

kept the likenesse of number. Iudas solde him for thirty siluer pens: these fellows sell him, after the French accompt, for xxx. brassen pens: but Iudas solde him ones, these fellows sell him as oft as they can finde a bier. In this sence also we deny that they be sacrificing priests, that is to say, they that with such an oblation are meanes to God for the people, they that appeasing God, may purchase the satisfactorie purging of sinnes. For Christ is the onely Bishop and sacrificing priest of the newe Testamēt, into whom all Priesthodes are removed, and in whome they be shut vp and ended. And if the Scripture had made no mention of the eternall Priesthode of Christ: yet forasmuch as God, sins that he hath taken away those olde Priesthodes, hath ordeined none, the Apostles argument remaineth inuincible, that no man taketh honor to himselfe but he that is called of God. By what affiance therefore dare these robbers of God, that boast themselves for the butchers of Christ, call themselves the sacrificing Priests of the living God?

15 Plato hath an excellent place in his seconde booke of Cōmon weale. Where when he entreateth of the olde maners of expiation, and laugheth to scorne the foolish confidence of euill men & wicked doers, which thought that their wicked doings were by these as by coueringes hidden that the gods could not se them, and did, as if they had gotten warrant of the gods by couenant, more carelessly folowe their

their owne lustes: he seemeth throughly to touche the maner of satisfactorie purging of the Masse, such as is at this day in the world. To beguile and vndermine an other man, all men knowe to be vnlawfull. To greue widowes with wrongful dealings, to robbe the fatherlesse, to trouble the poore, by euill crafty meanes to catch other mens goods to themselues, with forswerings and deceites to enter forceably into any mans possessions, to oppresse any man with violence and tyrannous feare, all men cōfesse to be wicked. Howe therefore dare so many commonly do all these thinges, as though they should freely be bolde to do them? Truly, if we rightly wey it, no other cause doth so much encourage them, but because they haue confidence, that by the sacrifice of a Masse, as by payment of full price for recompense, they shall satisfie God, or at the least that this is an easy way to compounde with him. Then Plato procedeth further to scorne their grosse blockishnesse, which thinke that by such satisfactorie cleansings those peines are redemed that otherwise they should suffer in hell. And wherto serue at this day the yerely obites, and the greater part of Masses, but that they which throughout all their life haue bene most cruell tyrantes, or most rauinous robbers, or geue foorth to all mischeuous doings, should as though they were redemed by this price, escape the fier of purgatorie?

16 Vnder the other kinde of sacrifice, which we haue called the sacrifice of Thankesgeuing, are contained all the dutiefull workes of charitie, which when we extēde to our brethren, we honor the Lord himselfe in his members: then, all our prayers, praisinges, geuinges of thanks, and whatsoeuer we do to the worshipping of God. All which things finally do hang vpon the greater sacrifice, whereby we are in soule & body hallowed to be a holy temple to the Lord. For neither is it enough, if our outward doings be applied to the obeying of him; but first our selues, and then all that is ours ought to be consecrate and dedicate to him: that whatsoeuer is in vs, may serue his glory, and may sauor of zelous endeuor to aduance it. This kinde of sacrifice tendeth nothing at all to appease the wrath of God, nothing at all to obtaine forgeuenesse of sinnes, nothing at all to deserue righteousnesse: but is occupied onely in magnifying and extolling of God. For it can not be pleasant and acceptable to God, but at their handes, whom by forgeuenesse of sinnes already receiued he hath by other meanes reconciled to himselfe, and therefore acquitted them from guiltinesse. But it is so necessary for the Church, that it can not be away from it. Therefore it shalbe euerlasting, so long as the people of God shall cōtinue, as we haue before already shewed out of the Prophet

for in that meaning I will take this prophetic, For from the rising of the sunne to the going downe thereof, great is my name among the Gentiles, and in euery place incense shalbe offred to my name, and a cleane offering: because my name is terrible among the Gētiles, saith the Lord: so farre is it of, that we would put it away. So Paul biddeth vs to offer our bodies, a sacrifice liuing, holy, acceptable to God, a reasonable worship. Where he spake very pithily, when he added that this is our reasonable worshipping: for he meant the spirituall maner of worshipping of God, which he did secretly set in comparison against the carnall sacrifices of the lawe of Moses. So liberall doing of good and communicating are called sacrifices by which God is pleased. So the liberalitie of the Philippians, whereby they had relieved the pouertie of Paule, is called a sacrifice of swete smelling. So all the good workes of the faithfull are called spirituall sacrifices.

17 And why do I seeke out many examples? For commonly this maner of speaking is often founde in the Scriptures. Yea and while the people of God was yet holden vnder the outward schooling of the law, yet the Prophets did sufficiently expresse, that vnder those carnall sacrifices was the truth, which the Christian Church hath

Psa. 141. common with the nation of the Iewes. After which maner Dauid prayed, that his prayer might as incense ascēde into the sight of God.

Osee. 14 And Osee called geuinges of thanks, the calues of lippes, which in an other place Dauid calleth the sacrifices of praise. Whom the Apostle himselfe following, calleth them also the sacrifices of praise,

Heb. 13. and expoundeth them the frutes of lippes confessing to his name.

15. This kinde of sacrifice the Supper of the Lord can not want: wherein when we declare his death and render thanksgēuing, we do nothing but offer the sacrifice of praise. Of this office of sacrificing, all we Christians are called a kingly Priesthode: because by Christ we offer

1. Pet. 12. to God that sacrifice of praise of which the Apostle speaketh, the frute of lippes that confesse to his name. For neither do we with our

9. giftes appeare in the sight of God without an intercessor. Christ is he, which being the mediator cōming betwene, we offer vs and ours to the Father. He is our Bishop, which being entred into the sanctuary of heaven, hath opened the entry to vs. He is the altar, vpon which we lay our giftes, that in him we may be bolde all that we are

Reue. 1. bolde. It is he (I say) that hath made vs a kingdom and Priests to the

6. Father.

18 What remaineth, but that the blinde may se, the deffe may heare, children themselues may vnderstāde this abomination of the Masse? which being offred in a golden cup, hath made dronke the kings

kings and peoples of the earth, from the hiest to the lowest, hath so stricken them with drowlinesse and giddinesse, that being become more senslesse than brute beastes, they haue set the whole ship of their safetie onely in this deadly deuouring gulf. Truly Satan neuer did bende himselfe with a stronger engine than this to assaile and vanquish the kingdome of Christ. This is the Helene, for whom the enemies of the trueth fight at this day with so great rage, so great furiousnesse, so great crueltie: & a Helene in deede, with whom they so defile themselues with spiritual whordome, which is the most cursed of all. I do not here so much as ones touch with my litle finger those grosse abuses, wherewith they might color the vnholly purenesse of their holy Masse: howe filthy marketings they vse, howe vn honest gaines they make with their massinges, with howe great rauening they fill their couetousnesse. Onely I do point vnto, and that with fewe and plaine wordes, what maner of thing is euen the very holiest holinesse of the Masse, for which it hath deserued in certain ages past to be so honorable and to be had in so great reuerence. For, to haue these so great misteries set out according to their worthinesse, requirereth a greater worke: and I am vnwilling to mingle herewith those filthy vncleanneses that comonly shewe themselues before the eyes & faces of all men: y all men may vnderstand, that the Masse taken in her most piked purenesse, and wherewith it may be set out to the best shewe, without her appendāces, from the roote to the topp swarmeth full of all kinde of wickednesse, blasphemie, idolatrie, and sacrilege.

Quene
Helene
the Gre
ciā Har
lot,
cause
of the
vvarre
of Troy.

19 The Readers now haue in a maner almost all those things gathered into an abridgement, which we haue thought behouefull to be known concerning these two Sacramēts: the vse of which hath bene deliuered to the Christian Church from the beginning of the newe testament, to continue to the very ende of the world: namely, that Baptisme should be as it were a certain entry into it, & an admission into faith: & the Supper should be as it were a continual foode, wherewith Christ spiritually fedeth the familie of his faithfull. Wherefore as there is but one God, one faith, one Christ, one Church his body: so there is but one Baptisme, and is not ofte ministred againe. But the Supper is frō time to time distributed, that they which haue bene ones receiued into the Church, may vnderstand that they be continually fed with Christ. Beside these two as there is no other Sacramēt ordeined of God, so neither ought the Church of the faithful to acknowledge any other. For, that it is not a thing that lieth in the choise of man, to raise & set vp newe Sacramēts, he shall easily vnderstand y remembreth that which hath bene here before plainly enough

declared, that is, that Sacraments are appointed of God to this ende, that they should instruct vs of some promise of his, and testifie to vs his good will toward vs: and he also that calleth to minde, that none hath bene Gods counsellor, that might promise vs any certaintie of his will, or assure vs & bring vs out of care, what affection he beareth toward vs, what he will geue, or what he will deny vs. For therewith is also determined, that no man can set fourth a signe to be a testimonie of any will or promise of his: it is he himself alone, that can by a signe geuen testifie to vs of himselfe. I will speake it more bresely, and peraduenture more grossly, but more plainly. A Sacrament can neuer be without promise of saluation. All men gathered on a heape together can of themselues promise nothing of our saluatiō. Therefore neither can they of themselues set fourth or set vp a Sacrament.

20 Therefore let the Christian Church be contented with these two, and let her not onely not admitt or acknowledge any third for the present time, but also not desire or loke for any to the ende of the world. For whereas certaine diuerse Sacraments, beside those their ordinarie ones, were geuen to the Iewes, according to the diuerse course of times, as Manna, Water springing out of the rocke, the Brasen serpent and such other: they were by this change put in minde that they should not stay vpon such figures, whoes state was not very stedfast: but that they should loke for some better thing from God, which should continue without any decaying, and without any ende. But we are in a farre other case, to whom Christ is openly shewed: in whom all the treasures of knowledge and wisdom are hidden with so great abundance and plentie, that either to hope for or loke for any newe encrease to these treasures, is verily to moue God to wrath, & to prouoke him against vs. We must hunger for, seke, loke vpon, learne, and throughly learne Christ alone, vntill that great day shall appeare, wherein the Lord shall openly shewe to the full the glory of his kingdome, & himselfe such as he is, to be beholden of vs.

And for this reason this our age is in the Scriptures signified by the last houre, the last dayes, the last times, that no man should deceiue himselfe with vaine loking for any newe doctrine or reuelation. For many times and in many sortes he spake before by his Prophetes: in these last dayes the heauenly Father hath spoken in his beloued Sonne, which only can manifestly shewe the Father: and in deede he hath manifestly shewed him to the full, so much as behoueth vs, while we nowe beholde him by a glasse. As therefore this is nowe taken away from men, that they can not make newe Sacramentes in the Church of God: so it were to be wished, that as litle as were possible of

mans

Esa. 40.
13.
Rom. 11
34.

Exo. 16.
13. and
17. 6.
1. Cor.
10. 3.
Numer.
21. 8.

Iohn. 3.
14.
Col. 2. 3

1. Ioh. 3.
2.
1. Iohn.
2. 18.
1. Pet. 1.
20.
Heb. 1.
2.

1. Cor.
13. 12.

mans inuention might be mingled with those Sacramentes that are of God. For like as when water is poured in, the wine departeth and is delaied: and as with leauen scattered amonge it, the whole lump of doae waxeth sower: so the purenesse of the mysteries of God is nothing else but defiled when man addeth any thing of his owne. And yet we see how farre the Sacramentes are swarued out of kinde from their naturall purenesse, as they be handled at this day. There is echwhere too much of pompes, ceremonies, and gesturings: but of the worde of God in the meane time there is neither any consideration nor mention, without which euen the Sacramentes themselues are not Sacramentes. Yea and the very ceremonies that are ordayned of God, in so great a rout can not once lift vp their head, but lye as it were oppressed. Howe litle is that seene in Baptisme, which onely ought there to haue shined and bin looked vpon, as we haue in another place rightfully complained, euen Baptisme it selfe? As for the Supper, it is vtterly buried, since that it hath bin turned into y^e Masse, sauinge that it is seene once euery yeare but in a mangled and halfe torne fashion.

The xix. Chapter.

Of the five falsely named Sacramentes: vvhich is declared, that the other five vvhich haue bin hitherto commonly taken for Sacramentes, are not Sacramentes: and then is shewved vvhich manner of thinges they be.

OVr former discourse concerninge Sacramentes might haue obtained this with the sober and willing to learne, that they should not ouer curiously procede any further, nor shoulde without the word of God embrace any other Sacramentes beside those two which they knew to be ordained of the Lorde. But forasmuch as that opinion of the seuen Sacraments, being commonly vsed in all mens talke, hauinge wandered through all schooles and preachings, hath by very auncienty gathered rootes, and is yet still settled in the mindes of mē: I thought that I should do a thing worth the trauell, if I shoulde seuerally and more neerely search those other five that are commonly adnubred amonge the true and naturall Sacramentes of the Lord, and wiping away all deceitfull colour, shoulde set the forth to be seene of the simple such as they be, & how falsely they haue bin hitherto taken for Sacramentes. First, I here protest to all the godly, that I do not take in hande this contention about the name for any desire of struiuing, but that I am by weighty causes led to fight against the abuse of it. I am not ignorant that Christians

are Lords, as of words, so of all things also, & therefore may at their wil apply words to thinges, so that a godly sense be kept, although there be some vnpropernesse in the speaking. All this I graunt: although it were better that the wordes should be made subiect to thinges, than thinges to the words. But in the name of Sacrament there is an other consideration. For they which make seuen Sacraments, do therewith all giue to them all this definition, that they be visible formes of inuisible grace: they make them altogether vessells of the holy Ghost; instrumentes of giuing of righteousness, causes of the obtaininge of grace. Yea and the Maister of the sentences himselfe denieth that the Sacraments of the lawe of Moses are properly called by this name, because they did not deliuer in dede the thing that they figured. Is it, I beseech you, to be suffered, that those signes which the Lorde hath hallowed with his owne mouth, which he hath garnished with excellent promises, should not be accompted for Sacramentes; and in the meane time this honor shold be coueied away to those vsages which me either haue deuised of themselves, or at least do obserue without expresse commaundement of God? Therefore either let them change the definition, or let them abstaine from the wrongfull vsinge of this word, which doth afterward engender false opinions & full of absurdity. Extreme anointinge (say they) is a figure and cause of inuisible grace, because it is a Sacrament. If we ought in no wise to graunt that which they gather vpon it, then truely we must resist the in the name it selfe, least therby we admit that it may giue occasion to such an error. Againe when they would proue it to be a Sacrament, they adde this caule, for that it consisteth of the outward signe and the word. If we finde neither commaundement nor promise of it, what can we do else but crie out against them?

2 Now appeareth, that we brawle not about y word, but do moue a controuersie not superfluous concerning the thing it selfe. Therefore this we must strongly hold fast, which we haue with inuincible reason before confirmed, that the power to institute a Sacrament is in the hande of none but of God only. For a Sacrament ought with a certaine promise to raise vp and comfort the consciences of the faithful: which could neuer receiue this certainty from man. A Sacrament ought to be to vs a witnessinge of the good will of God towarde vs, whereof none of all men or Angels can be witnes, forasmuch as none hath bin of Gods counsell. Therefore it is he alone which doth with right authority testifie of himselfe to vs by his word. A Sacrament is a seale, wherewith the testament or promise of God is sealed. But it could not be sealed with bodily thinges & elementes of this world,

vlesse

Esa. 40.

13.

Rom. 11

34.

valesse they be by the power of God framed and appointed thereunto. Therefore man can not ordaine a Sacrament, because this is not in the power of manne, to make that so great mysteries of God should lye hidden vnder so base things. The word of God must go before, which may make a Sacrament to be a Sacrament, as Augustine very well teacheth. Moreouer it is profitable that there be kept some difference betwene the Sacramentes and other ceremonies, vnto lesse we will fall into many absurdities. The Apostles prayed kneeling: therefore men shall not kneele without a Sacrament. It is sayd that the disciples praied toward the East: therefore the lookinge into the East shalbe a sacrament. Paule willeth men in euery place to lift vppe pure handes, & it is rehearsed that holy men oftentimes prayed with their handes lifted vp: then let the lifting vp of handes also be made a Sacrament. Finally let all the gestures of the holy ones turne into Sacramentes. Howebeit I woulde not also much passe vppon these thinges, if so that they were not ioyned with those other greater commodities.

Homil.
in 10a.
80.

Ag. 19.
40 & 10

36.

1. Tim. 3
8.

3 If they will presse vs with the authority of the old Church, I say that they pretend a false colour. For this number of seuen is no where founde among the Ecclesiasticall writers: neither is it certaine at what time it first crept in. I graunt in dede that sometime they be very free in vsing the name of a sacrament: but what meane they thereby? euen all ceremonies and outward rites, and all exercises of godlinesse. But when they speake of those signes, that ought to be witnesses of the grace of God toward vs, they are contented with these two, Baptisme, and the Supper. Least any man shoulde thinke that I falsely boast of this, I will here rehearse a few testimonies of Augustine. To Ianuarius he sayth: First I would haue thee to hold fast that which is the chiefe point of this disputation, that our Lord Christ (as he himselve sayth in the Gospell) hath made vs subiect to a light yoke and a light burden. Wherefore he hath bound together the fellowship of the new people with Sacramentes very fewe in number, very easie in obseruinge, very excellent in signification. As are Baptisme hallowed in the name of the Trinity, and the Communicating of the body and blood of the Lord, and whatsoeuer else is sette foorth in the Canonickall Scriptures. Againe, in his booke of Christian doctrine, Since the Lordes resurrection, the Lorde himselve and the doctrine of the Apostles hath deliuered certaine few signes in steede of many, and those most easie to be done, most reuerende in vnderstandinge, most pure in obseruinge: as is Baptisme, and the Celebratinge of the body and blood of the Lord. Why doth he here make no mention of the holy number, that

Epi. 118

Lib. 3.
cap. 9.

is, of the number of seuen? Is it likely that he would haue passed it ouer, if it had bin at that time ordained in the Church, specially sith he is otherwise in obseruinge of numbres more curious than neede were? Yea, when he nameth Baptisme and the Supper, and speaketh nothinge of the rest: doth he not sufficiently signifie, that these two mysteries do excell in singular dignity, & that the other ceremonies do rest beneth in a lower degree? Wherefore I say that these Sacramentarie Doctors are destitute not onely of the worde of the Lord, but also of the consent of the olde Church, howe much soeuer they glory of this pretence. But nowe lette vs come downe to the speciall things themselues.

Of Confirmation.

4 This was the maner in olde time, that the children of Christians, when they were growen to age of discretion, should be brought before the Bishop: that they shoulde fulfil that duety which was required of those that being growen in yeares did offer themselues to Baptisme, For these sate amonge those that were to be catechised, till beinge fully instructed in the mysteries of the faith, they coulde make a confession of their faith before the Bishop and the people. Therefore they that were baptised beinge infantes, because they had not then made confession of their faith before the Church, were about the end of their childhoode or in the beginning of their yeres of discretion presented againe by their parentes, and were examined of the Bishop according to the forme of the Catechisme, which they had then certaine and common. And that this doing, which otherwise ought worthily to be graue and holy, might haue the more reuerence and dignity, there was added also the Ceremony of laying on of handes. So that same childe, his faith beinge allowed, was let go with solemne blessing. The olde wryters do oft make mention of this maner. Leo the Pope wryteth: If any returne from heretikes, let him not be baptised againe; but (which he wanted amonge the Heretikes) let the vertue of the Spirite be given him by the Bishops laying on of his handes. Here our aduersaries will crie out, that it is rightfully called a Sacrament, in which the holy Ghost is giuen, but Leo himselve doth in an other place declare what he meaneth by those words: Who so (saith he) is baptised amonge heretikes, let him not be rebaptised, but with calling vpon the holy Ghost, let him be confirmed with laying on of handes: because he receiued only the forme of baptism without sanctifying. Hierom also maketh mention of it, wryting against the Luciferiās. But although I do not deny that Hierom somewhat erreth therein, for that he sayth that it is an obseruation of the Apostles;

Epi. 39.

Epi. 77.

Apostles;

Apostles: yet he is most farre from these mens follies. And the very same also he qualifieth, when he addeth, that this blessing is giuen to the bishops onely, rather in honor of their priesthoode than by the necessity of law. Therefore such laying on of handes, which is done simply in stede of blessing, I praise and would that it were at this day restored to the pure vse thereof.

5 But the later age hauinge in a maner blotted out the thinge it selfe, hath set I wote not what fained confirmation for a Sacrament of God. They haue fained that the vertue of Cōfirmation is, to giue the holy Ghost to the encrease of Grace, which in baptisme was giuen to innocency: to strengthen them to battaile, which in baptisme were new begotten to life. This Confirmation is celebrate with anointinge, and with this forme of words, I signe thee with the signe of the holy crosse, and confirme thee with the chresme of saluation, in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. All this is gaily and trimly done. But where is the word of God, that may promise here the presence of the holy Ghost? They can not bringe forth one title. Whereby then will they certifie vs that their chresme is the vessel of the holy Ghost? We see oyle, that is, a thicke and fat liquor and nothing else. Let the word (saith Augustine) be added to the element, and there shalbe made a Sacrament. Let them (I say) bringe forth this word, if they will haue vs in the oyle to looke vpo any thing but the oyle. If they did acknowledge themselues ministers of the Sacramentes, as they ought, we needed to striue no longer. This is the first law of a minister, that he do nothing without commaundement. Go to, let them bring forth any commaundement of this point of ministry, & I will not speake one word more. If they haue no commaundement, they can not excuse their boldnesse full of sacrilege. After this maner the Lorde asked the Pharisees, whether Mat. 23. the Baptisme of Iohn were from heauen or from men: if they had 25. answered, from men, thē he had made them confesse that it was triflinge and vaine: if from heauen, then were they compelled to acknowledge the doctrine of Iohn. Therefore least they shoulde too much sclaunder Iohn, they durst not confesse that it was from men. If therefore Confirmation be from men, it is proued to be vaine and triflinge: if they will perswade vs that it is from heauen, lette them proue it.

6 They do in deede defende themselues with the example of the Apostles, whom they thinke to haue done nothinge rashly. That is well in deede: neither would we blame them, if they shewed themselves followers of the Apostles. But what did the Apostles? Luke re- AA 8.

porteth in the Actes, that the Apostles which were at Hierusalem, when they heard that Samaria had receiued the worde of God, sent thither Peter and Iohn: they prayed for the Samaritans, that they might receiue the holy Ghost, which was not yet come into any of them, but they were baptised onely in the name of Iesus: when they had praied, they laid their hands vpon them: by which laying on, the Samaritans receiued the holy Ghost. And of this laying on of hands he diuerse times maketh mention. I heare what the Apostles did: that is, they faithfully executed their ministry. The Lord willed that those visible and wonderfull graces of the holy Ghost, which he then poured out vpon his people, should be ministred & distributed of his Apostles by the laying on of handes. But vnder this laying on of handes: I thinke there was not contained any hier mystery: but I expound it, that they adioyned such a ceremonie, that by the very outward doing they might signifie, that they commended and as it were offred to God him vpon whom they laid their hands. If this ministry which the Apostles then executed, were yet still remaininge in the Church, the laying on of handes also ought to be kept. But since that same grace hath ceased to be giuen, whereto serueth the laying on of handes? Truly the holy Ghost is yet present with the people of God, without whom being guider & directer, the Church of God can not stand. For we haue the eternall promise and which shall euer stand in force, by which Christ calleth to himself them that thirst, that they may drinke liuing waters. But those miracles of powers, & manifest workings, which were distributed by the laying on of handes, haue ceased, neither behoued it that they should be, but for a time. For it behoued that the preaching of the Gospell while it was new, should be gloriously set forth & magnified, with vnheard of and vnwonted miracles. From which when the Lord ceased, he did not by-and-by forsake his Church, but taught that the royalty of his kingdom & the dignity of his word was excellently enough discloied. In what point therfore will these stageplaiers say that they folow y^e Apostles? They should haue done it with laying on of handes, that the euident power of the holy Ghost might by-and-by shewe forth it selfe. This they bring not to passe: why therfore do they boast that the laying on of handes maketh for them, which we read in dede that the Apostles vsed, but altogether to an other end?

7 This hath like reason as if a mā should teach that that breathing wherwith the Lord breathed vpon his disciples, is a Sacrament wherby the holy Ghost is giuen. But wheras the Lord did this once, he did not also will that we shoulde do the same. After the same maner also

Iohn. 7.
37.

Ioh 20.
22.

the

the Apostles laid on their handes, during the time that it pleased the Lord that the visible graces of the holy Ghost shoulde be distributed at their prayers: not that they which come after, should onely plaier-like & without the thing in dede counterfait an empty & cold signe, as these apes do. But if they proue that in laying on of handes they follow the Apostles, (wherein they haue no like thing with the Apostles, sauing I wote not what ouerthwart wrongfull counterfainting) yet whenſe commeth their oyle which they cal the oyle of saluation? Who taught them to seeke saluation in oyle? Who taught them to giue to it the power of strengthening? Did Paule, which draweth vs farre away from the elements of this world, which condemneth nothinge more than the stickinge to such pety obseruations? But this I bodily pronounce, not of my selfe, but from the Lorde. Who so call oyle the oyle of saluation, they forſweare the saluation which is in Christ, they deny Christ, they haue no part in the kingdom of God. For oyle is for the belly, and the belly for oyle: the Lorde shall destroy both. For all these weake elementes, which decay with very vse, belong nothinge to the kingdom of God, which is spirituall and shall neuer decay. What then? will some mē say: do you measure with the same measure, the water wherewith we be bapused, and the breade and wine vnder which the Supper of the Lorde is giuen? I answered that in Sacramentes giuen of God, two thinges are to be looked vnto: the substance of the bodily thing which is sette before vs, and the forme that is by the word of God printed in it, wherein lyeth the whole strength. In respect therefore that the bread, wine, and water that are in the Sacramentes offered to our sight, do keepe their owne substance, this sayinge of Paule alway hath place, Meate for the belly, and the belly for meates: God shall destroy them both. For they passe and vanish away with the fashion of this worlde. But in respect that they be sanctified by the worde of God, that they may be Sacramentes, they do not holde vs in the flesh, but do truely and spirituallly reach vs.

Gal 4.9

Colo. 2.

20.

1. Cor. 6

13.

8 But let vs yet more neerely looke into it, howe many monsters this far liquor fostereth and feedeth. These anoynters say, that the holy Ghost is giuen in baptisme, to innocence: in Confirmation, to encrease of grace, that in Baptisme, we are new begotten into life: in confirmation, we are prepared to battell. And they are so past shame, that they deny that baptisme can wel be done without confirmation. O wickednesse. Are we not therefore in baptisme buried together with Christ, being made partakers of his death, that we may be also parteners of his resurrection. But this felowship with the death and

Ro. 6.4.

Cap. 19.

Of the outward meanes

life of Christ Paule expoundeth to be the mortifying of our flesh, & quickening of our spirit: for that our olde man is crucified, that we may walke in newnesse of life. What is to be armed to battell if this be not? If they compted it a matter of nothing, to tread vnder feete the word of God: why did they not yet at least reuerence the Church, to whom they will in euery point seeme so obedient. But what can be brought forth more stronge against their doctrine, than that decree of the Mileuitane councel? Who so sayth that baptisme is giuen only for forgiuenesse of sinnes, and not for a help of grace to come, accursed be he. But whereas Luke, in the place which we haue alleaged, sayth that they were baptised in the name of Iesus Christ, which had not receiued y^e holy Ghost: he doth not simply deny that they were endued with any gift of the holy Ghost, which beleued in Christ with hart, and confessed him with mouth: but meaneth of that receiuing of the holy Ghost, whereby the open powers and visible graces were receiued. So is it sayd that the Apostles receiued the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, whereas it had bin long before said vnto them of Christ, It is not you that speake, but the Spirite of my Father which speaketh in you. Beholde all ye that are of God, the malicious and poysonous deceite of Sathan. That thing which was truely giuen in baptisme, he lyingely sayth to be giuen in his confirmation, that he may by stealth leade you vnware from baptisme. Who now can dout that this is the doctrine of Satan, which cuttinge away from baptisme the promises properly belonging to baptisme, doth conuey away & remoue them, to an other thing? It is founde (I say) vpon what maner of foundation this godly anointing standeth. The word of God is, that al they which are baptised in Christ, haue put on Christ with his gifts. The word of the annointers is, y^e they receiued in baptisme no promise, by which they may be armed in batrails. That is the voice of trueth, therefore this must be the voice of lyinge. Therefore I can more truely define this Confirmation than they haue hitherto defined it: namely, that it is a notable sclaunder of baptisme, which darkeneth, yea abolissheth the vse thereof: that it is a false promise of the deuill, which draweth vs away from the trueth of God. Or, if you wil, it is oyle defiled with the lying of the deuill, which as it were by ouerspreadinge of darkenesse, deceiueth the eies of the simple.

Ad. 8.
26.

Ad. 2. 4

Gala. 3.
27.
De con-
se. dist. 5.
cap. Sp.

Verba
cap. 1.
de Co.
secr.
dist. 5.
con. au-
rel. c. vt
Ieiuni.

9 They adde furthermore, that all the faithfull ought after baptisme to receiue the holy Ghost by layinge on of handes, that they may be founde full Christians: because he shall neuer be a Christian, that is not chresmed with the bishops Confirmation. These be their owne sayinges worde for worde. But I had thought that what soeuer things

things pertained to Christianity, were all set forth in wrytinge and comprehended in Scriptures. Now, as I perceiue, the true forme of religion is to be sought and learned from else where than out of the Scriptures. Therefore the whole wisdom of God, the heavenly trueth, the whole doctrine of Christ, doth but beginne Christians, and oyle maketh them perfect. By this sentence are damned all the Apostles, and so many Martyrs, whome it is most certaine to haue neuer bin chrestmed: forasmuch as the oyle was not yet made, which being poured vpon them, they might fulfil all the partes of christianty, or rather might be made Christians which yet were none. But, though I holde my peace, they do largely confute themselues. For, how many of the number of their owne people do they annoynt after baptisme? why therfore do they suffer such halfe christians in their flocke, whose imperfection might easily be holpen? Why do they with so careles negligence suffer the to omit that which was not lawfull to be omitted without greuous offense? Why do they not more seuerely call vpon the keping of a thing so necessary, & without which saluatiō can not be obtained, vnlesse peraduenture some be preuented by death? Verily when they so freely suffer it to be despised, they secretly cōfesse that it is not of so great value as they boast it.

10 Last of all they determine that this holy annoyntinge is to be had in greater reuerence thā baptisme: because this anointing is peculiarly ministred by the handes of the chiefe bishops, but baptisme is commonly distributed by euery Priest. What may a man here say, but that they are vtterly mad, which so flatter their owne inuentions, that in comparison of them they carelessly despise the holy ordinances of God? O mouth that robbest God, darrest thou set a fat liquor onely defiled with the stinke of thine owne breath, and enchaunted with murmuring sounde of wordes, against the Sacrament of Christ, and to compare it with water hallowed with the worde of God? But thy wickednesse accompted this but a smal matter, vnlesse thou didst also preferre it aboue the same. These be the answers, of the holy see, these be the Oracles of the Apostolike trestle. But some of them, euen in their owne opinion, begonne somewhat to qualifie this vnbridled madnes. It is (say they) to be worshipped with greater reuerence: peraduenture not for the greater vertue and profit that it giueth: but because it is giuen of the worthier men, and is made in the worthier parte of the body, that is, in the forehead: or because it bringeth a greater encrease of vertues, although baptisme auaille more to forgiveness. But in the first reason do they not bewray themselues to be Donatistes, which measure the force of the Sacrament by the wor-

Cap. de
his ve-
ro, Dist.
cadem.

Trestle,
Apollo
among
the Hea-
then
gaue an-
swers
& Pro-
phesies
at a
three-
footed
boorde
or trestle.

Lib. 4. thinnesse of the minister. But I will admit, that Confirmation be cal-
 Senten. led the worthier by reason of the worthinesse of the Bishops hand.
 Dist 7. But if a man aske of them, from whence so great prerogatiue hath
 cap. 2. bin giuen to Bishops, what reason will they bring beside their owne
 lust? The Apostles alone vsed that power, which alone distributed
 the holy Ghost? Are the bishops alone Apostles? Yea, are they Apo-
 stles at all? But let vs also graunt them that: why do they not by the
 same argument affirme, that bishops alone ought to touche the Sa-
 crament of the blood in the Supper of the Lord: which they there-
 fore deny to lay mē, because the Lord gaue it to the Apostles alones?
 If to the Apostles alone, why do they not conclude: therefore to the
 bishops alone? But in y place they make the Apostles, simple priests:
 but now the giddines of their hed carieth thē an other way, suddenly
 to create thē bishops. Finally Ananias was no Apostle, to whom yet
 Paule was sent, that he should receiue his sight, be baptised, & be fil-
 led with the holy Ghost. I will adde this also to the heape: If by the
 law of God this was the proper office of bishops, why haue they bin
 so bold to giue it away to common priestes? as we read in a certaine
 epistle of Gregory.

Ad. 9.
 17.
 Dist. 9.
 cap. Per
 uenit.

11 As for their other reason, how trifling, fond, and foolish is it, to
 call their Confirmation worthier than the baptisme of God, because
 in it the forehead is anointed with oyle, and in baptisme the hinder
 parte of the head, as though baptisme were done with the oyle and
 not with the water? I cal all the godly to witnes, whether these losels
 do not endeouour themselues to this only ende, to corrupt the pure-
 nesse of the Sacraments with their leuen. I haue already spoken this
 in an other place, that in the Sacramēts, that which is of God scarce-
 ly glimmereth through at holes, amonge the rout of the inuentions
 of men. If any man did not beleue me therein, let him nowe at least
 beleue his owne maisters. Loe passinge ouer the water, and makinge
 no accompt of it, they hiely esteeme the onely oyle in baptisme. We
 therefore on the contrary side do say, that in baptisme the forehead
 also is dipped in water. In cōparison of this, we esteeme not your oyle
 worth one piece of dong, whether it be in baptisme or in confirma-
 tion. If any alleage that it is sold for more: by this adding of price, the
 goodnes (if any were in it) is corrupted: so much lesse may they cō-
 mende a most filthy deceit by theft. In the third reason they bewray
 their own vngodlines, while they prate that in confirmation is giuen
 a greater encrease of vertues than in baptisme. By the layinge on of
 handes y Apostles distributed the visible graces of the Spirit. In what
 thinge do these mens fat liquor shew it selfe frutefull? But away with these

these qualifiers, that cover one sacrilege with many sacrileges. It is like the Gordian: which it is better to breake in sunder, than to labor so much in vndoing it.

12 But now when they see themselves destitute of the worde of God and probable reason, they pretende as they are wont, that it is a most auncient obseruation & established by consent of many ages. Although that were true, yet they winne nothinge thereby. A Sacrament is not from the earth, but from heaven: not from men, but from God alone. They must proue God to be the author of their confirmation if they will haue it taken for a Sacrament. But why do they obiekt antiquitie, whereas the olde wryters, when they minde to speake properly, do no where reckon more Sacramentes than two? If a fortresse of our faith were to be sought from men, we haue an inuincible tower, that the olde Fathers neuer acknowledged those for Sacramentes which these men do lyingly faine to be Sacramentes. The olde wryters speake of the laying on of handes: but do they call it a Sacrament? Augustine plainly affirmeth that it is no other thing Lib 7.
than praier. Neither let them here barke against me with their stink- de bap-
king distinctions, that Augustine meant that not of the laying on of contra
handes vsed to confirmation, but which was vsed to healing or recon- donat.
ciliation. The booke remaineth & is abroade in the handes of men. cap. 16.
If I wrest it to any other sense than Augustine himself wrore it, I giue them leaue after their ordinary maner to oppresse me not only with railing, but also with spitting at me. For he speaketh of them that returned from Schisme to the vnyty of the Church. He denieth that they needed to be newly baptised: for he saith, that the laying on of hands sufficeth, that by the bond of peace the Lord may giue them the holy Ghost. But forasmuch as it might seeme an absurdity, that the laying on of hands should be done of new rather than baptism: he sheweth a differēce. For (saith he) what other thing is the laying of hands, than praier vpon a man? And that this is his meaninge, appeareth by an other place, where he saith: Hande is laid vpon heretikes amended, for the coupling of Charity, which is the greatest gift of the holy Ghost, without which whatsoeuer holy things are in man they auail not to Lib 5.
saluation. cap. 13.

13 But I would to God we did kepe still the maner which I haue said to haue bin in the olde time, before that this vntimely deliuered image of a Sacrament was borne: not that it should be such a confirmation as they faine, which can not once be named without iniury to baptism: but a catechising, whereby children or they that were nere to the age of discretion did declare an accompt of their faith before

the Church. But it should be the best maner of Catechising, if a forme were written to that vse, containing & familiarly setting out a summe in a maner of all y articles of our religion, in which the whole church of the faithfull ought without controuersie to agree: that a childe being ten yeres old should offer himselfe to the Church to declare a confession of his faith, should be examined of euery article, & answere to euery one: if he were ignorant of any thing, or did not vnderstand it, he might be taught. So should he, before the Church witnessing & beholding it, professe the only, true, & pure faith, wherewith the people of the faithfull doth with one minde worship the one God. If this discipline were at this day in force, truly the slothfulnes of some parentes would be whetted, who do carelesly neglect the instruction of their children as a thing nothing belonging to the, which then without open shame they could not omit: there should be among Christian people a greater consent of faith, & not so great ignorance & rudenes of many: some should not be so rashly caried away with new & strange doctrines: finally all should haue as it were a certaine orderly instruction of christian learning.

Of Penance.

14 In the next place they set Penance, of which they entreate so confusely & disordredly, that consciences can beare away no sure or sounde thinge of their doctrine. We haue already in an other place declared at large, what we had learned out of the Scriptures concerning repentance, and then what they also teach of it. Nowe we haue this onely to touch, what reason they had that raised vp the opinion, which hath heretofore reigned in Churches and schooles, that it is a Sacrament. But first I will briefly say somewhat of the vse of the olde Church, the pretense wherof they haue abused to stablish their fained inuention. This order they kept in publike penance, that they which had fully done the satisfactions enioyned them, were reconciled with solemne laying on of handes. That was the Signe of absolution, whereby both the sinner himselfe was raised vppe before God with trust of pardon, and the Church was admonished gently to receiue him into fauour, putting away the remembrance of his offence. This

Epist. 1. Ciprian oftentimes calleth, to giue peace. That this doing might be of
1. cap. 2 greater dignity, and haue more commendation amonge the people, it was ordained that the bishops authority should alway be vsed for the meane herein. From hense came that decree of the second council at Carthage: Be it not lawfull to a priest at the Masse publicly to reconcile a penitent. And an other decree of the council at Arausium, Let those, which in time of their penance depart out of this life, be admitted

red to the Communion without the laying on of handes vsed in reconcilinge: if they recouer of their sickenesse let them stande in the degree of penitentes, and when the time is fully expired, let them receiue of the bishop the laying on of hands vsed in reconciling. Again the decree of y third councel at Carthage: Let not the priest without the authority of the bishop, reconcile a penitent. All these tended to this ende, that the seuerity which they would haue to be vsed in that behalfe, shoulde not with too much lenity grow in decay. Therefore they willed y bishop to be iudge of it, which was likely that he would be more circumspect in the examination therof. Howbeit Ciprian in a certaine place sheweth, that not only the bishop, but also the whole Clergie layd their handes on him. For thus he saith. At the full time they do penance, then they come to the Communion, & by the laying on of handes of the bishop and the clergy, they receiue power to partake of the Communion. Afterwarde by proceffe of time it came to this point, that beside publike penance they vsed this ceremonie also in priuate absolutions. Hereupon came that distinction in Gratian betwene publike & priuate reconciliation. I iudge that same olde vsage of which Cyprian maketh mention, to haue bin holy & healthfull for the Church, and I woulde that it were at this day restored. As for this later, although I dare not disallowe it, or at least speake more sharply against it, yet I thinke it to be lesse necessary. Howsoever it be, yet we see that the laying on of handes in penance is a ceremony ordained of men, not of God, which is to be set among meane things & outward exercises: & those verily which are not to be despised, but which ought to be in a lower degree, than those that are commended vnto vs by the word of the Lord.

15 But the Romanistes and the schoolemen, (which haue an ordinary custome to corrupt all thinges with wrong expounding them) do here very carefully trauail in findinge out a Sacrament. Neither ought it to seeme any maruell, for they seeke a knot in a rushe. But where they haue it best, they leaue a thing entangled in suspense, vncertaine, and confounded and troubled with diuersity of opinions. They say therefore either that the outward penance is a Sacrament, and if it be so, that it ought to be taken for a signe of the inwarde penance, that is, of the contrition of hart, which shalbe the thing of the Sacrament: or that they both together are a Sacrament, not two Sacramentes, but one full one. But, that the outward penance is only the Sacrament: the inward is both the thing and the Sacrament: and that the forgiuenes of sinnes is the thing and not the Sacrament. Let them which keepe in remembrance the definition of a Sacrament which

Cap. 33

Decret.

26. que.

6.

Lib.4.

Sen. di.

12. ca. 2.

Lib. 3.
que vet.
testam.

Sermo.
ne de
bap. in-
fant.

we haue aboue set, examine thereby that which these men call a Sacrament, and they shall finde that it is not an outward ceremony ordained of the Lorde for the confirming of our faith. If they caull that my definition is not a lawe which they neede to obey: let them heare Augustin, whom they saine that they esteeme as most holy. Visible Sacramentes (sayth he) were ordained for carnall mens sakes, that by degrees of Sacramentes they may be conueied from those things that are seene with eies to those things that are vnderstanded. What like thing do either they themselues see, or can they shew to other in that which they call the Sacrament of Penance? The same Augustine saith in an other place: It is therefore called a Sacramēt, because in it one thing is seene, & an other other thing is vnderstanded. That which is seene, hath a bodily forme: that which is vnderstanded, hath a spirituall frute. Neither do these things in any wise agree with the Sacrament of penance, such as they saine it, where there is no bodily forme that may represent a spiritual frute.

16 And, to kil these beasts vpon their owne fighting place, if there be any Sacrament here, to be sought, may it not be much more cole-
rably said that the absolutiō of the priest is a Sacramēt, than penance either inward or outward? For it might readily be sayd, that it is a ceremony to assure our faith of the forgiveness of sinnes, & hath a promise of the keyes as they call it, Whatsoeuer ye shall binde or loose vpon earth, shalbe bounde or loosed in heauen. But some man would haue objected, that the most parte of them that are absolved of the priestes, obtaine no such thing by such absolutiō: whereas by their doctrine the Sacramentes of the new law ought to worke in deede that which they figure. This were but to be laughed at. For, as in the Supper, they make a double eating, a Sacramentall eating which is equally common to good & to euill, & a spiritual eating which is only proper to the good: why might they not also saine that absolution is receiued two wayes? Yet could I not hitherto vnderstande what they meant with this their doctrine, which we haue already taught howe far it disagreeeth from the trueth of God, whē we purposely entreated of that argumēt. Here my minde is only to shew, that this dout with-
standerth not, but that they may call the absolution of the priest a Sacrament. For they might aunswere by the mouth of Augustine, that sanctification is without the visible Sacrament, & the visible Sacramēt without inward sanctification. Againe, that the Sacraments do worke in the only elect that which they figure. Againe, that some do put on Christ so far as to the partaking of the Sacramēt, other some to sanctification: the one, the good and euill equally do: this other, the good only.

Lib. 3.
que vet.
Testam.
De bap.
paruul.
Lib. 5.
de bap.
contra.
Donat.

only. Truly they haue more than childishly erred & be blinded in the cleare sunne, which trauailing with great hardnes, yet espied not a thing so plaine and open to euery man.

17 Yet least they shoulde waxe too proude, in what parte soeuer they set the Sacrament, I deny that it ought rightfully to be taken for a Sacrament. First, because there is no speciall promise to it, which is the only substance of a Sacrament. Againe, because whatsoeuer ceremony is here shewed forth, it is the mere inuention of menne: wheras we haue already proued that the ceremonies of Sacraments can not be ordained but of God. Therefore it was a lye and a deceit which they haue inuented of the Sacrament of penance. This fained Sacrament they haue garnished with a meete commendation, calling it a seconde boord after shipwrecke: because if a man haue by sinning marred the garment of innocence which he receiued in baptisme he may by penance repaire it. But it is the saying of Hierom. Whose soeuer it be, it can not be excused but y^e it is vtterly wicked, if it be expounded after their meaning. As thogh baptisme be blotted out by sinne, & is not rather to be called to remembrance of euery sinner, so oft as he thinketh of the forgiuenesse of sinne, that he may thereby gather vp himselfe, and recouer courage, and strengthen his Faith, that he shall obtaine the forgiuenes of sinnes which is promised him in baptisme. But that which Hierome hath spoken hardly and vnproperly, that by penance baptisme is repaired (from which they fall away that deserue to be excommunicate from the Church) these good expositours drawe to their wickednesse. Therefore you shall most fitly speake, if you cal baptisme the Sacrament of penance, sith it is giuen for a confirmation of grace, and seale of confidence, to them that purpose repentance. And least you shoulde thinke this to be our deuise, beside this that it agreeth with the wordes of the Scripture, it appeareth that it was in the old Church commonly spoken like a most certaine principle. For in the booke of Faith to Peter, which is said to be Augustines, it is called the Sacrament of Faith & of penance. And why sice we to vncertaine sayings? As though we could require any thing more plaine, than that which the Euangelist reciteth: that Iohn preached y^e baptisme of repentance vnto forgiuenes of sinnes?

Of extreme vnction as they call it.

18 The third fained Sacrament is extreme vnction, which is not done but of the Priest, & that in extremes, (so they terme it) & with oyle consecrate of the bishop, & with this forme: By this holy anointing, & by his most kind mercy, God pardō thee whatsoeuer thou hast

HHHH iij

Lib.4.
Sen.
dist. 14.
cap. 1.
De pe.
ni. dist. 1
cap. 2.

Decree.
15. que.
1. cap.
firmissime.
Mar. 1. 4
Luk. 3. 3

offended by seeing, by hearing, by smelling, feeling, tasting. They saie that there be two vertues of it, y^e forgiuenes of sinnes, & ease of bodily sickenesse if it be so expedient: if not, the saluation of the soule. They say that the institution of it is set of Iames, whose wordes are these. Is any sicke amonge you? Let him bringe in the Elders of the Church, & let them pray ouer him, anointinge him with oyle in the name of the Lord: & the praier of Faith shall saue the sicke man, and the Lord shall raise him vp: & if he be in sinnes, they shalbe forgiuen him. Of the same sort is this anointing, of which we haue aboue shewed that y^e other laying on of hands is, namely a playerlike hipocrisie, whereby without reason and without frute they would resemble the Apostles. Marc rehearseth that the Apostles at their first sending, accordinge to the commaundement which they haue receiued of the Lorde, raised vp dead men, cast out deuils, cleansed leprous men, healed the sicke, & that in healing of y^e sicke they vsed oyle. They anointed (saith he) many sicke men with oyle, & they were healed. Hereunto Iames had respect, when he commaunded the Elders to be called together to anoint the sicke man. That vnder such Ceremonies is contained no hier mysterie, they shall easily iudge which marke howe great liberty the Lord & his Apostles vsed in these outward thinges. The Lord goinge about to restore sight, to the blinde man, made cley of dust & spittle, some he healed with touchinge, other some with his word. After the same maner y^e Apostles healed some diseases with the word only, some with touchinge, other some with anointing. But it is likely that this anointing was not (as all other thinges also were not) causelessly put in v^re. I graunt: yet not that it shoulde be a meane of healing, but only a signe, that the dulnes of the vnskilfull might be put in minde from whence so great power proceeded, to this ende that they should not giue the praise thereof to the Apostles. And, that the holy Ghost & his giftes are signified by oyle it is a common & vsuall thing. But that same grace of healings is vanished away, like as also the other miracles, which the Lord willed to be shewed for a time, whereby he might make the new preaching of the Gospel maruelous for euer. Therefore though we graunt neuer so much, that anointing was a Sacrament of those powers which were then ministred by the hands of the Apostles, it now nothinge pertaineth to vs to whom the ministration of such powers is not committed.

19 And by what greater reason do they make a Sacrament of this anointing, thā of all other signes that are rehearsed to vs in the Scripture? Why do they not appoint some Siloah to swim in, whereinto at certaine ordinary recourses of times sicke menne may plunge themselves

Iam. 5.
14.

Mar. 6.
13.

John. 9.
6
Matt. 9.
29.
Luc. 18.
42.
Act. 3. 6
& 5. 16.
& 19. 12
Psal. 45.
8.

John. 9.
7.
Act. 20.
10.

themselves? That (say they) should be done in vaine. Truly no more in vaine than anointing. Why do they not lie along vpon dead men, because Paul raised vp a dead childe with lying vpon him? Why is not cley made of spittle and dust, a Sacrament? But the other were but singular examples: but this is geuen of Iames for a commaundement. Verily Iames spake for the same time, when the Church yet still enjoyed such blessing of God. They affirme in dede that there is yet still the same force in their anointing: but we finde it otherwise by experience. Let no man nowe maruell howe they haue with such boldnesse mocked soules, which they knowe to be senselesse & blinde when they are spoiled of the word of God, that is, of their life and light: for they are nothing ashamed to go about to mocke the liuing and feeling senses of y body. Therefore they make themselves worthy to be scorned, while they boast that they are endued with the grace of healings. The Lorde verily is present with his in all ages, and so oft as neede is he helpeth their sicknesses no lesse than in olde time: but he doth not so vtter those manifest powers, nor distributeth miracles by the handes of the Apostles: because this gift both was but for a time, and also is partly fallen away by the vnthankfulnesse of men.

20 Therefore as not without cause the Apostles haue by the signe of oile openly testified, that the grace of healings committed to them was not their own power, but the power of the holy Ghost: so on the other side they are wrongdoers to the Holy Ghost, which make a stinking oile and of no force, to be his power. This is altogether like as if one would say that all oile is the power of the Holy Ghost, because it is called by that name in Scripture: that euery doue is y holy Ghost, because he appered in that forme. But these things, let them loke to. So much as for this present is enough for vs, we do most certainly perceiue that their annointing is no Sacramēt: which is neither a Ceremonie ordeined of God, nor hath any promise. For when we require these two things in a Sacrament, that it be a ceremonie ordeined of God, and that it haue a promise of God: we do therewithall require that the same Ceremonie be geuen to vs, and that the promise belong vnto vs. For no man doth affirme that Circumcision is nowe a Sacrament of the Christian Church, although it both was an ordinance of God, and had a promise knitt vnto it: because it was neither commaunded to vs, nor the promise which was adioined to it was giuen to vs with the same cōdition. That the promise which they proudly boast of in their annointinge, is not geuen to vs, we haue euidently shewed, and they themselves declare by experience. The Ceremonie ought not to haue bene vsed, but of them

Matt. 3.

16.

Iohn. 1.

32.

that were endued with the grace of healings, not of these butchers that can more skill of slaying and murdering than of healing.

21 Howbeit although they obtaine this, that that which Iames commaundeth concerning annointing, agreeth with this age (which they are most farre from) yet euen so they shall not haue much preuailed in prouing of their vndtion wherewith they haue hitherto
 Iam. 5. annointed vs. Iames willeth that all sicke men be annointed: these
 14. men infect with their fat liquor, not sicke men, but corpses half dead, when the life lieth already laboring at the toppe of their lippes, or (as they themselues terme it) in extremes. If they haue in their Sacrament a present medicine, whereby they may either ease the sharpnesse of diseases, or at the least may bring some comfort to the soule, they are to cruel that do neuer heale in time. Iames willeth that the sicke man be annointed of the Elders of the Church: these men allowe no annointer but the pety sacrificing Priest. Whereas they expounde in Iames presbyteros the Elders to be Priests, and fondly say that the plurall number is there set for comlineesse sake: that is but trifling: as though the Churches at that time abounded with swarmes of sacrificing Priests, that they might go in a long pompous shewe to carrie a pageante of holy oile. When Iames simply biddeth that sicke men be annointed, I vnderstande by it none other annointing but of common oile: and none other is found in Markes rehearfall. These men vouchesaue to haue none other oile, but that which is hallowed of the Bishop, that is to say, warmed with much breathing on it, enchanted with much mumbling, and with the knee bowed nine times saluted in this maner: thrise Haile holy oile: thrise Haile holy chresme: thrise Haile holy balme. Out of whom haue they sucked such coniurations? Iames saith: that when the sicke man is annointed with oile, and prayer hath bene pronounced ouer him, if he be in sinnes they shalbe forgiven him: namely, that the guiltinesse being taken away, they may obtaine release of the peine: not meaning that sinnes are put away with fat liquor, but that the prayers of the faithfull whereby the afflicted brother is commended to God, shall not be vaine. These mé do wickedly ly, that by their holy, that is to say, abominable annointing, sinnes are forgiven. Lo howe gaily they shall preuaile, when they haue bene at large suffered to abuse the testimonie of Iames at their pleasure. And least we should neede to trauaile long in profe hereof, their owne chronicles do discharge vs of this hardnes. For they report that Pope Innocentius, which in Augustines time gouerned the Church of Rome, ordeined that not onely Priests, but also all Christians should vse oile to annoint for their owne necessitie
 and

and others. Author hereof is Sigebert in his Cronicles.

Of Ecclesiasticall Orders.

22 The fourth place in their register hath the Sacrament of Order: but the same so frutefull, that it bredeth out of it selfe seuen litle Sacraments. But this is very worthy to be laughed at, that wheras they affirme that there be seuen Sacraments, when they go about to rehearse them they reckon vp thirtene. Neither can they allege for themselves, that they are but one Sacrament, because they tende all to one Priesthode, and are as it were certaine degrees vnto it. For sith it is euident that in euery one of them are seuerall Ceremonies, and they themselves say that there be diuerse graces: no mā can dout but that they ought to be called seuen Sacraments, if their opinions be receiued. And why strue we about it as though it were a thing doutfull, forasmuch as they themselves do plainly and seuerally declare seuen? But first we will briefly knitt vp by the way, howe many and howe vnfaultrie absurdities they thrust in vnto vs, whē they go about to commend to vs their Orders in steede of Sacraments: and then we wil se whether the Ceremony which Churches vse in ordering of ministers, ought to be called a Sacrament at all. They make therefore seuen ecclesiasticall Orders or degrees, which they garnish with the name of a Sacrament. Those be, dorekeepers, Reders, Exorcistes, Acoluthes or followers, Subdeacons, Deacons, Priests. And vii they say that they be, for the seuenfolde grace of the Holy ghost, wherewith they ought to be endued that are promoted vnto them. But it is encreased and more largely heaped to them in their promotion. Nowe the number it selfe is hallowed with a wrongfull expounding of Scripture, when they thinke that they haue red in Esai vii vertues of the Holy ghost whereas both in deede Esay there rehearseth but six, and also the prophet ment not to comprehend them all in that place: for he is els where as well called the Spirit of life, of sanctification, of adoption of the children, as he is in that place called the Spirit of wisdom, of vnderstanding, of counsell, of strength, of knowledge, & of the feare of the Lorde. Howbeit some sutteler men make not seuen orders, but nine, after the likenesse (as they say) of the Church triumphing. But among them also there is strife: because some would haue the shauing of the clergie to be the first order of all, and Bishoprike the last: other some excluding shauing altogether, reckon Archebishoprike among the orders. Isidore otherwise diuideth them? For he maketh Psalmistes and Reders to be diuerse: he appointeth the Psalmistes for songes, and the Reders to the reding of the Scriptures, wherewith the people may be instructed. And this

Libr. 4.
Senten.
dist 34.
cap. 9.

Esai. 11.

2.
Ezec. 1.

10.

Rom. 1.

4 & 6.

15.

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Isido-

rus lib.

7.

Dist. 21. distinction is kept by the canons. In so great diuersity what will they
& dist. haue vs to followe or flee? Shall we say that there be seuen orders?
33. cap. So teacheth the master of the scholes: but the most illuminate doctors
Lea. & do otherwise determine. Againe they also disagree among them-
ca. Of selues. Moreouer the most sacred canons call vs an other way. Thus
tarius. forsooth do men agree, when they dispute of godly matters without
the word of God.

23 But this exceedeth all folly, that in euery one of these they
John. 2. make Christ fellowe with them. First (say they) he executed the of-
35. fice of dorekeeper, when he did with a whip made of cordes, drue the
Ioh. 10. biers and sellers out of the temple. He signifieth himselfe to be a
7. dorekeeper, when he sayeth, I am the dore. He toke vpo him the office
Luk. 4. of Reader, when he red Esay in the Sinagoge. He did the office of an
17. Exorcist, when touching the tong and eares of the deffe and dumme
Mar. 16. man, he restored to him his hearing. He testified himselfe to be an
33. Acoluth or follower in these wordes, He that followeth me, walketh
Ioh. 8. not in darkenesse. He executed the office of Subdeacon, when being
13. girded with a linen cloth he washed the disciples feete. He did beare
Iohn 3. the person of a Deacon, when he distributed his body and blood in
4. the Supper. He fulfilled the office of Priest, when he offered himselfe
Mat. 26 vpon the crosse a sacrifice to his Father. These things can not so be
26. heard without laughing, that I maruel that they were writte without
Mat. 27 laughing, if yet they were men that wrote them. But most notable is
50. their sutteltie wherewith they play the Philosophers about the name
Ephc. 5. of Acoluth, calling him a Ceroferar, a taper bearer with a word (as
2. I thinke) of forcerie, truely such a one as was neuer heard of in all
nations and languages, whereas Acoluthos in Greke simply signifieth
a follower. Howbeit if I should earnestly tarry in confuting these
men, I should my selfe also worthily be laughed at, they are so trifling
and very mockeries.

24 But that they may not be able yet still with false colors to de-
ceiue euen very silly womē, their vanitie is by the way to be vttered.
They create with great pompe and solemnitie their Reders, Psal-
mistes, Dorekeepers, Acoluthes, to execute those offices, wherunto they
appoint very children, or those whome they call lay men. For who
for the most part lighteth the candels, who poureth wine and water
into the cruet, but a childe or some base fellowe of the laitie, that
maketh his gaine thereof? Do not the same men sing, Do they not
shut and open the Church dores? For who euer sawe in their tem-
ples an Acoluth, or a Dorekeeper executing his office? But rather he
that whē he was a boy did the office of an Acoluth, when he is ones
admitted

admitted into the order of Acoluthes, ccesseth to be that which he beginneth to be called, that they may seeme to will of purpose to cast of the office when they take vpon them the title. Beholde why they haue neede to be consecrate by Sacraments, and to receiue the Holy ghost, namely, that they may do nothing. If they allege for exercise, that this is the frowardnesse of times, that they forsake and neglect their ministeries: let them therewithall confesse that there is at this day in the Church no vse nor frute of their holy Orders, which they maruelously aduance, and that their whole Church is full of curse: because it suffreth tapers & cruets to be handled of children and prophane men, which none are worthy to touch but they that are consecrate Acoluthes: and because it committeth the songes to children, which ought not to be heard but of a hallowed mouth. As for their Exorcistes, to what ende do they consecrate them? I here that the Iewes had their Exorcistes: but I se that they were so called Aq. 19. of the exorcismes or coniurations which they vsed. Of these counterfait exorcistes who euer heard it spoken, that they shewed any example of their profession? It is fained that they haue power geuen them to lay their handes vpon mad men, them that are to be catechised, and men possessed with deuils: but they can not perswade the deuils that they haue such power, because the deuils do not only not yelde to their commaundements, but also vse commaunding authoritie ouer them. For a man can scarcely finde euery tēth of them, that is not led with an euill Spirit. Therefore whatsoeuer things they babble concerning their pety Orders, are patched together of foolish and vnsauory lies. Of the olde Acoluthes, and Dorekeepers, and Reders, we haue spoken in an other place, when we declared the order of the Church. Our purpose here is onely to fight against that newe founde inuention of the seuenfold Sacrament in ecclesiasticall Orders. Of which there is no where any thing red, but among these foolish praters the Sorbonistes and Canonistes.

25 Nowe let vs cōsider of the ceremonies which they vse about it. First whomsoeuer they receiue into their order of soldiars, they do with one cōmon signe entre them into Clergie. For they shauethem Capit. in the crowne, that the crowne may betoken kingly dignitie, because Dupl. Clerkes ought to be kinges, that they may rule themselves and other. 12. que For Peter speaketh thus of them, Ye are a chosen kinde, a kingly stio. priesthode, a holy nation, a people of purchase. But it was sacrilege 1. Pet. to take to themselves alone that which is geue to the whole Church, 29. and proudly to glory of the title which they had taken from the faithfull. Peter speaketh to the whole Church: these fellows wrest it

Libr. 4. to a few shaven men : as though it were said to them alone , be ye
 Senten. holy : as though they alone were purchaced by the blood of Christe
 Distin. as though they alone were by Christ made a kingdome & priesthode
 24. cap. to God. Then they assigne also other reasons : the top of their hed
 Duo is made bare, that their minde may be declared to be free vnto the
 font. Lord, which with open face may beholde the glory of God. Or that
 they may be taught that the faultes of their mouth and their eyes
 must be cut of. Or the shauing of their hed is the putting away of
 temporall things, and the heary compasse about the crowne are the
 remnantes of goodes that are reteined for their sustenance. All in
 signes: because forsoth the veile of the tēple is not yet cut in sonder.
 Therefore being perswaded that they haue gaily discharged their
 duties, because they haue figured such things by their crowne, of the
 very things in deede they performe nothing at all. Howe long will
 Libr. 4. they mocke vs with such false colors and deceites? The clergie by
 Senten. shearing of a fewe heares do signifie that they haue cast away the a-
 Distin. boundance of temporall goods, that they beholde the glory of God,
 24. ca. 1. that they haue mortified the lust of the eares and eyes : but there is
 no kinde of men more ⁶shauening, more senselesly dull, more lustfull?
 Why do they not rather truly performe holinesse, than with false
 and lieng signes counterfait a shewe of it?

26 Moreouer when they say that the crown of the Clergie hath
 the beginning and reason from the Nazarites: what other thing do
 they allege, than that their misteries are sprong out of the Iewish
 Ceremonies, or rather that they are mere Iewishnesse? But whereas
 A.R. 18. they further say, that Priscilla, Acila, and Paul himselve, taking a vowe
 18. vpon them did sheare their hedes, that they might be purified: they
 bewray their grosse ignorance. For it is no where red of Priscilla: and
 of Acila also it is doutfull: for that same shearing may as well be re-
 ferred to Paule as to Acila. But, that we may not leaue to them that
 which they require, that they haue an example of Paule: the simpler
 1. Cor. must note, that Paul did neuer sheare his head for any sanctification,
 9. 10. but onely to serue the weakenesse of his brethren. I am wont to call
 such vowes the vowes of charitie not of godlinesse: that is to say, not
 taken in hande for any seruice of God, but to beare with the rude-
 nesse of the weake: as he himselve saith, that he was made a Iewe to
 the Iewes, &c. Therefore he did this, and the same but ones, and for a
 shorte time, that he might for a time fashion himselve to the Iewes.
 These men, when they will without any vse cōterfait the purifyings
 of the Nazarites, what do they els but raise vp an other Iewishnesse,
 when they wrongfully couet to followe the olde Iewishnesse? With
 the

the same religiousnesse was that decretall Epistle made, which, according to the Apostle, forbiddeth clerkes that they should not suffer their heare to growe, but there it rounde like a boowle. As though the Apostle, when he teacheth what is comly for all men, were carefull for the rounde shearinge of the Clergie. Hereby let the reders consider, of what force and worthinesse are those other misteries that followe, into which there is such an entrie.

27 When the shearing of Clerkes toke beginning, appeareth sufficiently euen by Augustine alone. Whereas at that time none suffered their heare to grow, but nice men, & such as coueted a smothernesse & trimnesse not mete enough for men: it seemed to be a point of no good example, if that were permitted to the clergie. Therefore Clerkes were commaunded either to sheare their head or to shau it, that they should not beare any shewe of womanlike trimming. But this was so common, that certaine monkes, that they might the more set out their owne holinesse with notable & seuerall attire from other men, did let their heare growe long. But afterward when the fashion turned to wearing of heare, and certain nations were added to Christiandome which alway vsed to weare long heare, as Fraunce, Germany, & England: it is likely that clerkes did euery where sheare their hedes, least they should seeme to couet the gainesse of heare. At the last in a corrupter age, when all olde ordinances were either peruerterd or gone out of kinde into superstition, because they sawe no cause in the shearing of the clergie (for they had retained nothing but a folishe counterfating) they fled to a misterie, which now they superstitiously thrust in vnto vs for the approuing of their Sacrament. The dorekeepers at their consecration receiue the keyes of the Church, whereby they may vnderstand that the keping of it is committed to them. The reders receiue the holy Bible. The exorcistes receiue the formes of exorcismes, which they shoulde vse ouer mad & them that are to be catechised. The Acoluthes receiue the tapers and cruet. Lo these are the ceremonies, wherein (if God will) there is so much secret power, that they may be not only signes and tokens, but also causes of inuisible grace. For this they require by their definition, when they will haue them taken among the Sacraments. But to make an ende in fewe wordes, I say it is an absurditie that in their scholes and canons they make these lesser orders Sacraments: whereas euen by their owne confession that teache this, they were vnknownen to the primitive Church, and deuised many yeares after. For Sacraments, sith they contein the promise of God, can not be ordeined of Angels, nor of men, but of God alone, whoes office alone it is to geue promise.

Ca. pro
hibe-
mus
Dist.
25.
1. Cor.
11.4.

August.
de ope.
monac.
in fine.
Item in
Retrac.

Libr. 4.
Senten.
Distin.
24. c. 8.

28 There remaine three orders, which they call the greater. Of the which, Subdeaconrie (as they call it) was remoued into that number, fins that the route of the smaller ones beganne to growe. But because they seeme to haue a testimonie for these out of the word of God, they do peculiarly for honors sake, call them holy orders. But nowe it is to be sene, howe crokedly they abuse the ordinances of God to their pretence. We will begin at the order of Priesthode or the sacrificers office. For by these two names they signifie one thing, and so they call them to whom they say that it pertaineth to offer vpon the altar the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, to pronounce prayers, and to blesse the giftes of God. Therefore at their consecration they receiue the patine with the hostes, for tokens of power geuen to them, to offer acceptable sacrifices to God. And their handes are annointed: by which signe they are taught, that they haue power geuen them to consecrate. But of the Ceremonies we shall speake hereafter. Of the thing it selfe I say: it so hath no title of the word of God which they pretende, that they could not more wickedly corrupt the order set by God. First verily this ought to staue for a thing confessed (which we haue affirmed in entreating of the Popishe masse) that they are all wrong doers to Christ, which call themselues sacrificing priests, to offer a sacrifice of appeasement. He was appointed and consecrate of the Father a priest with an othe, according to the order of Melchisedech, without any ende, without any successor. He ones offered a sacrifice of eternall satisfactorie cleansing, and reconciliation: and nowe also being entred into the Sanctuarie of heauen, he maketh intercession for vs. In him we are all sacrificing priests, but to praises and geuings of thanks, finally to offer vs and ours to God. It was his singular office alone, with his offering to appease God, and to purge sinnes. When these men take that vpon them, what remaineth but that their sacrificing Priesthode is vngodly and full of sacrilege? Truely they are to wicked, when they dare garnish it with the name of a Sacrament. As touching the true office of Priesthode, which is commended to vs by the mouth of Christ, I willingly accompt it in that degree. For therein is a ceremonie, first taken out of the Scriptures, then such a one as Paule testifieth not to be vaine nor superfluous, but a faithfull Signe of spirituall grace. But whereas I haue not set it for a thirde in the number of Sacraments, I did it because it is not ordinarie and common among all the faithfull, but a speciall rite for one certaine office. But sith this honor is geuen to the Christian ministerie, there is no cause therefore why the Popish sacrificers should be proude.

For

Psa. 110

4.

Heb. 5.

6. & 7.

3.

1. Tim.

4. & 4.

For Christ commaunded distributers of his Gospell and misteries to be ordeined, not sacrificers to be consecrated. He gaue them commaundement to preache the Gospell and to feede the flocke, not to offer sacrifices. He promised the grace of the holy Ghost, not to make satisfactorie purging of sinnes, but rightly to execute and to mainteine the gouernement of the Church.

29 The ceremonies agree very well with the thing it selfe. Our Lorde when he sent forth the Apostles to preache the Gospell, did blowe vpon them. By which Signe he represented the power of the holy Ghost which he gaue vnto the. This blowing these good men haue retained, and as though they did put forth the holy Ghost out at their throte, they whisper ouer their silly priests that they make, Receiue the holy Ghost. So leaue they nothing which they do not ouerthwartly counterfait: I will not say like players (which vse their gesturings neither without arte nor without significatiō) but like apes, which counterfait euery thing wantonly and without any choise. We kepe (say they) the example of the Lorde. But the Lorde did many things which he willed not to be examples to vs. The Lorde said to the disciples, Receiue y^e holy Ghost. He said also to Lazarus, Lazarus come forth. He said to the man sicke of the palsey, Rise and walke. Why do not they say the same to all dead men & sicke of the palsey? He shewed a profe of his diuine power, when in blowing vpon the Apostles he filled them with the grace of the holy Ghost. If they go about to do the same thing, they enuiously counterfait God, and do in a maner challenge him to strue with them: but they are farre from the effect, & do nothing with this foolish gesturing but mock Christ. Verily they be so shamelesse, that they dare affirme that they geue the holy Ghost. But howe true that is, experience teacheth, which crieth out that so many as be consecrated priests are of horses made asses, of fooles made madmen. Neither yet do I strue with them for that: onely I condemne the ceremonie it selfe, which ought not to haue bene drawn to be an example, forasmuch as it was vsed of Christ for a singular signe of one miracle: so farre is it of, that the excuse of following his example ought to defend them.

30 But of whom receiued they the anointing? They aunswere that they receiued it of the sonnes of Aaron, from whom their order also toke beginning. Therefore they had rather alway to defend themselves with wrongfull examples, than to cōfesse that themselves haue deuised that which they vse without cause. But in the meane time they consider not, that while they profess themselves the successors of the sonnes of Aaron, they are wrongdoers to the priesthode of

Mat. 28

19.

Mar. 16

15.

Ioh. 21.

15.

Ioh. 20.

22.

Ioh 30

22.

Ioh. 11.

42.

Matt 9

5.

Ioh. 5. 8

Libr. 4.

Senten.

Distin.

24. ca 9

& in

canon.

dist. 21.

cap. 1.

Christ, which alone was shadowed and figured by all the olde sacrificing priesthodes. In him therefore they were all contained and fulfilled, in him they ceased, as we haue somtimes already repeted, and the Epistle to the Hebrues without helpe of any gloses testifieth. But if they be so much delited with the ceremonies of Moses, why do they not hastily take oxen, calues, and lābes to make sacrifices? They haue in deede a good part of the olde tabernacle and of the whole Iewish maner of worshipping: but yet this wanteth in their religion, that they do not sacrifice calues and oxen. Who can not see, that this obseruatiō of anointing is much more hurtfull than Circumcision, specially when there is adioined superstition and Pharisaicall opinion of the worthinesse of the worke? For the Iewes did set in Circumcision, trust of righteousness: these men do set in anointing, spirituall graces. Therefore while they couet to be counterfaiers of the Leuites, they are made Apostataes from Christ, and do put themselves from the office of Pastors.

31 This is (if God wil) the holy oile that printeth the marke that can not be raced out. As though oile could not be wiped away with dust and salt, or if it sticke faster, with sope. But this marke is spirituall. What hath oile to do with the soule? Haue they forgottē that which they oft chaunt to vs our of Augustine, that if the word be taken from the water, it shalbe nothing but water, and that it hath this from the word that it is a Sacrament? What word will they shewe in their fat liquor? Will they shewe the commaundement the was geuen to
 Exo. 30 Moses, concerning the anointing of the sonnes of Aaron? But there
 30. is also commaudemēt geuen, of the coate, the ephod, the hatt, the crowne of holinesse, with which Aaron was to be garnished, and of the coates, girdles, and miters, wherewith the sonnes of Aaron were to be clothed. There is commaundement geuen to kill a calfe, and burne the fat of him for incense, to cut rammes and burne them, to sanctifie their eares and garments with the blood of an other ramme, and innumerable other obseruations, which being passed ouer, I maruell why the onely anointing of oile pleaseth them. But if they loue to be sprinkled, why are they rather sprinkled with oile than with blood? Forsoth they go about a witty thing, to make one religion of Christianitie, Iewishnesse, and Paganisme, as it were of patches sowed together. Therefore their anointing stinketh which is without the salt, that is, the word of God. There remaineth laying on of handes, which as I graunt in true and lawfull Orderings to be a Sacrament, so I deny that it hath any part in this play, where they neither obey the commaundement of Christ, nor haue respect to the
 ende

ende whereunto the promise ought to leade vs. If they will not haue the signe denied them, they must apply it to the thing it selfe, whereunto it is appointed.

32 About the order also of Deaconrie I would not strue with them, if that same ministerie which was in the Apostles time and in the purer Church were restored to the vncorrupted state thereof. But what like thing haue they whom those men taine to be deacons? I speake not of the men (least they should cōplaine that the doctrine is wrongfully weyed by the faultes of the menne) but I affirme that for those whom they deliuer vs by their doctrine, they vnworthily fetch testimonie from the example of them whom the Apostolike Church ordeined Deacons. They say that it pertaineth to their deacons to stand by the priests, to minister in all things that are done in the Sacraments, namely in Baptisme, in the chresme, in the patine, in the chalice: to bring in the offrings and lay them vpon the altar, to make ready the Lordes table, and to couer it: to carry the Crosse, to pronounce and sing the Gospell and Epistle to the people. Is here any one word of the true ministerie of Deacons? Nowe let vs heare the instituting of them. Vppō the Deacon that is ordered, the Bishop alone layeth his hande. He layeth a prayer booke and a Stoale vpon his lefte shoulder, that he may vnderstande that he hath receiued the light yoke of the Lorde, whereby he may subdue to the feare of God those thinges that pertaine to the left side. He geueth him the texte of the Gospell, that he may perceiue himselfe to be a publishe of it. And what belong these things to Deacons? They do euen like as if a man would say that he ordeined them Apostles whom he appointed onely to burne frankincense, to trimme the Images, to sweepe the Churches, to catche mise, to driue away dogs. Who could suffer such kinde of men to be called Apostles, and to be compared with the very Apostles of Christ? Therefore let them not hereafter liengly say that those be Deacons, whom they institute onely for their enterludelike playes. Yea & by the very name it selfe they sufficiently declare what maner of office they haue. For they call them Leuites, and will haue their order and beginninge referred to the children of Leui. Which I geue them leaue to do, so that they do not afterward garnish them with the fethers of other.

33 Of Subdeacons to what purpose is it to speake? For whereas in deede they were in olde time appointed for care of the poore, they assigne to them I wote not what trifling businesse, as to bring the chalice and the patine, the litle cruet with water, and the towel to the altar, to powre water to washe handes, &c. Nowe wheras they speake

of receiuing and bringing in of offerings, they meane those which they deuoure as abandoned to their holy vse. With this office very well agreeth the forme of their consecrating. That he receiue of the Bishop, the patine and the chalice: of the Archdeacon, the cruet with water, the manuale, and such other baggage. Within these trifles they require to haue vs confesse that the holy Ghost is enclosed. What godly man can abide to graunt this? But, to make ones an ende, we may determine the same of them that we do of the rest. Neither neede we to repete further those things that are aboue declared. This may be enough to teach the sober and willing to learne (whom I haue taken in hand to instruct) that there is no Sacrament of God but where is shewed a Ceremonie ioined with a promise: or rather verily but where is a promise sene in a Ceremonie. Here is not found one syllable of any certain promise: therefore it were in vaine to seke a Ceremonie to confirme the promise. Againe of those Ceremonies that they vse, it is not red that any one is institute of God. Therefore here can be no Sacrament.

Of Matrimonie.

34 The last is Matrimonie, which as all men confesse to be ordeined of God, so no man vnill the time of Gregorie euer sawe that it was geuen for a Sacrament. And what sober man would euer haue thought it? It is a good and a holy ordinance of God: so tillage, carpentrie, shoemakers craft, barbers craft, are lawfull ordinances of God, and yet they are no Sacraments. For there is not onely this required in a Sacrament, that it be the worke of God, but that it be an outward Ceremonie appointed of God to confirme a promise. That there is no such thing in Matrimonie, very children also can iudge. But (say they) it is a Signe of a holy thing, that is, of the spirituall conioining of Christ with the Church. If by this word Signe, they vnderstande a Token set before vs of God, to this ende to raise vp the assurednesse of our faith, they are farre beside the truth. If they simply take a Signe for that which is brought to expresse a similitude, I will shewe howe wittily they reason. Paule saith, As one starre differeth from an other starre in brightnesse, so shalbe the resurrection of the dead. Lo here is one Sacrament. Christ saith, The kingdome of heaven is like to a grain of mustardsede. Lo here is an other. Againe, The kingdome of heauen is like vnto leauen. Lo here is the third. Esay saith, Behold, the Lord shall feede his flocke as a shepherd. Lo here is the fowerth. In an other place, The Lorde shall go forth as a Giant. Lo here is the fiftth. Finally what ende or measure shall there be? There is nothing but by this meane it shall be a Sacrament.

Howe

1. Cor.

15. 42.

Mat 13.

31. and

23.

Esa. 40.

11.

Esa. 42.

23.

1. Thes.

5. 2.

10. 15. 1.

Joh. 10.

11.

Howe many parables and similitudes are in the Scripture, so many Sacraments there shalbe. Yea and theft shalbe a Sacrament, because it is written, the day of the Lord is like a thefe. Who can abide these sophisters prating so foolishly? I graunt in deede that so oft as we see a vine, it is very good to call to remembráce that which Christ saith, I am a vine, ye be branches, my Father is the vinedresser. So oft as a shepherde with his flocke cometh toward vs, it is good also that this come to our minde, I am a good shepherd, my shepe heare my voice. But if any man adde such similitudes to the number of Sacramentes, he is mete to be sent to Antycira.

Anty-
cira,
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Velle
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tio for
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heades.
Ephe 5.
29.

35 But they still lay fourth the wordes of Paule, in which he geueth to Matrimonie the name of a Sacrament: he that loueth his wife, loueth himselfe. No man euer hated his owne flesh, but nourisheth it and cheriseth it, euen as Christ doth the Church: because we are members of his body, of his fleshe and of his bones. For this a man shall leaue his Father and mother, and shall cleaue to his wife, and they shalbe two into one fleshe. This is a great Sacrament: but I say in Christ and the Church. But so to handle the Scriptures, is to mingle heauen and earth together. Paule, to shewe to married men, what singular loue they ought to beare to their wiues, setteth fourth Christ to them for an example. For as he poured fourth the bowels of his kindenesse vpon the Church which he had espoused to himselfe: so ought euery man to be affectioned toward his owne wife. It followeth after, He that loueth his wife, loueth himselfe: as Christ loued the Church. Nowe, to teache howe Christ loued the Church as himselfe, yea howe he made himselfe one with his spouse the Church, he applieth to him those things which Moses reporteth that Adam spake of himselfe. For when Eue was brought into his sight, whom he knewe to haue bene shapen out of his side: This woman (saith he) is a bone of my bones, and fleshe of my fleshe. Paule testifieth that all this was spirituallly fulfilled in Christ and vs, when he sayeth that we are membres of his body, of his fleshe, and of his bones, yea and one fleshe with him. At length he addeth a cōcluding Sentēce, This is a great mistery. And least any man should be deceiued with the double signifying of the wordes, he expresseth that he speaketh not of the fleshely coniointing of man and woman, but of the spirituall mariage of Christ and the Church. And truely it is in deede a great misterie, that Christ suffred a ribbe to be takē from himselfe, whereof we might be shapen: that is to say, when he was strōg, he willed to be weake, that we might be strengthened with his strength: that nowe we may not our selues liue, but he may liue in vs.

Gen. 2.
23.

Galat.
2. 20.

36 The name of Sacrament deceiued them. But was it rightfull that the whole Church should suffer the punishment of their ignorance? Paule said *Misterie*: which word when the translater might haue leste being not vnused with Latin eares, or might haue translated it a *Secret*: he chose rather to put in the word *Sacrament*, yet in no other sense than Paul had in Greke called it *Misterie*. Now let them go and with crying out raile against the skill of tongues, by ignorance whereof they haue so long most fowly bene blinde in an easy matter, and such as offreth it selfe to be perceiued of euery man. But why do they in this one place so earnestly sticke vpon this litle word *Sacrament*, and some other times do passe it ouer vnregarded? For

1. Tim. also in the first Epistle to Timothee the Translater hath vsed it, and
 3. 9. in the selfe same Epistle to the Ephesians: in euery place for *Misterie*.
 Ephe. 1. But let this slipping be pardoned them: at least the liers ought to
 9. haue had a good remembrance. For, when they haue ones set out
 Libr. 4. Matrimonie with title of a Sacrament, afterward to call it vnclean-
 Senten. nesse, defiling, and fleshly filthinesse, howe giddy lightnesse is this?
 Dist. 7
 Cap. 4. Howe great an absurditie is it to debarre priests from a Sacrament?
 & in
 Dec. 27 If they deny that they debarre them from the Sacrament, but from
 quest. 2. the lust of copulation: they escape not so away from me. For they
 cap. Cū teache that the copulation it selfe is a part of the Sacrament, and
 Socrat. that by it alone is figured the vnitng that we haue with Christ in con-
 glos. ca. formitie of nature: because man and woman are not made one but
 lex diu. by carnall copulation. Howbeit some of them haue here founde
 Ibid. two Sacraments: the one of God and the soule, in the betrouthed
 Decre. man and woman: the other of Christ and the Church, in the husbād
 Libr. 4. and the wife. Howsoeuer it be, yet copulation is a Sacrament, from
 Sen. dif. which it was vnlawfull that any Christian should be debarred: Vn-
 33. cap. lesse peraduenture the Sacraments of Christians do so ill agree, that
 2. & in they can not stand together. There is also an other absurditie in their
 decr. 32 doctrines. They affirme that in the Sacrament is geuen the grace
 quest. 2 of the holy Ghost: they teache that copulation is a Sacrament: and
 c. Quic they denie that at copulation the holy Ghost is at any time present.

37 And, because they would not simply mocke the Church, howe long a roawe of errors, lies, deceites, and wickednesses haue they knitte to one error? so that a man may say, that they did nothing but seke a denne of abominations, when they made of matrimonie a Sacrament. For when they ones obtained this, they drew to themselues the hering of causes of matrimony: for it was a spirituall matter, which profane iudges might not medle with. Then they made lawes, whereby they stablished their tyrannie, but those
 partly

partly manifestly wicked against God, and partly most vniust toward men. As are these: That mariages made betweene yong persones without consent of their parentes, shoulde remaine of force and stablished. That the mariages be not lawfull betweene kinsfolkes to the seuenth degree: and if any such be made, that they be diuorced. And the very degrees they faine against the lawes of all nations, and against the ciuile government of Moses. That it be not lawfull for a manne that hath put away an adulteresse, to mary an other. That spirituall kinsfolkes may not bee coupled in mariage. That there be no mariages celebrate, from Septuagesime to the vtas of Easter, in three weekes before Midsummer, nor from Aduent to Twelfside. And innumerable other like, which it were long to reherse. At length we must crepe out of their mire, wherein our talke hath nowe taried longer than I would. Yet I thinke I haue somewhat profited, that I haue partly plucked the lions skinnies from these asles.

Deute.
18.6.

The xx. Chapter.

Of ciuile Gouvernement.

NOwe whereas we haue aboue set two kindes of gouernement in man: and whereas we haue spoken enough of the one kinde which consisteth in the soule or in the inward man, and hath respect to eternall life: this place requireth that we speake sonwhat also of the other, which pertaineth onely to the ciuile and outward righteousnesse of maners. For the course of this matter seemeth to be seuered from the spirituall doctrine of faith, which I toke in hande to entreate of: yet the proceeding shall shewe that I do rightfully ioine them together, yea that I am of necessity compelled to do it: specially liti on the one side, mad and barbarous men do furiously go about to overthrowe this order stablished by God: and on the other side the flatterers of princes, aduancing their power without measure, sticke not to set it against the empire of God himsefe. Vnlesse both these mischeues be met withal, the purenesse of faith shall be lost. Beside that it is not smally for our behofe, to knowe howe louingly God hath in this behalfe provided for mankinde, that there may florisse in vs a greater desire of godlinesse to witnesse ourthankfulnesse, first, ere we enter into the thing it selfe, we must holde fast that distinction which we haue aboue set, least (as it commonly happeneth to many) we vnwisely mingle these two things together, which haue altogether diuerse consideration. For

whē they heare that liberty is promised by y^e Gospel, which acknowledgeth amonge men no king and no magistrate, but hath regarde to Christ alone: they thinke that they can take no fruit of their libertie, so long as they see any power to haue preeminēce ouer them. Therefore they thinke that nothing shalbe safe, vnlesse the whole world be reformed into a newe fashion: where may neither be iudgements, nor lawes, nor magistrats, nor any such thing which they thinke to withstande their libertie. But whosoever can put differēce betwene the body and the soule, betwene this present and transitorie life, and that life to come and eternall: he shall not hardly vnderstande that the spirituall kingdome of Christ, and the ciuile gouernement are thinges far a sonder. Sith therefore that is a Iewish vanitie, to seke & enclose the kingdome of Christ vnder the elements of this world: let vs rather thinking, as the Scripture plainly teacheth, that it is a spirituall fruit, which is gathered of the benefite of Christ, remember to kepe within the boundes thereof this whole libertie which is promised & offred vs in him. For, what is the cause why the same Apostle

Gal. 5.1
1. Cor. 7.21
Gala. 3.28.
Colo. 3.11.

which biddeth vs to stande, and not to be made subiecte to the yoke of bondage, in an other place forbiddeth bond seruantes to be carefull of their state: but because spirituall libertie may very well agree with ciuile bondage? In which sense also these his sayings are to be taken: In the kingdome of God there is no Iewe, nor Grecian, no male nor female, no bondeman nor freeman. Againe, There is no Iew nor Grecian, Circumcisiom, Vncircumcisiō, Barbarian, Scythian, Bondman, Freman: but Christ is all in all. Whereby he signifieth, that it maketh no matter in what estate thou be among men, nor vnder the lawes of what nation thou liuest: forasmuch as in these things consisteth not the kingdome of Christ.

2 Yet doth not this distinction tende hereunto, that we should thinke that the whole order of policie is an vncleane thing, not pertaining at all to Christiā men. So in deede do the phrentike men, that are delired with vnbridled licentiousnesse, crie out and boast. For sith we be dead by Christ to the elements of this world, & being remoued into the kingdome of God do sit among the heavenly ones: they thinke that it is vnworthy for vs, and farre beneth our excellence, to be occupied with these prophane and vncleane cares that are busied about affaires not pertaining to a Christian man. To what purpose (say they) are lawes without iudgements and iudgement seates? But what hath a Christian man to do with iudgements themselves? yea if it be not lawfull to kill, wherto serue lawes and iudgements among vs? But as we haue euen now euen warning, that this kinde of

gouern-

gouernment is seuerall from that spirituall and inward kingdome of Christ: so it is also to be knowen that they nothing disagree together. For the Ciuile gouernment doth now beginne in vs vpon earth certaine beginnings of the heauenly kingdom, and in this mortall and vanishing life, doth as it were entre vpon an immortall and incorruptible blessednesse: but the entent of this spirituall gouernment is, so long as we shall liue amonge men, to cherish and maintaine the outward worshipping of God, to defend the sound doctrine of godlines and the state of the Church, to frame our life to the fellowship of mē, to fashio our maners to ciuil righteousnes, to procure vs into frendship one with an other, to nourishe common peace and quietnes: all which I graunt to be superfluous, if the kingdom of God, such as it is now among vs, do destroy this present life. But if the will of God be so, that we while we longe toward the heauenly countrey, should be wayfaringe from home vpon the earth: & sith the vse of such wayfaringe nedeth such helpes: they which take them from man, do take from him his very nature of man. For whereas they alleage that there is so great perfection in the Church of God, that her owne moderate gouernment suffiseth it for a law: they theselues do foolishly imagine that perfection which can neuer be found in the common fellowship of men. For sith of naughty men the pride is so great, & the wickednes so obstinate, as cā not be restrained with great sharpnes of lawes: what thinke we that they will do, if they see vnpunished liberty lye open to their lewdnes, which can not euen with force be sufficiently compelled not to do euill?

3 But of the order of policy, there shalbe an other fitter place to entreate. Now our meaning is to haue this onely vnderstanded, that to thinke to driue it away, is outrageous barbarousnesse, the vse whereof is no lesse amonge men, than of bread, water, the sunne, & aire, but the dignity much more excellent. For it tendeth not only hereunto (which is the onely commodity of all those thinges) that men may breath, eate, drinke & be cherished (although in dede it comprehendeth all these thinges, while it maketh that they liue together) yet I say, it tendeth not hereunto only: but also y idolatry, sacrileges against the name of God, blasphemies against his truth, and other offences of religion may not rise vp and be scattered amonge the people, that common quiet be not troubled, that euery man may keepe his owne safe and vnappaired, that men may vse their affaires together without hurt, that honesty and modesty be kept among them: finally that amonge Christians may be a common shew of religion, and amonge men may be manlike ciuility. Neither let any mā be moued, for that

I do now referre the care of stablishinge of religion to the policy of men, which I seme before to haue set without the iudgement of mé. For I do no more here, than I did before, giue men leaue after their owne will to make lawes concerning religion and the worshippinge of God, when I allowe the ordinance of pollicy, which endeuoreth hereunto, that y^e true religion which is contained in the law of God, be not openly and with publike sacrileges freely broken and defiled. But the readers beinge holpen by the very plainnesse of order, shall better vnderstande what is to be thought of the whole kinde of ciuile gouernment, if we seuerally entreat of the partes thereof. There be three parts of it: the magistrate, which is the gouernour and keper of the lawes, y^e lawes according to which he gouerneth y^e people, which are gouerned by the lawes, & obey y^e magistrate. Therefore let vs first consider of the office of the Magistrate, whether it be a lawfull vocation & allowed of God, what maner of office he hath, & how great is his power: then with what lawes a Christian ciuile state is to be ordered: then last of all, what profite of the lawes commeth to the people, what reuerence is due to the Magistrate.

4 The Lorde hath not only testified that the office of magistrates is allowed & acceptable to him, but also setting out the dignity thereof with most honorable titles, he hath maruelously commended it vnto vs. That I may rehearse a fewe of them. Whereas whosoever be in place of magistrates are named gods, let no mā thinke that in that naminge is small importance: For thereby is signified that they haue commaundemēt from God, that they are furnished with the authority of God, & do altogether beare the person of God, whose steede they do after a certaine maner supply. This is not my cauillation, but the exposition of Christ. If the Scripture (saith he) called them gods to whom the word of God was giuen: What is this else, but that God hath committed his businesse to them, that they shoulde serue in his office, & (as Moses and Iosaphat said to their iudges whom they appointed in euery seuerall city of Iuda) that they should sit in iudgement, not for mā but for God? To the same purpose maketh this that the wisdom of God affirmeth by the mouth of Salomon, that it is his worke, that kinges reigne, and counsellors decree righteous thinges, that Princes beare principality, and al the iudges of the earth execute iudgement. For this is all one in effect as if it had bin sayd, that it cometh not to passe by the peruersenesse of men, that the gouernment of al things in earth is in the hād of kinges & other Rulers, but by the prouidence and holy ordinance of God, to whom it so seemed good to order the matters of menne: forasmuch as he is both present and

Exo. 21

8.

Psa. 82.

1. & 6.

Ioh. 10.

35.

Deut. 1.

16.

1. Chro.

19. 6.

Prou. 8.

15.

president among them in making of lawes and in executing vprightnesse of iudgements. Which Paul also plainely teacheth, when he reckoneth Gouvernmentes among the giftes of God, which being diuersly distributed accordinge to the diuerſity of grace, ought to be employed of the ſeruants of Chriſt to the edification of the Church. For although he there properly ſpeaketh of a counsell of graue men, which in the Primitiue Church were appointed that they ſhoulde haue the rule of orderinge the publike diſcipline (which office in the Epistle to the Corinthians he calleth Gouvernmêt) yet forasmuch as we ſee that the ende of ciuile power commeth to the ſame point, it is no doubt but that he commendeth vnto vs all kinde of iuſt Gouvernment. But he ſpeaketh more plainely, where he purpoſely maketh a full diſcourſe of that matter. For he both ſheweth that Power is y ordinance of God, and that there are no powers, but they are ordained of God: and that the Princes themſelues are the miniſters of God, to the wel doers vnto praife: to y euil, reuengers vnto wrath. Hereunto may be added alſo the examples of holy menne: of which ſome haue poſſeſſed kingdomes, as Dauid, Ioſias, Ezechias: other ſome, Lordſhips, as Ioſeph and Daniell: other ſome, Ciuile gouernmentes in a free people, as Moſes, Ioſue, and the Iudges: whoſe offices the Lorde hath declared that he alloweth. Wherefore none ought now to doubt that the ciuile power is a vocation not only holy and lawfull before God, but alſo the moſt holy, and the moſt honeſt of all other in the whole life of men.

5 They which couet to bring in a ſtate without Rulers, take exception and ſay that although in old time there were kings & Iudges ouer the rude people, yet at this day that ſeruile kinde of gouerninge agreeth not with the perfection which Chriſt hath brought with his Goſpell. Wherein they bewray not onely their ignorance, but alſo their deuiliſh pride, while they take vppon themſelues perfection, of which not ſo much as the hundreth part is ſeene in them. But what maner of men ſocuer they be, it is eaſie to confute it: becauſe where Dauid exhorteſh all kinges and Rulers to kiſſe the ſonne of God, he doth not bid them, giuinge ouer their authority, to ſtake themſelues to a private life, but to ſubmit the power that they beare to Chriſt, that he alone may haue preeminence aboue all. Likewiſe Eſay, when he promiſeth y kinges ſhalbe foſterfathers of the Church, & Quenes ſhalbe nouriſhes, he doth not depoſe them from their honor: but rather doth by an honorable title make them defenders to the godly worſhippers of God: For, that prophecy pertaineth to the comming of Chriſt. I do wittingely paſſe ouer many teſtimonies which do eche

Rom. 12. 8.

1. Cor. 12. 28.

Ro. 13. 3.

Pr. 3. 12.

Eſa. 49. 23.

where offer themselues, & specially in the Psalmes wherein all gouernours haue their right maintained. But most cleare of all is the place of Paul, where admonishing Timothee that in the common assembly prayers must be made for kings, he by and by addeth a reason,

1. Tim. 2.
9.

That we may vnder them lead a quiet life with all godlines & honesty: in which wordes he committeth the state of the Church to their defense and saueguarding.

6 Which consideration ought continually to busie the magistrates themselues, forasmuch as it may put a great spurre to them whereby they may be pricked forward to their duety, and bring them a singular comfort whereby they may mitigate the hardnes of their office, which truely are both many and great. For with howe great an endeouour of vprightnesse, wisdom, mildnesse, continence, and innocency, ought they to charge themselues, which know themselues to be appointed ministers of the righteousness of God? By what affiance shall they admit vniustice to their iudgement seate, which they heare to be the throne of the liuinge God? By what boldenesse shall they pronounce a wrongful sentence with that mouth, which they vnderstand to be appointed an instrumēt for the truth of God? With what conscience shall they subscribe to wicked decrees with the hande, which they knowe to be ordained to wryte the actes of God? In a summe, if they remember that they be the vicegerentes of God, they must watch with all care, earnestnesse, and diligence, that they may represent in themselues vnto men a certaine image of the prouidēce, preservation, goodnesse, good will, and righteousness of God. And they must continually set this before their eies, that if all they be accursed, that do execute in deceite the worke of the vengeance of God, they are much more greuously accursed, that vse themselues deceitfully in a rightfull vocation. Therefore when Moses & Iosaphat minded to exhort their iudges to their duty, they had nothing more effectually to moue their mindes withall, than that which we haue before rehearsed, Looke what ye do. For ye sit in iudgement not for man but for God: namely he which is neere to you in the cause of iudgement. Now therefore let the feare of the Lorde be vpon you. Looke & be diligent: because there is no peruersenes with y^e Lord our God. And in an other place it is said, y^e God stode in y^e assembly of the gods, & sitteth iudge in the middest of the gods, that they may be encouraged to their duety when they heare y^e they be the deputies of God, to whome they must one day yeelde accompt of the gouernment of their charge. And worthily this admonitiō ought to be of great force with them. For if they make any default, they are not onely wronge doers

Iere. 48
21.

Deut. 1.

16.

2. Chro.

19. 6.

Pf. 82. 1

Esay. 3.

14.

does to men whom they wickedly vex, but also sclaūderers to God himselfe, whose holy iudgements they defile. Againe they haue also whereupon they may singularly comfort themselues, when they cōsider with themselues that they are not busied in prophane affaires & such as are not fitte for the seruant of God, but in a most holy office, namely forasmuch as they are the deputies of God.

7 As for them that are not moued with so many testimonies of Scripture from being bolde to raile at this holy ministry, as a thinge disagreeing with Christian religion and godlinesse: what do they else but raile at God himselfe, the dishonor of whom can not but be ioined with the reproche of his minister? And verily they do not refuse the magistrates, but do cast away God, that he shoulde not reigne ouer them. For if the Lord sayd this truely of the people of Israel, because they had refused the gouernment of Samuel: why shal it be lesse truely sayd at this day of them that giue themselues leaue to rage against all gouernmentes ordained of God? But sith the Lord sayd to the disciples, that the kings of nations beare rule ouer them, but that amonge them it is not so, where he that is the first must be made the least: by this sayinge it is forbidden to all Christians that they shoulde not take kingdomes or gouernmentes vpon them. O handsome expositors. There rose a strife among the disciples, which of them excelled other: the Lord, to suppress this vaine ambition, taught them that their ministry is not like vnto kingdomes, in which one manne hath preeminence aboue the rest. I beseeche you, what doth this comparison make to y^e dishonor of kingly dignity? yea what doth it proue at all, but that the ministry of an Apostle is not the office of a king? Moreouer although among the magistrats themselues there be diuerse formes, yet there is no difference in this behalfe, but y^e we ought to take them all for the ordinances of God. For Paul also doth comprehend them altogether, when he sayth that there is no power but 1. of God: and that which best liked him of all, is commended with notable testimony aboue the other, namely the power of one: which because it bringeth with it a common bondage of all, (except that one man, to whose will it maketh all thinges subiect) in olde time coulde lesse be allowed of noble and the excellent sorte of natures. But the Scripture, to meete with their vniust iudgements, expressly by name 15. affirmeth, that it is the prouidence of Gods wisdome that kinges do 1. Pct. 2. reigne, and peculiarly commaundeth the king to be honored. 17.

8 And truely it were very vaine that it shoulde be disputed of priuate men, which shoulde be the best state of policy in the place where they liue: for whome it is not lawfull to consult of the framing of any

common weale. And also the same could not be simply determined without rashnes, forasmuch as a great parte of the order of this question consisteth in circumstances. And if thou compare also the states themselues together without circumstances, it shall not be easie to discern which of them ouerweieth the other in profitablenesse, they match so egally together. There is an easie way to fall from kingdom into tyranny : but not much harder is it to fall from the rule of the chiefest men to the faction of a fewe : but most easie of all, from the peoples gouernment, to sedition. Truly, if those three formes of gouernmentes which the Philosophers set out, be considered in themselves, I will not deny that either the gouernmēt of the chiefest mē, or a state tempered of it and common gouernment far excelleth all other: not of it selfe, but because it most seldom chaunceth that kings so temper themselues, that their wil neuer swarueth from that which is iust and right, againe, that they be furnished with so great sharpnesse of iudgement and wisdom, that euery one of the seeth so much as is sufficient. Therefore the fault or default of men maketh, that it is safer & more tolerable that many should haue the gouernment, that they may mutually one helpe an other, one teach and admonish an other, and if any aduance himselte hier than is mete, there may be ouerseers and maisters to restraine his wilfulnesse. This both hath alway bin approued by experience, and the Lord also hath confirmed it with his authority, whē he ordained among the Israelites a gouernment of the best men very neere vnto common gouernment, at such time as he minded to haue them in best estate, till he brought forth an image of Christ in Dauid. And as I willingly graunt that no kinde of gouernment is more blessed than this, where liberty is framed to such moderation as it ought to be, and is orderly stablished to continuāce: so I compt them also most blessed, that may enioy this estate: & if they stoutly and constantly trauaill in preserving and retaininge it, I graunt that they do nothing against their duty. Yea & the magistrates ought with most great diligence to bend themselues hereunto, that they suffer not the liberty of the people, of which they are appointed gouernours, to be in any part minished, much lesse to be dissolved: if they be negligent & litle careful therein, they are false Faith-breakers in their office, & betrayers of their contree. But if they would bring this kinde to themselues, to whom the Lord hath appointed an other forme of gouernment, so that thereby they be moued to desire a change, the very thinking thereof shall not only be foolish & superfluous, but also hurtfull. But if thou bende not thine eies only to one city, but looke about or behold the whole world together, or at least

spread abroade thy sight into farther distances of countreies, without doubt thou shalt finde that this is not vnprofitably appointed by the prouidence of God, that diuerse countreies should be ruled by diuerse kindes of gouernment. For as the elementes hange together but by an vnegall temperature, so countreies, also are with their certaine inequality very well kept in order. Howbeit all these things also are spoken in vaine to them whom the will of the Lord shall satisfie. For if it be his pleasure, to set kinges ouer kingdomes, Senates or officers ouer free cities, whomsoever he maketh rulers in the places where we are conuersant, it is our duety to shew our selues yelding & obedient vnto them.

9 Now y office of Magistrats is in this place to be declared by the way, of what sort it is described by y word of God, & in what thinges it consisteth. If the Scripture did not teach, that it extendeth to both the tables of the law, we might learne it out of the prophane writers. For none hath entreated of the duety of magistrates, of makinge of lawes & of the publike weale, that hath not begon at religion and the worshipping of God. And so haue they all cōfessed, that no policy can be happily framed, vnlesse the first care be of godlines: and that those lawes be preposterous which neglecting the right of God, do prouide only for men. Sith therfore with all the Philosophers religiō hath the first place, and sith the same hath alway bin obserued by the vniuersall consent of al nations, Let Christiā Princes & magistrates be ashamed of their slothfulnes, if they endeuer not themselues to this care. And we haue already shewed, that this duety is specially enioyned them of God: as it is mete, that they should employ their trauail to defende & maintaine his honor, whose vicegerentes they be, & by whose benefite they gouerne. For this cause also chiefly are the holy kings praised in Scripture, for that they restored the worship of God being corrupted or ouerthrowen, or tooke care of religiō, that it might flourish pure and safe vnder them. But contrariwise the holy historie reckoneth states without gouernours, amonge faults, saying that there was Iud. 21.
35.
 no king in Israell, and that therfore euery man did what pleased himselfe. Whereby their follie is confuted, which would haue them, neglecting the care of God, only to apply themselues to be iudges of law amonge men. As though God appointed gouernours in his name to decise cōtrouersies, & omitted that which was of much weightier importāce, that he himselfe should be worshipped according to the prescribed rule of his law. But a desire to innouate all things without punishment, moueth troublesome men to this point, that they wishe all reuengers of the breach of peace to be takē away. As for so much as

Jer. 22. 3. pertainerth to the second table, Jeremy warneth kinges, to do iudgement and righteousnesse, to deliuer the forceably oppressed from the hande of the false accuser, not to greue the straunger and widowe, not to do wrong, and not to shed innocent blood. To the same purpose maketh the exhortation which is read in the 82. Psalm, that they should render right to the poore and needy, acquite the poore and needy, deliuer the poore and needy from the hande of the oppressor. And Moses giueth charge to the Princes whom he had sette in his stede: let them heare the cause of their brethren, and iudge betwene a man and his brother and a straunger, and not know faces in iudgement, let them heare as well the litle as the great, and be not afraid of any man: because it is the iudgement of God. But I speake not of these thinges: that kinges should not get to themselves multitudes of horses, nor cast their mindes to couetousnesse, not be lifted vp about their brethren: that they may be continually busied in studying vpon the law of the Lord all the dayes of their life: that Iudges swaue not to the one side, nor receiue giftes: because in declaringe here the office of magistrates, my purpose is not so much to instruct the magistrates themselves, as to teach other what Magistrates be, & to what ende they are set of God. We see therefore that they be ordained defenders and reuengers of innocence, modesty, honesty, and quietnesse, whose only endeour shoulde be to provide for the common safety and peace of all men. Of which vertues Dauid professeth that he will be an examplar, when he shalbe aduanced to the royall seate: that is, that he will not consent to any euill doinges, but abhorre wicked men, sclaunders, and proude men, and get to himselfe from echewhere honest and faithfull men. But sith they can not performe this, vnlesse they defende good men from the wronges of the euill, let them helpe the good with succour and defense, let them also be armed with power wherby they may seuerely suppress open euil doers and wicked men by whose lewdnesse the common quiete is troubled or vexed. For we thoroughly finde this by experience which Solon said, that common weales consist of reward and punishment, & that when those be taken away, the whole discipline of cities faileth & is dissolved, For the care of equity and iustice waxeth colde in the mindes of many, vnlesse there be due honor ready for vertue: neither can the wilfulnesse of wicked men be restrained but by seuerity and chastisement of paines. And these two partes the Prophet comprehendeth, when he biddeth kinges and other gouernours to do iudgement and righteousnesse. Righteousnes is, to take into charge of tuition, to embrace, to defende, to reuenge, to deliuer the innocent. Iudgement is,

to withstand the boldnes of wicked men, to repress their violence, to punish their offences.

10 But here, as it seemeth, doth arise a hie and hard question: If by the law of God all Christians are forbidden to kill: and the Prophet prophesieth of the holy mount of God, that is, the Church, that in it they shal not afflict nor hurt: how many magistrates be together both godly and blood shedders? But if we vnderstande, that the Magistrate in executing of punishmentes, doth nothing of himselfe, but executeth the very selfe iudgementes of God, we shall be nothinge combred with this dout. The lawe of the Lorde forbiddeth to kill: least man slaughter should be vnpunished, the law maker himselfe giueth to the ministers the swerd in their hand, which they shold draw forth against all manslayers. To afflict and to hurt, is not the doing of the godly: but this is not to hurt, nor to afflict, by the Lordes commaundemēt to reuenge the afflictions of the godly. I would to God that this were alway present before our mindes, that nothing is here done by the rashnesse of man, but all thinges by the authority of God that commaundeth, which goinge before vs, we neuer swarue out of the right way. Vnlesse perhappes there be a bridle put vpon the righteousness of God, that it may not punish wicked doings. But if it be not lawfull to appoint any law to it, why shall we cauil against the ministers of it? They beare not the swerd in vaine, saith Paule: for they be the ministers of God to wrath, reuengers to euil doers. Therefore if Princes and other rulers know that nothing shalbe more acceptable to God than their obedience, let them apply this ministerie, if they desire to shew their godlinesse, righteousness, & vncorruptnesse allowable to God. With this affection was Moses ledde, when knowing himself appointed by the power of the Lord to be the deliuerer of his people, he laid his hāds vpon the Ægyptiā. Againe, when by slaying of three thousand men in one day, he tooke vengeance of the sacrilege of the people. David also, when nye to the ende of his life he gaue commaundement to Salomon his sonne to slay Ioab & Semei. Whereupon he also rehearseth this amonge the vertues of a king, to slay the wicked of the lande, that all workers of wickednesse, may be driuen out of the city of God. To which purpose also pertaineth y^e praise that is giuē to Salomon, Thou hast loued righteousness and hast hated wickednesse. Howe doth that milde and gentle nature of Moses burne out into so great cruelty, that beinge sprinkled and embued with the blood of his brethren, he runneth throughout the campe to new slaughters? How doth David, a man of so great gentlenes in al his life, among his last breathings make that bloody testamēt,

Exo. 20

13.

Deut. 5

17.

Matt. 5.

21.

Esa. 11.

9.

& 45.

25.

Ro. 13.4

Exod. 2

12.

Act. 7.

28.

Exo. 32

27.

1. Kings

2.5.

that his sonne shoulde not bringe the hoare heare of Iob and Se-
mei in peace to the graue? But they both when they executed the
vengeance committed to them of God, so sanctified with cruell dea-
linge their handes which they had defiled with sparinge. It is an ab-
homination with kinges, sayth Salomon, to do iniquity, becaute his
Pro 16. throne is stablished in righteousness. Againe, The king which sit-
13. reth in the throne of iudgement, spreadeth his eyes vpon euery euill
Pro 20. man. Againe, A wise king scattereth the wicked and turneth them v-
8. pon the whele. Againe, Take away the drosse from the siluer and
Pro 10. there shall come forth a vessell to the melter: take away the wicked
26. man from the sight of the king, and his throne shalbe fast set in righ-
Pro 25. teousnesse. Againe, He that iustifieth the wicked, and he that con-
4. demneth the righteous, both are abomination to the Lord. Againe,
Pro 17. A rebellious man purchaseth euill to himselfe, and a cruel messenger
15. is sent vnto him. Againe, who so saith to the wicked man, thou art
Pro 17. righteous, him peoples and nations do curse. Now if their true righ-
11. teousnesse be, with drawen sword to pursue guilty and wicked men:
Pro 14. let them put vp their sword, and holde their hands pure from blood,
24. while in the meane time desperate menne do range with murders
and slaughters: then they shall make themselues guilty of most great
wickednesse, so much lesse shall they gette thereby the praise of
goodnesse and righteousness. Only let there be no precise and cruel
rigorousnesse, and that iudgement seate which may worthily be cal-
led the rocke of accused men. For I am not he that either fauour ex-
treme crueltie, or do thinke that righteous iudgement can be pro-
nounced, but while clemency the best & surest counsellor of kinges, as
Salomon affirmeth, the preseruer of the kinges throne is assitent,
which a certaine man in olde time truely said to be the principal gift
of Princes. Yet a magistrate must take hede to both, that he do nei-
ther with rigorousnesse of minde wound rather than heale, or by su-
perstitious affectation of clemency fall into a most cruell gentlenes,
if with soft and loose tendernes he be dissolute to the destruction of
many mē. For this was in old time not without cause cōmonly spokē
vnder y empire of Nerua, that it is in dede euill to liue vnder a prince
vnder whom nothing is lawfull, but much worse vnder whom al things
are lawfull.

11. But sith sometime kinges and peoples must of necessity take
sword in hande to execute such publike vengeance, by this reason we
may also iudge that the warres are lawfull which are so taken in hand.
For if there be power deliuered them, whereby they may maintaine
quiet to their dominion, whereby they may keepe downe the sedi-

tious

tious stirres of vnquiet men, whereby they may help the forceably oppressed, whereby they may punish euill doinges: can they at fitter season vter it, than to suppress his rage which troubleth both priuately the rest of euery man, & the common quiet of all men, which seditiously maketh vprores, which committeth violent oppressions and haynous euill doinges? If they ought to be preseruers and defenders of the lawes, they must also ouerthrowe the enterprises of all them by whose wicked doinge the discipline of lawes is corrupted. Yea if they worthily punish those thecues whose iniuries haue extended onely to a few: shall they suffer a whole contree to be without punishment vexed and wasted with robberies? For it maketh no difference whether he be a king or one of the basest of y^e cōmonalty, that inuadeth an others contree into which he hath no right, & spoileth it like an enemy: all are alike to be taken and punished for robbers. This therefore both naturall equitie, and the rule of duetie teacheth that Princes are armed not onely to restraine priuate dueties with iudiciall punishments, but also to defend with warre the dominions committed to their charge, if at any time they be enuiclike assailed. And such warres the holy Ghost by many testimonies of Scripture declareth to be lawfull.

12 If it be obiected against me, that in the new Testament is neither witnesse nor example which teacheth that warre is a thing lawfull for Christians: first I answere, that the same rule of making warre which was in old time remaineth also at this day, & that on the contrary side there is no cause that may debarre magistrates from defending of their subiects. Secondly that an expresse declaration of these matters is not to be sought in the writings of the Apostles, where their purpose is not to frame a ciuile state, but to stablish the spirituall kingdome of Christ. Last of all I say that in them also is shewed by the way, that Christ hath by his comming chaunged nothinge in this behalfe. For if Christian doctrine (that I may speake in Augustines owne words) condemned all warres, he would rather haue said this to soldiars when they asked counsell of saluation, that they shoulde cast away their weapons, & vterly withdraw themselves from the warre. But it was said to the: strike no man, do no man wrong, let your wages suffice you. Whom he taught that their wages ought to suffice them, ¹⁴ he did verily not forbid them to be warriors. But al magistrates ought here to take great hede, that they nothing at all folow their owne desires: but rather, if they must punish, let them not be borne away with a headlong angrinesse, let them not be violently caried with hatred, let the not broile with vnappeasable rigor, yea let them (as Augustine

Aug. e.
pist 5.
ad Mar.

Luke. 3.

saith) pity common nature in him in whom they punish his private fault. Or if they must put on armour against the enemy, that is, the armed robber, let them not lightly seeke occasion thereof, nor take it beinge offered vnlesse they be driuen to it by extreme necessity. For if we ought to performe much more than that heathen man required, which would haue warre to seeme a seeking of peace: truely we ought first to attempt all thinges ere we ought to trie the matter by warre. Finally in both kindes lette them not suffer themselues to be caried with any priuate affection, but be led only with common feeling. Otherwise they do very ill abuse their power, which is giuen them, not for their own commodity, but for others benefit & ministry. Moreouer of the same rightfull rule of makinge warre hangeth the order both of garrisons, and leagues, & other ciuile fortifications. Garrisons I call those that are placed in townes to defende the borders of the contree: Leagues, which are made with Princes adioining for this couenant that if any trouble happen in their landes they may mutually help them, and ioyne their forces in common together to suppress the common enemies of mankind: Ciuile fortification, whose vse is in the art of warre.

13 This also I will last of all adde, that tributes and taxes are the lawfull reuenues of princes, which they may chiefly employ to sustain the common charges of their office: which yet they may likewise vse to their priuate royalty which is after a certaine maner cōiointed with honor of the princely state that they beare. As we see that David, Ezechias, Iosias, Iosaphat, and other holy kinges, and Ioseph also and Daniell, according to the state of the person that they did beare, were without offense of godlines sumptuous of the common charge, and we read in Ezechiell that there was a very large portion of land assigned to the kinges. Where although he paint out the spirituall kingdome of Christ, yet he fetcheth the examplar of his similitude from the lawfull kingdom of men. But yet so, that Princes againe on their behalues shoulde remember, that their treasure chambers are not so much their owne priuate cofers, as the treasures of the whole people (for so Paule testifieth) which they may not without manifest wrōg prodigally wast or spoyle: or rather that it is the very blood of the people, which not to spare, is most cruell vnnaturallnesse: and let them thinke, that their impositions, and subsidies, and other kindes of tributes, are nothing but the supportes of publike necessity, wherewith to wery the poore communaltie without cause, is tyrannicall extortion. These thinges do not encourage Princes to wastfull expense and riot, (as verily there is no neede to adde a fierbrande to their

Cicero
of due-
ties.

Eze. 48.
21.

Rom. 13
6.

their lustes that are of theselues too much already kindled) but sith it much behoueth that they should with pure conscience before God be bold; to do al y they are bold to do, least with wicked boldner they come into despising of God, they must be taught how much is lawful for them. Neither is this doctrine superfluous for priuate men, that they should not rashly & stubbornly giue themselves leaue to grudge at any expenses of Princes, although they exceede common & ciuile measure.

14 Next to the magistrate in ciuile states are lawes, the most stronge sinewes of common weales, or (as Cicero calleth them according to Plato) the soules, without which the Magistrate can not stande, as they againe without the Magistrate haue no liuely force. Therefore nothinge could be more truly said, than that the law is a dumme Magistrate, and that the Magistrate is a liuing law. But whereas I promised to speake, with what lawes a Christian ciuil state ought to be ordered, there is no cause why any mā should looke for a long discourse of the best kinde of lawes, which both should be infinite, & pertained not to this present purpose and place: yet in a few wordes, and as it were by the way, I will touche what lawes it may vse goddily before God, and be rightly gouerned by them amonge men. Which selfe thinge I had rather to haue vtterly passed ouer with silence, if I did not vnderstande that many do herein perillously erre. For there be some that deny that a common weale is well ordered, which neglecting the ciuile lawes of Moses is gouerned by the common lawes of nations. Howe dangerous and troublesome this sentence is, let o-ther menne consider, it shall be enough for me to haue shewed that it is false and foolish. That common diuision is to be kept, which diuideth the whole lawe of God published into morall, ceremoniall, and iudiciall lawes: and all the partes are to be seuerally considered, that we may knowe what of them pertayneth to vs, and what not. Neither in the meane time lette any manne be combred with this dout, that iudicialls and ceremonialls also pertayne to the morall lawes. For although the olde wryters which haue taught this diuision, were not ignorant that these two later partes hadde their vse about maners, yet because they might be changed and abrogate, the moralls remaininge safe they did not call them moralls. They called that first part peculiarly by that name, without which can not stande the true holinesse of manners, and the vnchangeable rule of liuinge rightly.

15 Therefore the Morall law (that I may first beginne thereat) sith it is contained in two chiefe pointes, of which the one commaundeth

simply to worship God with pure faith and godlinesse, & the other to embrace men with vnfaigned loue, is the true and eternall rule of righteousness, prescribed to the men of all ages & times that will be willing to frame their life to the will of God. For this is his eternal & vnchangeable will, that he himselfe should be worshipped of as all, & that we should mutually loue one another. The Ceremonial law was the schooling of the Iewes, wherewith it pleased the Lord to exercise the certaine childhoode of that people, till that time of fulnes come, wherein he would to the full manifestly shew his wisdom to the earth, & deliuer the trueth of those things which then were shadowed with figures. The iudiciall law giuen to them for an order of ciuile state, gaue certaine rules of equity & righteousness, by which they might behaue themselues harmlesly & quietly together. And as that exercise of ceremonies properly pertained in dede to the doctrine of godlinesse (namely which kept the Church of the Iewes in the worship & religion of God) yet it might be distinguished from godlinesse it selfe: so this forme of iudiciall orders (although it tended to no other ende, but how the selfe same charity might best be kept which is commaunded by the eternall law of God) yet had a certaine thinge differing from the very commaundement of louing, As therfore the Ceremonies might be abrogate, godlinesse remaining safe and vndestroyed: so these iudiciall ordinances also being takē away, the perpetual dueties & commaundementes of charity may continue. If this be true, verily there is liberty left to euery nation to make such lawes as they shall foresee to be profitable for them: which yet must be framed after y^e perpetual rule of charity, that they may in dede vary in forme, but haue the same reason. For I thinke that those barbarous & sauage lawes, as were those that gaue honor to theues, that allowed common copulations, & other both much more filthy & more against reason, are not to be taken for lawes: forasmuch as they are not only against all righteousness, but also against naturall gentlenesse and kindenesse of men.

16 This which I haue sayd shalbe playne, if in all lawes we behold these two things as we ought, the making and the equity of the law, vpon the reason wherof the making it selfe is founded & staiteth. Equity, because it is naturall, can be but one of all lawes: and therefore one law, according to the kinde of matter, ought to be the propounded ende to all lawes. As for makings of Lawes, because they haue certaine circūstances vpon which they partly hang, if so y^e they tend al together to one marke of equity, though they be diuerse it maketh no matter. Now sith it is certaine that the law of God which we call morall

moral is nothing else but a testimonie of the natural law, and of that conscience which is engrauen of God in the mindes of menne, the whole rule of this equity whereof we now speake is set forth therein. Therefore it alone also must be both the marke and rule and end of all lawes. Whatsoeuer lawes shalbe framed after that rule, directed to that marke, and limited in that ende, there is no cause why we should disallow them, howsoeuer they otherwise differ from the Iewithe law or one from an other. The lawe of God forbiddeth to steale. What peine was appointed for thefts in the ciuile state of the Iewes, is to be seene in Exodus. The most auncient lawes of other nations punished theft with recompence of double: the lawes that followed afterwarde, made difference betwene manifest theft and no manifest. Some proceeded to banishment, some to whippinge, some at last to the punishment of death. False witnessse was among the Iewes punished with recompence of egall paine, in some places onely with great shame, in some places with hanginge, in other some with the Crosse. Manslaughter al lawes vniuersally do reuenge with blood, yet with diuerse kindes of death. Against adulterers in some places were ordained seuerer paines, in some places lighter. Yet we see how with such diuersity all tende to the same ende. For with one mouth they al together pronounce punishment against all the offences which haue bin condemned by the eternall law of God, as manslaughters, thefts, adulterie, false witnessings: but in the maner of punishment they agree not. Neither is the same needefull, nor yet expedient. There is some contree, which vnlesse it shew rigor with horrible examples against manslayers, should immediatly be destroyed with murders & robberies. There is some time that requireth the sharpnesse of paines to be encreased. If there arise any trouble in a common weale, the euills that are wont to growe thereof must be amended with newe ordinances. In time of warre all humanitie woulde in the noyse of armure fall away, vnlesse there were cast into men an vnwonted feare of punishmentes. In barennesse, in pestilence, vnlesse greater seueritie be vsed, all thinges will come to ruine. Some nation is more bent to some certaine vice, vnlesse it be most sharply suppressed. How malicious and enuious shall he be against the publike profite, that shalbe offended with such diuersitie which is most fitte to holde fast the obseruinge of the lawe of God? For, that which some say, that the Lawe of God giuen by Moses is dishonored, when it beinge abrogate, newe are preferred aboue it, is most vaine. For neither are other preferred aboue it, when they are more allowed, not in simple comparison, but in respect of the estate of the times, place, and nation.

Exo. 22.
1.Deu. 19
18.

neither is that abrogate which was neuer made for vs. For the Lord gaue not that law by the hande of Moses, which should be published into al nations, and flourish euery where: but when he had receiued the nation of the Iewes into his faith, defence, & protection, he willed to be a lawemaker peculiarly to them, and like a wise lawemaker, he hadde in makinge of his lawes a certaine singular consideration of them.

17 Now remaineth that we consider that which we haue set in the last place, what profit of lawes, iudiciall orders, and magistrates, cometh to the common felowshippe of Christians. Wherewith also is coupled an other question, howe much priuate men ought to yeelde to magistrates, and howe farre their obedience ought to proceede. Many thought the office of magistrate to be superfluous amōg Christians, because forsooth they can not godhly craue their aide, namely sith they are forbidden to reuenge, to sue in the law, & to haue any controuersie. But whereas Paule contrariwise plainly testifieth, that he is the minister of God to vs for good: we thereby vnderstand, that he is so ordained of God, that we beinge defended by his hande and succours against the maliciousnes & iniuries of mischieuous mē, may liue a quiet and assured life. If he be in vaine giuen vs of the lord for defence, vnlesse it be lawfull for vs to vse such benefit: it sufficiently appeareth that he may also without vngodlinesse be called vpon and sued vnto. But here I must haue to do with two kindes of menne. For there be many men that boyle with so great rage of quarrelling at the lawe, that they neuer haue quiet with themselves vnlesse they haue strife with other. And their controuersies they exercise with deadly sharpnesse of hatred, and with mad greedines to reuenge and hurt, & do pursue them with vnappeasable stiffenesse euen to the very destruction of their aduersarie. In the meane time, that they may not be thought to do any thing but rightfully, they defend such perversenes with colour of law. But though it be graunted thee to go to law with thy brother, yet thou maist not by and by hate him, not be carried against him with furious desire to hurt him, not stubbornly to pursue him.

18 Let this therefore be said to such men, that the vse of lawes is lawfull, if a man do rightly vse it. And that the right vse both for the pleintife to sue, and for the defendant to defende, is if the defendant beinge summoned do appeare at an appointed day, and doth with such exception as he can, defende his cause without bitterness, but onely with this affection to defend that which is his owne by law: & if the pleintife being vnworthily oppressed either in his person or his goodes,

goodes, do resort to the defence of the Magistrate, make his complaints, and require that which is equitie and conscience, but farre from all gredy will to hurte or reuenge, farre from sharpnesse and hatred, farre from burning heate of contention, but rather redy to yeld of his owne and to suffer any thing, than to be caried with an enemilike minde against his aduersarie. Contrariwise when being filled with malice of minde, corrupted with enuie, kindled with wrath, breathing out reuenge, or finally so enflamed with the heate of the contention, they geue ouer any parte of charitie, the whole proceeding euen of a most iust cause can not but be wicked. For this ought to be a determined principle to all Christians, that a controuersie though it be neuer so righteous, can neuer be rightly pursued of any man, vnlesse he beare as good will and loue to his aduersarie, as if the matter which is in controuersie were already concluded and ended by composition. Some man will here peradventure say, that such moderation is so neuer vsed in going to lawe, that it should be like a miracle if any such were founde. I graunt in deede, as the maners of these times be, that there is seldome sene an example of a good contender in lawe, yet the thing it selfe being defiled with addition of no euell, ceaseth not to be good and pure. But when we heare that the help of y Magistat is a holy gift of God: we must so much the more diligently take hede, that it be not defiled by our fault.

19 As for them that precisely condemne al contendings at law, let them vnderstande that they do therewithall despise the holy ordinance of God, and a giste of that kinde of giftes which may be cleane to the cleane: vnlesse peradventure they will accuse Paule of wicked doing, which did both put away from himselfe the scanders of his accusers with declaring also their deceite and maliciousnesse, and in iudgemēt claimed for himselfe the prerogatiue of the citie of Rome, and when neede was he appelled from an vnrighteous gouernor to the Emperors iudgemēt seate. Neither withstandeth it, that all Christians are forbidden to desire reuange, which we also do driue farre away from Christian iudgemēt seates. For, if the contention be about a common case, he goeth not the right way that doth not with innocent simplicitie, commit his cause to the iudge as to a common defender, thinking nothing lesse than to render mutuall recompence of euill, which is the affection of reuenge: or if any matter of life and death, or any greate criminall action be commenced, we require that the accuser be such a one, as commeth into the court being taken with no boiling heate of reuenge, and touched with no displeasure of priuate iniurie, but onely haing in minde to withstande the enter-

Act. 23.
1. & 24.
12. and
25. 10.

Numb.
19. 18.
Matt. 5.
39.
Deu. 32
35.
Rom. 12
19.

prises of a mischeuous manne, that they may not hurt the common weale. But if thou take away a reuenging minde, there is no offence done against that commaundement whereby reuenge is forbidden to Christians. But they are not onely forbidden to desire reuenge, but they are also commaunded to wait for the hande of the Lorde, which promiseth that he will be a present reuenger for the oppressed and afflicted: but they do preuent all reuenge of the heauenly defendor, which require helpe at the Magistrats hande either for themselves or other. Not so. For we must thinke that the Magistrats reuenge is

Rom. 13
4 not the reuenge of man but of God, which (as Paule saith) he extendeth and exerciseth by the ministerie of man for our good.

Matt. 5.
39. 20 And no more do we disagree with the wordes of Christ, by which he forbiddeth to resist euell, and commaundeth to turne the righte cheke to him that hath geuen a blowe on the left, and to suffer him to take away thy cloke that taketh away thy coate. He willet in deede there that the mindes of his should so much abhorre from desire of recompensing like for like, that they should soner suffer double iniurie to be done to themselves, than desire to reacquite it: from which patience neither do we also leade them away. For Christians truly ought to be a kinde of men made to beare reproches and iniuries, open to the malice, deceites, and mockages of noughty men: and not that onely, but also they must be bearers of all these euilles, that is to say so framed with all their hartes, that hauing receiued one displeasure they make themselves redy for an other, promising to themselves nothing in their whole life but the bearing of a continual Crosse. In the meane time also they must do good to them that do them wrong, and wishe well to those that curse them, and (which is their onely victorie) striue to ouercome euill with good. Being so minded they will not seke eye for eye, tooth for tooth, as the Pharises taught their disciples to desire reuenge, but (as we are taught of

Rom. 12
21. Matt. 5.
39. Christ) they will so suffer their body to be mangled, and their goodes to be maliciously taken from them, that they will forgeue and of their owne accorde pardon those euels so sone as they are done to them. Yet this euennesse and moderation of mindes shall not withstande, but that the frendship toward their ennemies remaining safe, they may vse the helpe of the magistrat to the preserving of their goodes, or for zeale of publike commoditie may sue a gilty and pestilent man to be punished, whom they knowe that he can not be amended but by death. For Augustine truly expoundeth that all these commaundements tende to this ende, that a righteous and godly man should be ready to beare patiently the malice of them whom he seeketh to

haue

haue made good men, that rather the number of the good may encrease, not that he should with like malice adde himselfe also to the numbre of the euell: then, that they more pertaine to the preparation of the hart, which is inwardely, than to the worke which is done openly: that in secret may be kept patience of minde with good will, but openly that may be done which we see may be profitable to them to whom we ought to beare good will.

21 But this which is wonte to be obiected, that contendings in lawe are altogether condemned of Paule, is also false. It may easily be perceiued by his wordes, that there was an immeasurable rage of struing at lawe in the Church of the Corinthians: so farre forth that they did make the Gospell of Christ and the whole religion which they professed, open to the cauellations and euell speaking of the wicked. This is the first thing that Paule blameth in them, that by their intemperaunce of contentions they brought the Gospell in sclander among the vnbeleuers. And then this point also, that in such sort they strued among themselues brethren with brethren. For they were so farre from bearing of wronges, that they greedily gaped one for an others goodes, prouoked one an other, and being vnprouoked did hurte. Therefore he inueyeth against that rage of contending, and not simply against all controuerfies. But he pronounceth that it is a fault or a weakenesse, that they did not rather suffer losse of their goodes than to trauaile euen to contentions for the preserving of them: namely when they were so easily moued with euery damage, and for most small causes did runne to the court of lawe and to controuerfies, he saith that this is a proofe that they were of a minde to ready to anger and not well framed to patience. Christians verily ought to do this, that they had alway rather to yelde of their owne right than to go to lawe, from whẽs they can scarcely get out againe but with a minde too much moued and kindled to hatred of their brother. But when a man seeth that without losse of charitie he may defend his owne, the losse whereof should be a sore hindrance vnto him: if he do so he offendeth nothing against this saying of Paule. Finally (as we haue taught in the beginning) charity shall geue euery man best counsell, without which whatsoeuer controuerfies are taken in hande, and beyonde which whatsoeuer do procede, we holde it out of controuerfies that they be vniust and wicked.

22 The first durie of subiectes toward their magistrates is, to thinke most honorably of their office, namely which they acknowledge to be a iurisdiction committed of God, and therefore to esteeme them and reuerence them as the ministers and deputies of God.

Cap.20.

Of the outward meanes

For a man may finde some, which yelde themselues very obedient to their magistrats, and would not that there were not some whom they should obey, because they so knowe it to be expedient for the common benefit: but of the magistrats themselues they thinke no otherwise than of certaine necessarie euills. But Peter requireth somewhat more of vs, when he commaundeth that the king be honored: and Salomon, when he commaundeth God and the king to be feared. For Peter vnder the word of Honoring cōteineth a sincere and well deming estimation: & Salomon ioining the king with God, sheweth that he is full of a certaine holy reuerence and dignitie. This is also a notable commendation in Paule, that we obey not onely for wrath but for conscience. Whereby he meaneth that subiectes ought to be ledde not onely with feare of princes and rulers to be holden in their subiection (as they are wont to yeld to their armedemie, which see that vengeance shall redily be taken vpon them if they resist) but because the obediences that are shewed to them are shewed to God himselfe, forasmuch as their power is of God. I speake not of the men, as if the visor of dignitie did couer foolishnesse, or sluggishnesse, or cruelties, or wicked maners and full of mischeuous doing: but I say that the degree it selfe is worthy of honor and reuerence: that whosoever be rulers may be esteemed with vs, and haue reuerence, in respect of their being rulers.

23 Of this then also followeth an other thing: that with mindes bent to the honoring of the, they declare their obedience in profe to them: whether it be to obey their proclamations, or to paye tribute, or to take in hande publike offices and charges that serue for comon defence, or to do any other of their commaundements. Let euery soule (saith Paule) be subiect to the hier powers. For he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. The same Paule writeth to Titus: Warne them that they be subiect to rulers and powers, that they obey the Magistrats, that they be redy to euery good worke. And Peter saith, Be ye subiect to euery humane creature (or rather as I translate it, Ordinance) for the Lordes sake, either to the king as most excellent, or to the rulers that are sent by him, to the punisher in deede of euell doers, but to the praise of well doers. Moreover that they should testifie that they do not faine subiection, but are sincerely and hartily subiect, Paule addeth that they should commend to God the safetie and prosperitie of them vnder whom they liue. I exhorte (saith he) that there be made prayers, beseechings, intercessions, thankesgeuings for all men, for kings and for all that be set in superiority, that we may liue a peasable and quiet life with al godli-

nesse

1. Pet. 2
17.
Prouer.
24. 21.
Rom.
13. 5.

Rom.
13. 1.
Tit. 3. 1
1. Pet. 2
13.

1. Tim.
2. 1.

nesse and honestie. Neither let any man here deceiue himselfe. For sith the magistrat can not be resisted, but that God himselfe must also be resisted: although it may be thought that an vnarmed magistrat may frely be despised, yet God is armed which will strongly take vengeance on the despising of himselfe. Moreouer vnder this obedience I conteyne moderation, which priuate men ought to binde themselues to kepe in cases touching the publike state, that they do not of their owne head entermedle in publike businesse, or rashely breake into the office of the Magistrat, and enterprise nothing publicly. If any thing shall in a publike ordinace be behouefull to be amēded, let not themselues raise vprores, nor put their hands to the doing of it, which they all ought to haue fast bounde in this behalfe: but let them commit it to the iudgement of the magistrat, whose hand alone is herein at libertie. I meane, that they presume to do nothing vncommaunded. For when the commaundement of the ruler is adioined, then are they also furnished with publike authority. For as they are wont to call the counsellors of a king, his eares and eyes: so not vnfitly a man may call them the handes of the prince, whom by his commaundement he setteth in authoritie for the doing of things.

24 Nowe forasmuch as we haue hetherto described a magistrat such as is in deede the same that he is called, namely the father of the contree, and (as the Poete calleth him) the pastor of the people, the keeper of peace, the protector of righteousnesse, the reuenger of innocence: he is worthily to be iudged a madde man, that alloweth not such a gouernement. But whereas this is in a maner the experience of all ages, that of princes some being carelesse of all things to the foreseeing whereof they ought to haue bene hede fully bent, do without all care slouthfully wallowe in delites: other some addicted to their gaine, do set out to sale all lawes, priuileges, iudgements, and grauntes: other some spoile the pore communitie of money which they may after waste vpon mad prodigall expendings: other some exercise mere robberies, in pilling of houses, defiling of virgins and matrones, murthuring of innocentes: many can not be perswaded that such should be acknowledged for princes, whoes authoritie they ought to obey so farre as they may. For in so great hainous vnworthinesse, among doings so much contrarie to the duetie not onely of a magistrate, but also of a man, they beholde no forme of the image of God which ought to shine in a Magistrat: when they see no token of that minister of God, which was geuen for praise to the good and for vengeance to the euell: so neither do they also acknow-

ledge such a Governour, whoes dignitie and authoritie the Scripture commendeth vnto vs. And truly this feeling of affection hath alway bene naturally planted in the mindes of men, no lesse to hate and abhorre tyrantes, than to loue and honor lawfull kings.

25 But if we loke to the word of God, it will leade vs further, that we be subiect not onely to the gouernement of those princes which execute their office toward vs well and with such faithfulness as they ought, but also of all them, which by what meane soeuer it be, haue the dominion in possession although they performe nothing lesse than that which pertaineth to the duetie of princes. For though the Lorde testifieth that the magistrat is a speciall great gift of his liberalitie for preserving of the safetie of men, and appointeth to magistrats themselues their boundes: yet he doth therewithall declare, that of what sort soeuer they be, they haue not their authoritie but from him: that those in deede, which rule for benefite of the common weale, are true exemplars and paternes of his bountifullnesse: that they that rule vniustly & willfully, are raised vp by him to punish the wickednesse of the people: that all egally haue that maiestie wherewith he hath furnished a lawfull power. I will procede no further, till I haue added some certaine testimonies of that point. Yet we neede not much to labor to proue that a wicked King is the wrath of God vpon the earth, for asmuch as I thinke that no man will say the contrary, and otherwise there should be no more sayed of a King than of a common robber that violently taketh away thy goods, and of an adulterer that defileth thy bed, of a murderer that seeketh to kill thee, whereas the Scripture reckoneth all such calamities among the curses of God. But let vs rather tary vpon prouing that, which doth not so easily settle in the mindes of me: that in a most noughty man, and most vnworthy of all honor, if so that he haue the publike power in possession, remaineth that noble and diuine power which the Lorde hath by his word geuen to the ministers of his righteousness and iudgement: and therefore that he ought of his subiects to be had in as great reuerence and estimation, so much as pertaineth to publike obedience, as they would haue the best King if he were geuen them.

26 First I would haue the Reders to perceiue and diligently marke that providence and singular doings of God, which is in the Scripture not without cause so oft rehearsed vnto vs, in distributing of kingdomes and making Kings whom it pleaseth him. In Daniel, it is said: The Lorde changeth times and courses of times, he casteth away and maketh Kings. Againe: That the liuing may knowe that

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Job. 34.
30.
Osc. 13.
11.
Eia. 3. 4.
& 10. 5.
De. 28.
29.

Dan. 3.
31.

the Hiest is mighty in the kingdome of men, and he shall geue it to whom he will. With which maner of sentences whereas the whole Scripture aboundeth, yet that same prophecy of Daniel specially swarmeth full. Nowe what maner of king was Nabuchadonezar, he that cōquered Hierusalem, it is sufficiently knowen, namely a strong inuader and destroyer of other. Yet in Ezechiel the Lorde affirmeth that he gaue him the lande of Egypt for the seruice that he had done to him in wasting it. And Daniel said to him: Thou king arte the king of kings, to whom the king of heauens hath geuen a mighty, & strōg, and glorious kingdome: to thee, I say, he hath geuen it, and all the landes where dwell the children of men, the beasts of the wood, and fowles of the aire: he hath deliuered them into thy hande, and hath made thee to beare rule ouer them. Againe he sayed to his sonne Belsasar: The hiest God hath giuen to Nabuchadonezar thy Father kingdome and royaltie, honor and glory: & by reason of the royaltie that he gaue him, all peoples, tribes, & languages were trembling and fearfull at his sight. When we heare that a king is ordeined of God, let vs therof call to remembrance those heauenly warnings cōcerning the honoring and fearing of a king: then we shall not dout to accōpt a most wicked tyrāt in the same place wherein the Lord hath vouchsafed to sette him. Samuell, when he gaue warning to the people of Israell, what maner of things they should suffer at the hands of their kinges, said: This shalbe the right of the king that shall reigne ouer you: he shall take your sonnes and put them to his chariot, to make them his horsmen, and to plowe his land, and reape his croppe, and to make instruments of warre. He shall take your daughters, that they may be his dressers of ointmentes, his cookes and bakers. Your lands, your vineyardes, and your best Oliue plantes he shall take away and geue to his bonde seruantes. He shall take tithes of your seedes and vineyardes, and shall geue them to his eunuches and bonde seruantes. He shall take away your bonde men, your bonde womē & your asses, and set them to his worke. Yea and he shall take tithes of your flockes: and ye shalbe his bonde seruantes. Verily kings should not haue done this of right, whom the Lawe did very well instruct to all continence: but it was called a right ouer the people which it behoued them of necessitie to obey, and they might not resist it: as if Samuell had said. The wilfulnesse of kings shall runne to such licenciousnesse, which it shall not be your part to resist, to whom this onely thing shalbe left, to obey their commaundements and harken to their word.

27 But chiefly there is in Ieremie a notable place and worthy to be remēbred, which although it be somewhat long, yet I will be cōtent

Jer. 27.
5.

to rehearse, because it most plainly determineth this whole question: I haue made the earth and men, saith the Lorde, and the liuing creatures that are on the ouerface of the earth in my great strength and stretched out arme, and I will deliuer it to him whom it pleaseth in mine eyes. And now therefore I haue geuen all these landes into the hande of Nabuchadnezar my seruante, and all nations and great kings shall serue him, till the time shall come of that lande. And it shalbe as a nation and a kingdome that hath not serued the king of Babell, I will visit that nation in swerde, famine, & pestilence. Wherefore, serue ye the king of Babell and liue. We se with howe great obedience the Lorde willed that cruell and proude tyrant to be honored, for no other reason but because he possessed the kingdome. And the same was by the heauenly decree, that he was set in the throne of the kingdome, and taken vp into kingly maiestie, which it was vnlawful to violate. If we haue this cōtinually before our mindes and eyes, that euen y worst kings are ordeined by the same decree by which the authoritie of kings is stablyshed: these seditious thoughtes shall neuer come into our minde, that a king is to be handled according to his deseruings, and that it is not mete that we should shewe our selues subiectes to him that doth not on his behalfe shewe himselfe a king to vs.

28 In vaine shall any man obiekt that this was a peculiar commaundement to the Israelites. For it is to be noted with what reason the Lorde confirmeth it. I haue geuen (sayeth he) the kingdome to Nabuchadnezar. Wherefore serue ye him and liue. To whom soeuer therefore it shalbe certaine that the kingdome is geuen, let vs not dout that he is to be obeyed. And so sone as the Lorde aduanceth any man to the royall estate, he therein declareth his will to vs that he will haue him reigne. For thereof are generall testimonies of the Scripture. Salomon in the xxviij. Chapter, Many Princes are because of the wickednesse of the people. Againe Iob in the xij. chap. He taketh away subiection from kings, and girdeth them againe with the girdle. But this being confessed, there remaineth nothing but that we must serue and liue. There is also in Ieremie the Prophet an other commaundement of the Lorde, wherein he commaundeth his people to seke the peace of Babilō, whither they had bene led away captiue, and to pray to him for it, because in the peace of it should be their peace. Behold the Israelites being spoiled of all their goods, plucked out of their houses, led away into exile, and cast into miserable bondage, are commaunded to pray for the safetie of the Conqueror: not as in other places we are commaunded to pray for our perse-

Prou.
28.2.
Iob. 12.
18
Iere. 29
7.

persecuters: but that the kingdome may be preserved to himselfe and quiet, that they themselves may also live prosperously vnder him. So Dauid being already appointed king by the ordinance of God, and annointed with his holy oile, when he was without any his deserving vnworthily persecuted of Saul, yet the hed of him that layed waite for his life; he esteemed holy, which the Lorde had hallowed with the honor of kingdome. Farre be it from me (said he) that I should before the Lorde do this thing to my Lorde the annointed of the Lorde, that I should lay my hande vpon him, because he is the annointed of the Lorde. Againe, My soule hath spared thee, and I haue said, I will not lay my hande vpon my Lorde, because he is the annointed of the Lorde. Againe, Who shall lay his hande vpon the annointed of the Lorde, and shalbe innocent? So sure as the Lorde liueth, vnlesse the Lorde strike him, or his day be come that he dy, or he go down into battell: farre be it from me that I should lay my hande vpon the annointed of the Lorde.

1. Sam.

24.7.

1. Sam.

26.9.

29 Finally we owe this affection of reuerence yea and deuotion to all our rulers, of what sort soeuer they be, Which I do therefore the oftener repete, that we may learne not to searche what the men themselves be, but take this for sufficiente, that by the will of the Lorde they beare that personage, in which the Lorde himselfe hath emprinted and engraued an inuolable maiestie. But (thou wilt say) Rulers owe mutuall duties to their subiectes. That I haue already cōfessed. But if thou therupon conclude, y obediencies are to be rendered to none but to iuste governments, thou art a foolish reasoner. For, husbandes also are bounde to their wiues and parentes to their children with mutuall duties. Let parentes and husbandes depart from their dutie: let parentes shewe themselves so hard and vnpleasable to their children, whom they are forbidden to prouoke to anger, that with their peuisshnesse they do vnmeasurably wery them: let the husbandes most despitefully vse their wiues, whom they are commaunded to loue, and to spare them as weake vessels: shall yet therefore either children be lesse obediēt to their parentes or wiues to their husbandes? But they are subiect both to euill parentes and husbandes and such as do not their durie. Yea, whereas all ought rather to endeuor themselves not to looke behinde thē to the bagge banging at their backe, that is, not to enquire one of an others duties, but euery man set before him that which is his owne dutie: this ought chiefly to haue place amonge those y are vnder the power of other. Wherefore if we be vnmercifully tormēted of a cruel Prince, if we be rauenously spoiled of a couctous or riotous Prince, if we be neglected

Eph. 6.1

Eph. 5.

26.

1. Pet.

3.7.

Dan. 9. of a slouthfull Prince, finally if we be vexed for godlinesse sake of a
 7. wicked and vngodly Prince: let vs first call to minde the remembrance
 of our sinnes, which vndoubtedly are chastised with such scourges of
 the Lorde. Thereby humilitie shall bridle our impatience. Let vs
 then also call to minde this thought, that it pertaineth not to vs to
 remedy such euels: but this onely is left for vs, that we craue the
 helpe of the Lorde, in whoes hand are the hartes of kings, and the
 bowings of kingdomes. He is the God that shall stande in the assem-
 blie of gods, and shall in the middest iudge the Gods from whoes
 face all kings shall fall, and be broken, and all the iudges of the earth
 that shall haue not kissed his annointed, that haue writtē vniust lawes
 to oppresse the poore in iudgement, and do violence to the cause of
 the humble, to make widowes a pray, and robbe the fatherlesse.

Pro. 21. 1.
 Psal. 82. 1.
 Psal. 2. 10.
 Esa. 10. 1.

30 And here both his maruelous goodnesse, and power, and pro-
 uidence sheweth it selfe: for sometime of his seruantes he raiseth vp
 open reuengers, and furnisheth them with his commaundement, to
 take vengeance of their vniust gouernement, & to deliuer his people
 many wayes oppressed out of miserable distresse: sometime he di-
 recteth to the same ende the rage of men that entende and go about
 an other thing, So he deliuered the people of Israell out of the ty-
 ranny of Pharao, by Moses: and out of the violence of Chusam king
 of Syria, by Othoniell: and out of other thralldomes, by other kings
 or Iudges. So he tamed the pride of Tyrus, by the Egyptians: the in-
 solence of the Egyptians, by the Assyrians: the fercenesse of the
 Assyrians, by the Chaldees: the boldnesse of Babilon, by the Medians,
 and by the Persians when Cyrus hadde subdued the Medians. And
 the vnthankfulnesse of the kings of Iuda and Israell, and their wicked
 obstinatie toward his so many benefices, he did beate downe and
 bring to distresse sometime by the Assyrians, sometime by the Ba-
 bilonians, albeit not all after one maner. For, the first sort of men
 when they were by the lawfull calling of God sent to do such actes:
 in taking armure against kinges, they did not violate that maiestie
 which is planted in kinges by the ordinance of God: but being ar-
 med from heauē they subdued the lesser power with the greater: like
 as it is lawfull for kinges to punish their Lordes vnder them. But these
 later sort, although they were directed by the hand of God whether
 it pleased him, and they vnwittingly did his worke, yet purposed in
 their minde nothing but mischefe.

Exo. 3. 7.
 Iud. 3. 9. &c.

31 But howsoeuer the very doings of men be iudged, yet the
 Lorde did as well execute his worke by them, when he did breake the
 bloody scepters of proude kinges, and ouerthrew their intolerable
 gouerne-

gouvernementes. Let Princes heare and be afraide. But we in the meane time must take greate hede, that we do not despise or offende that authoritie of Magistrates full of reuerend maiestie, which God hath stablished with most weighty decrees, although it remaine with most vnworthy men, and which do with their wickednesse, so much as in them is, defile it. For though the correcting of vnbridled gouernment be the reuengement of the Lorde, let vs not by and by thinke that it is committed to vs, to whom there is geuen no other commaundement but to obey and suffer. I speake alway of priuate men. For if there be at this time any Magistrates for the behalfe of the people, (such as in olde time were the Ephori, that were set against the kings of Lacedemonia, or the Tribunes of the people, against the Romane Consuls: or the Demarchy, against the Senate of Athenes: and the same power also which paraduenture, as things are nowe, the three estates haue in euery realme, when they holde their principall assemblies) I do so not forbidde them according to their office to withstande the outraging licentiousnesse of kings, that I affirme that if they winke at kings willfully raging ouer and treading downe the poore communaltie, their dissembling is not without wicked breache of faith, because they deceitfully betray the libertie of the people, whereof they knowe themselues to be appointed protectors by the ordinance of God.

Parla-
ments.

32 But in that obedience which we haue determined to be due to the authorities of Gouvernors, this is alway to be excepted, yea chiefly to be obserued, that it do not lead vs away from obeying of him, to whoes will the desires of all kinges ought to be subiect, to whoes decrees all their commaundements ought to yelde, to whoes maiestie their maces ought to be submitted. And truely howe vnorderly were it, for the satisfying of men to runne into his displeasure for whom men themselues are obeyed? The Lorde theretore is the kings of kings: who, when he hath opened his holy mouth, is to be heard alone for altogether and aboue all: nexte to him we be subiect to those men that are set ouer vs: but no otherwise than in him. If they commaunde any thing against him, let it haue no place and let no accompt be made of it: neither let vs herein any thing stay vpon all that dignitie wherewith the Magistrates excell, to which there is no wrong done, when it is brought into order of subiection in comparison of that singular and truely soueraigne power of God. After this reason Daniell denied that he had any thing offended against the king, when he obeyed not his wicked proclamation: because the king had passed his boundes, and had not onely bene a wrong doer

Dan. 6.
22.

to men, but in lifting vp his hornes against God he had taken away power from himselfe. On the other side the Israelites are condemned, because they were to much obedient to the wicked commaundement of the king. For when Ierobeam had made golden calues, they forsakinge the temple of God, did for his pleasure turne to newe superstitions. With like lightnesse their posterity inclined themselves to the ordinances of their kings. With this the Prophet sharply reprocheth them, that they embraced the commaundements of the king: so farre is it of, that the pretense of humilitie may deserue praise, wherewith the flatteres of the court do couer themselves and deceiue the simple, while they say that it is not lawfull for them to refuse any thing that is commaunded them of their Princes: as though God had resigned his right to mortall men, geuing them the rule of mankind: or as though the earthly power were minished, when it is made subiect to the author of it, before whom euen the heauenly powers do humbly tremble for feare. I knowe howe great and howe present perill hangeth ouer this constantie, because kings do most displeasantly suffer themselves to be despised, whoes displeasure (saith Salomon) is the messenger of death. But sith this decree is proclaimed by the heauenly harald Peter: That we ought to obey God rather than men, let vs comfort our selues with this thought, that we then performe that obedience which the Lorde requireth, when we suffer any thing rather whatsoeuer it be, than swarue from Godlinesse. And that our courages should not faint. Paule putteth also an other spur to vs: That we were therfore redemed of Christ with so great a price as our redemption cost him, that we should not yelde our selues in thraldome to obey the peruerse desires of men, but much lesse should be bonde to vngodlinesse

Praise be to God.

T. N.

A

Ose. 5.

13.

1. Kin.

2. 30.

Aq. 5.

29.

1. Cor.

7. 13.

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A

A TABLE OF THE MATTERS ENTREATED OF IN THIS booke, disposed in forme of common places, wherein is briefly rehearsed the summe of the Doctrine concerning euery point taught in the booke before at large, collected by the Author.

The first number signifieth the booke, the second the Chapter, the third the Section.

A.

Acóluthes.

Coluthes in the olde Church. Booke. 4.

Chapter. 4. Section. 1.

9. & Chap. 19. Sect. 22

23.

Adams fall.

The fall of Adam proceded not of intemperance of gluttony, but of infidelitie: for he despising the word & trueth of God, turned out of the way to the lyes of Sathan: which infidelitie opened the gate to ambition & pride, wherunto was adioyned vnthankfulnessse: & ambition was the mother of disobedience. 2. 1. 4.

By the fall of Adam sith other creatures haue bin after a sort deformed, it is no maruel, that all mākinde was corrupted, that is to say: swarued out of kinde from his first originall, & made subiect to curse. This the old Doctors called Originall sinne, but yet did not so plainly set forth this point of Doctrine as was conueniēt. In the meane time it is proued by reasons and testimonies of Scripture, y^e Pelagius sowly

erred when he sayd that by imitation only, not by propagation, sinne passed from the first manne into all his posterity. 2. 1. 5, 6.

And though the pestilence of sinne do principally abide in the soule, yet it doth not therefore pertaine to the discussinge of this Doctrine, to dispute whether the soule of the childe commeth of the engendringe substance of the father: forasmuch as the cause of the infection is not in the substance of the flesh or of the soule, but because it was ordained of God, that those gifts which he at the first had giuen to man, man shoulde haue and lose them for him and his. Finally it maketh not against this doctrine, that the children of the faithful are sanctified. 2. 1. 7.

That by the fall of Adam the naturall gifts in man were corrupted & the supernaturall were taken away, is a sayinge that many haue vsed, but few haue vnderstoode. 2. 2. 4, 16. which sayinge is expounded. 2. 2. 12. that is to say, that the supernaturall gifts, faith, the loue of God, charity toward our neighbours, de-

The Table.

siuous endeuor of holines & righteousness were taken away, but are restored by Christ: & that the naturall gifts, namely the vnderstanding minde, & the heart are corrupted, because the soundnes of vnderstanding & the vprightnes of hart were both taken away: Also that reason in mā was not vterly blotted out, but partely weakened and partely corrupted: and so Will, because it can not be seuered from the nature of man, was not vterly destroyed, but made thrall to corrupt desires.

2.2.12.

It is proued by the testimonies of Augustine and of the Scripture, y^e God not only foresaw or scissred, but also by his will disposed the fall of the first man, & in him the vaine of his posterity. 3.23.7,8.

Angels.

Angels are creatures of God, although Moses do not expresse the in the history of the creation. 1.14.3

Of the time or order wherein they were created, it is not expedient to enquire, forasmuch as y^e Scripture (which we ought to follow for our rule) declareth nothing thereof. 1.

14.4.

Why the heauenly Spirites are called Angels, Armies, Vertues, Principalities, powers, Dominations, Thrones, Goddesses. 1.14.5.

Concerninge Angels the Scripture teacheth to much as is auayleable for our comfort & for the confirming of our sayth, namely that they are distributeis & ministers of Gods bountifulnes towarde vs, and

the same by diuerse wayes. 1.14.6,9

Not only one Angel hath seuerall care of euery one of vs, but they all with one consent do watch for our safety: & therefore it is superfluous to enquire whether euery mā haue his seuerall angel assigned to be his keeper. 1.14.7.

Of the number and degrees of Angels, it is curiosnes to enquire, & rashnes to determine: And why, whereas they be Spirites, the Scripture painteth them with wings vnder Cherubin and Seraphin. 1.14.8.

Against the Sadduces and such other fantastical men, it is proued by sundry testimonies of the Scripture, that Angels are not qualities or inspirations without substance, but very spirites in deede. 1.14.9.

That superstition is herein to be auoyded, and that we giue not to Angels those things that belonge only to God and Christ. 1.14.10.

For auoydinge of this perill, we must consider that whereas God vsseth their seruice, he doth it not of neede, as though he coulde not be without them, but for the comfort of our weaknesse. 1.14.11. And therefore whatsoever is sayd of the ministry of Angels, ought to be referred to this end, that ouercominge all distrust, our trust in God should be thereby the more strongly stablished, and not y^e they should lead vs away from God 1.14.12.

That the Angels also were created after the likenes of God. 1.15.3.

Archbishops and Patriarches

See Bo.4. Chap.4. Sect.4. & 7.15.

of

The Table.

*Of the Ascending of Christ into
Heaven.*

Although Christ in his rising againe beganne more fully to shew forth his glory & power: yet in his Ascending into heauē he first truly beganne his kingdom, because he then powred out greater abundance of his Spirit, more royally aduanced his reigne, & shewed greater power both in helpinge them that are his, and in ouerthrowinge his enemies. And yet that he is so absent accordinge to the presence of his fleshe, that he is alway euery where accordinge to the presence of his maiesty, and with the faithfull according to his vnspeakable & inuisible grace. 2. 16. 14.

Of Christes sittinge at the right hand of his father, & of the manifolde fruite which our faith gathereth thereof. 2. 16. 15, 16.

Auricular Confession.

See Confession Auricular.

B.

Baptisme.

THe definition of baptisme. The first end thereof is to serue our faith before God, the other ende, to serue our confessiō before mē. It bringeth to our faith three things, first y it is a signe of our cleansing, assuring vs that all our sinnes are done away. 4. 15. 1. which is proued by testimonies of y Scripture, & y it is not the water that clenseth vs, but the blood of Christ. Sect. 2.

The force of baptisme is not restrained to the time past: but we are by it washed and cleansed once for

all our life: & yet that we may not hereof take a liberty to sinne from thence forward. 4. 15. 3.

The power of the keies (as they call it) that is to say, the ministerie of the Church, by which the forgiveness of sinnes is dayly preached vnto vs, is not to be seuered from baptisme. 4. 15. 4.

The seconde fruite of fayth by baptisme, is that it sheweth to vs our mortifyinge in Christ, & a new life in him. 4. 15. 5. The thirde frute is, that it testifieth that we are so vnited to Christ, that we are partakers of all his good things. For which cause Christ is called the proper object of baptisme, and the Apostles baptised into the name of Christ, in whom we do so obtaine the matter both of our clensing and of our regeneration, as we obtaine the cause thereof in the father, & y effect in the holy Ghost. 4. 15. 6.

It is proued that the baptisme was all one which was ministred of Iohn and of the Apostles, although some of the olde Doctors thought otherwise. 4. 15. 7. and that it maketh not to the contrary, that more abundant graces of the Spirit are poured out, since the resurrection of Christ. But yet there is in baptisme a difference to be made of the person of Christ from Iohn, & frō the Apostles and other ministers. 4. 15. 8.

Both our mortifying & our clensing were as by shadow signified amōg the people of Israel, by the passage

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through the sea, and the comfortable calling of the cloude. 4. 15. 9.

It is false whiche some haue taught, that by Baptisme we are restored to the same righteousness & purenesse of nature which Adā had at the beginning. And there is shewed that in the children of God do remaine yet some leauinges of sin, although the same reigne not in them: which doth whet their endeours, and doth not geue them occasion to flatter themselues. 4. 15. 10. 11. the same is proued by Paule. Sect. 12.

Howe Baptisme serueth our confession before men. 4. 15. 13.

What is the order to vs Baptisme, both for confirmation of our faith, and for a confession before men. Where it is shewed that the graces of God are not enclosed in the Sacrament, so as they be geuen to vs by the vertue thereof. 4. 15. 14, 15.

Baptisme is nothing encreased by y^e worthinesse of him that doth minister it, nor diminished by his vnworthinesse: against the Donatistes, and our Catabaptistes which require a rebaptising, because we haue bin baptised in the kingdome of the Pope. 4. 15. 16. their argumēts are confuted. Sect. 17, 18.

Baptisme is a continuall Sacrament of repentaunce for all our life, so that we neede no other Sacrament of penance. 4. 19. 17.

Of the coniuring of the water, the waxe Candell, the Chresme, the blowing, the spittle, and such other

trifles added to the simple ceremonie of Christ: and the other of purely ministering it in the Church is shewed. 4. 15. 19.

It is shewed that to minister Baptisme pertaineth to the ministers of the Church & not to priuate men, much lesse to women: and the contrary obiections are confuted. 4. 15. 20, 21, 22.

Baptisme of Infantes.

The Baptising of Infantes doth very wel agree with Christes institution, and with the nature of the signe. 4. 16. &c.

Baptisme succeeded in the place of Circumcision, Wherein they be like, and wherein they be vnlike. 4. 16. 3, 4.

Infantes are not to be debarred from baptisme, sith the Lorde doth make them partakers of the thing signified in Baptisme. 4. 16. 5. and that the Lord doth regenerate Infantes. Sect. 17, 18, 19.

Sith it is certaine that the same couenaut, which it pleased God to make with Abraham, is sealed in infantes with the outward Sacrament, therefore ought baptisme also to haue place among them. 4. 16. 6.

Baptising of infantes is well proued by this that Christ embraced children and layed his hands vpon them. 4. 16. 7.

A confutation of certaine arguments of the enemies of infantes baptisme. 4. 16. 8, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29

There commeth greate fruit by the baptizing of infantes, both to the

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the faithfull parentes and to the children. 4. 16. 9. which fruit Satan trauielth by the Anabaptistes to take from vs. 4. 16. 32.

A cōfutation of the aduersaries arguments, saying, that there be orner things signified in Baptisme than there are in Circumcisiō: that our couenaunt differeth from the olde couenaunt: that other are called children at this day than were at that time. 4. 16. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

A confutation of their other fained differences betweene Circumcision and baptisme. Sect. 16. Also of this obiection, that baptisme is a Sacrament of repentance and of faith: neither of which can be in tender infancy. 4. 16. 20, 21.

In them of ripe age, faith and vnderstanding ought to go before baptisme: but in infantes, the baptisme of the faithfull goeth before vnderstanding. 4. 16. 24.

A confutation of their error, which condemne to eternall death all that are not baptised. 4. 16. 26.

This, that Christ was not baptised till his age of 30. yeares, was for a good cause, and maketh nothing for the enemies of infantes baptisme. 4. 16. 29.

Why the Supper is not to be ministred to y infantes of the faithfull, and baptisme not to be denied them. 4. 16. 30.

A long rehearfall of the arguments wherwith wicked Seruetrus did fight against the baptisme of infantes, and a confutation of the same arguments. 4. 16. 31.

Of Baptising of infantes. 4. 8. 16.

Bearing of the Crosse.

It behoueth that we deny our selues, that we may beare y Crosse, because it is Gods will to exercise all his vnder the crosse, beginning at Christ his first begotten sonne. Which fellowship with Christ doth already geue vs great grounde of patience and comforte. 3. 8. 1.

It is for many causes necessary for vs to leade our life vnder a continuall crosse: first to beate downe our arrogāce and trust of our owne strength. And this remedy euen the most holy do neede, as is proued by the exāple of Dauid. 3. 8. 2. Hereby our trust in God is confirmed, & our hope encreased. Sect. 3.

Secondly, that our patience may be tried, and we may be framed to obedience. 3. 8. 4. Which is most needefull for vs, sith the wātonnes of our fleshe is so great to make vs shake of the yoke of God when he doth once handle vs gently. Sect. 5.

Sometime also to punishe our offences committed: wherein we acknowledge that he doth the office of a good father rowarde vs, but contrariwise the vnfaithfull are oftentimes made more obstinate. 3. 8. 6.

A singular cōforte when we suffer either shame, or losse, or any other calamitie for righteousness: which crosse most properly belongeth to the faithfull. 3. 8. 7.

How necessary it is for the faithfull, in the bitternesse of afflictions, to be furnished with this thought,

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that God loueth them, but is angry with their faults. 3. 4. 34.

Bishops.

The name of Bishop in the old Church was giuen to some one in euery seuerall company of ministers, for politike order, and not that they shoulde beare a Lordely rule ouer other. 4. 4. 2.

It was the office as well of the bishop as of other Priests, to preach and minister the Sacramentes. 4. 4.

3. The old Church did commonly obserue the order appointed by the Apostles in callinge of ministers. 4. 10, 11, 12, 13.

With what forme the ministers of the old Church were consecrate after their election. 4. 4. 14, 15.

Of the ceremony of orderinge of true Priestes. 4. 19. 28.

Oftentimes the order of Priestes, Prophetes, and Pastors, hath bin most corrupt in the Church. 4. 9. 3, 4, 5.

Men are not bounde without exception to obey the Pastors of Churches, but in the Lord and his word. 4. 9. 12.

What Bishops, & of what qualities, be made in the papacy. 4. 5. 1.

The right of the people in election is taken away, & the olde canons broken. 4. 5. 2, 3.

What Priestes are made in the papacy, and to what ende. 4. 5. 4, 5.

Of the giftes of benefices in the papacy. 4. 5. 6, 7.

How faithfully all Priestes in the papacie do execute their office,

whether they be Monkes, or secular, as Canons, Deanes, Parsons of paroches, Bishops. &c. 4. 5. 8, 9, 10, 11.

The negligēce of them that gouerned Churches in y^e time of Gregory and Bernard. 4. 5. 12.

The whole maner of ecclesiasticall gouernāce as it is at this day in the papacy, is nothinge else but a place of spoyle, wherein theeues do rob without lawe and measure. 4. 5.

13. Of the dissolute licentiousnes in al partes of their life, which Priestes and Bishops. &c. vse in the papacy. 4. 5. 14.

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Calling.

Of y^e effectual or inward Calling, which is a sure testimony of election, & hangeth vpon y^e only free mercy of God. 3. 24. 1, 2.

Against them, which in predestination do make man a worker with God. Also against them that hang election vpon that which foloweth election. 3. 24. 3.

The certainty of our election is to be knowen by the word and callinge of God, and we ought not to preace into the eternall counsell of God. 3. 24. 4.

The father hath chosen vs onely in Christ, in him therefore let vs behold the stedfast ground of our election. 3. 24. 5. and so, that there of also we may conceiue a sure confidence of perseuerance to the end. 3. 24. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Two kindes of calling, vniuersal, and special. 3. 24. 8.

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It is proued by diuerse examples and testimonies of Scripture, that the elect before their Callinge do differ nothinge from other menne : and that it is false which some men do dreame, that there is a certaine seede of election planted in their hartes euen from their natiuity. 3. 24. 10, 11.

It is shewed at large that as God doth by the effectuallnesse of his Callinge towarde the elect, make perfect the saluation to which he hadde by his eternall counsell appointed the: so he hath his iudgements against the reprobate, whereby he putterh his purpose concerning them in execution, and maketh a way for his predestination. 3. 24. 12, 13, 14. &c.

Cardinals.

When the name of Cardinals first began, and howe they haue so suddenly start vp to so great honor. 4. 7. 30.

Ceremonies.

The old Ceremonies are taken away, as touchinge their vse onely, but not as touchinge their effect, for we haue the same effect at this day most euidently and effectually in Christ. And this doth nothinge diminishe their holinesse, as it is proued. 2. 7. 16. and beinge weyed by themselues and without Christ, they are worthily called of Paule handewrytinges against vs. 2. 7. 17.

The ordinances concerning Ceremonies in the Popes lawe, do commaunde obseruation for the most parte vnprofitable, and some-

time also foolishhe although they haue a great seeminge of wisdom: moreouer they oppresse consciences with their infinite multitude. 4. 10. 11, 12, 13.

The popish Ceremonies can not be executed by this color, that they be ordained for the instruction of y ignorant, as y Ceremonies of the law were : because there appeareth in this point a manifest difference betwene vs and the people before Christ. 4. 10. 14.

The popish ceremonies are beleued to be Sacrifices cleansing sinnes, & deseruinge eternall life : they are without doctrine, and are snares to catch Dony. 4. 10. 15.

Charity towarde our neighbor.

It is proued, against the Sorbonistes, that Charity is y loue of our neighbour and not of our selues. 2. 8. 54.

Vnder the name of neighbour is contained euery man, be he neuer so much a straunger to vs, and our enemy. 2. 8. 55. & therefore the Schoolemen are condemned of ignorance, which of the commaundementes of God, not to desire reuenge, & to loue our enemies, haue made counsels, to the necessary keepinge whereof monkes alone do binde themselues : and it is proued that the old doctors of the Church, yea & Gregory himselfe, thought otherwise. 2. 8. 56, 57.

We haue neede of patience, that we be not weary of doing good to other. And we ought not to haue respect to y vnworthinesse or other

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qualities of mē which might withdraw vs, but to God which so commaundeth vs. 3.7.6.

To the fulfilling of all the partes of Charitie, it is not enough if we performe all the dutifull deedes of Charitie, but we must do it with a sincere affection of harte. Wherein the chiefe point is, that we take vppon our selues the person of him whom wee see to neede our helpe. So shall wee auoide disdainfull pride and other corruptinges of Charity. 3.7.7.

Christ & the Apostles in rehearsing the summe of the lawe do sometime leaue out the first table: not for that it more auaieth to the summe of righteousness to liue innocently with men, than to honor God with Godlinesse: but bycause vnfaigned Charity is y^e prooffe of true Godlinesse. 2.8.52,53.

A confutation of the Pharisees of our time, which holde that we are iustified by Charity, bycause Paul sayeth that Charity is greater then faith and hope. 3.18.8.

An exposition of the tenth commaundement, wherein (as in the former commaundements) is forbidden not onely all purpose to hurt our neighbour, but also all lust or desire against Charity. 2.8.49.58. God doth for good cause & worthily require of vs so greate feruentnesse and vprightnesse of loue. 2.8.50.

An exposition of the sixt commaundemēt, wherein not onely the slaughter or hatred of our neigh-

bour is forbidden vs, but also the preserving of his life is commaunded vs, because man is both our fleshe and the Image of God. 2.7.39,40.

Children.

See Obedience of Children to parentes.

Church.

The Church the mother of the faithfull. 4.1.1,4,5.

An exposition of this Article of the Creede, I beleue y^e holy Church 4.1.2,3.

The holinesse of the Church is not yet perfited. 4.8.12.

Of the inuisible Church: and of the visible Church, the signes whereof are the pure preaching of the worde and ministratiō of Sacraments. 4.8,7,8,9,10,11.

Wherefoeuer those signes are, we ought not to departe from that fellowship. 4.8.12.

There may some faulce crepe in, either in doctrine or in ministratiō of Sacraments, for the which yet we ought not to cast of the communion of that Church, and much lesse for the imperfectiō of life and corruptnesse of maners: And herein the Anabaptistes are reprovēd 4.1.12,13,14,15,16.

The Church is none otherwise holy, but that it alway hath many faultes, and yet it ceasserh not to be the Church, as is proued by testimonies of Scripture and the experience of all ages. 4.1.17,18,19.

See Ministry of the Church.

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Churches power as touching Articles of faith.

It is proued by the example of the Apostles and Prophets, and of Christ himself, that whatsoever authoritie the Church hath, is properly not geuen to men, but to the word, the ministratiō whereof is committed to them: And therefore it was neuer lawfull for the Church, to teache any other thing, than that which she receiued of the Lorde. 4.8.1,2,3,4,8,9.

Christ hath euer taught his Church: & yet hee hath vsed diuers maners of teaching according to the diuersitie of times, ere the lawe was written, in the time of the law and the Prophets, & last of all since that he himself was openly shewed in the fleshe. 4.8.5,6,7.

False Church.

Where lying and falschode hath gotten the vpperhande & reigneth, there is not the Church: And this is proued to be in the papacie, although they there boast of a perpetuall succession of Bishops. 4.2.1,2,3,4.

They are not heretikes or schismatikes that depart from the papacie. 4.2.5,6.

Howe much soeuer a man make the best of the fautes of the popishe Church, yet the state thereof is no better than was in the kingdome of Israell vnder Ierobeam. 4.2.7,8,9,10.

Yet by the goodnesse of God there remaine in the papacie certaine fotesteppes of the Church:

and so is that fulfilled which hath bene writtē, that Antichrist should sit in the temple of God. 4.2.11,12.

A cōparison of the power which the trew Church hath in teaching, with the tirrany of the Pope and his ministers in forging newe articles of faith. 4.8.10. Of the papistes principle, that the Church cannot erre. 4.8.13.

It is false to say that it behoued that the Church should ad to the writings of ŷ Apostles. 4.8.14,15,16.

A confutatiō of the arguments which the papistes make, to proue that there is power geuen to the Church to coine newe articles of faith. 4.8.11,12.

Christ.

The Godhed of the Sonne is proued. 1.13.7.

Against certaine dogges, which do priuily steale away frō the sonne of God his eternitie, affirminge that he then first begā to be, when God spake at the creation of the world. 1.13.8.

Diuerse testimonies of Scripture, which affirme Christ to be God, and first out of the olde testament. 1.13.9,10. then out of the newe testament. Sect. 11.

A profe of the same Godhed, by the workes that are in the Scriptures ascribed vnto him. 1.13.12, also by his miracles and certaine other things. Sect. 13.

A difference betwene Christs working of miracles, and the Prophets or Apostles doing of the like. 1.13.13.

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It is proued by many and most strong testimonies of Scripture, that Christ toke vppon him a true substance of mans flesh, and not a Ghost or couterfaite shape of mā, as the Marcionites fained, nor yet a heavenly body as the Manichees lyingly affirmed. 2. 13. 1.

An exposition of the places of Scripture, which Marcion writhed to the confirmation of his error, and also of those which Manicheus wrested, and many of their disciples do wrest at this day. 2. 13. 2, 3. where also are confuted the newe Marcionites, which to proue that Christ toke his body of nothing, do holde that women haue no seed. There are also certaine other things confuted, which are objected as absurdities. 2. 13. 4.

See Ascending of Christ into heauen.

See Death of Christ.

See Descending of Christ into hell.

See Mediator Christ.

See Merit of Christ.

See Priesthode. &c. of Christ.

See Redemer Christ.

See Resurrection of Christ.

Christian liberty.

How necessary is the knowledge thereof. 3. 19. 1.

Christian libertie consisteth in three partes: The first is entreated of. 3. 19. 2, 3. The second. Sect. 4, 5, 6. The third. Sect. 7, 8.

Christian libertie is a spirituall thing, and all they do wrongfully expounde it, which either make it a cloke for their lustes, or do abuse it with offence of their weake bre-

thren. 3. 19. 9, 10.

Ciuile gouvernement.

See Publike gouvernement.

Clerkes or Clergie,

Of Clerkes in the olde Church

4. 4. 9.

Concupiscence or Luste.

The difference betweene concupiscence and counsell. 2. 8. 49.

That all the concupiscences of men are euill and guilty of sinne, not insomuch as they are naturall, but because they are all inordinate by reason of the corruption of nature. And so did Augustine thinke, if he be diligently weyed. 3. 3. 12. and this is proued by many places of his writings. 3. 3. 13.

Confession Auricular.

Concerning Confession, the Schoolediuines do fight against the Canonistes, affirming that it is not by the commaundement of God. A confutation of the arguments whereupon the first sort do stand, first because the Lorde in the Gospell did send y^e Leprous whom he had cleansed to the priests: and there is shewed the true meaninge of that doing. 3. 4. 4.

A confutation of their second argument, for that the Lorde commaunded his disciples to lose and vnwind Lazarus when he was raised from death. 3. 4. 5.

A true exposition of two places by which they travell to vphold their confession: that is to say, that they which came to the Baptisme of Iohn did confesse their sinnes, and James willeth vs to confesse our

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our finnes one to an other. 3.4.6.

The vse of confessing to a priest was very auncient, but yet free as a politike order, not as a lawe set by Christ or his Apostles: and afterwarde the same was abrogate by Nectarius Bishop of the Church of Cōstantinople, because of a Deacō which had vnder y pretence abused a woman. This tyrannous lawe was not laid vpon Churches before the time of Innocent the third, about three hundred yeares past, and the foolishnesse and barbarousnesse of that ordinance is declared. 3.4.7.

Witnesses of the said abrogatiō, out of Chrysostome Bishop of Cōstantinople. 3.4.8.

An exposition of Innocentes lawe concerning the confession of all finnes, where are rehearsed the diuerse opinions of the Romishe diuines cōcerning the number and vse of keyes, and the power of binding and loosing. 3.4.15.

The lewdnesse of all the particular articles of the lawe of confessing, and specially of that concerning the rehearsing of all finnes. 3.4.16. and a plaine description of the cruelty wherewith poore consciēces were by diuerse circūstances tormented therein. 3.4.17.

By a similitude is described howe a great part of the world hath hitherto obeyed such illusions. That it is an impossible lawe, & maketh men hypocrites. And thē is shewed a most certaine rule of confession according to the example of the Publicane. 3.4.18.

A confutation of this article, that finnes are not forgeuen, and that the gate of paradise is shut. &c. vnlesse there be first firmly cōcciued a vowe of confessing, where also their obiectiō is cōfuted, that iudgment can not be pronounced till the cause be heard, that is to say, that absolutiō can not be geuen till all the finnes be rehearsed. 3.4.18.

It is no maruell that we cōdemne and abolish auricular confession, and our aduersaries do falsly assigne so great profit vnto it, forsomuch as on the other side it armeth men to boldnesse of sinning. 3.4.19.

They do falsly pretēd that they haue the power of the keyes, sith they are not the successors of the Apostles, nor haue the holy Ghost, forsomuch as they do daily without consideration loose thole thinges which the Lorde hath cōmaunded to be bound, and bind what he hath commaunded to be loosed. 3.4.20.

It is proued false that they say y the power of the keyes may sometime be vsed without knowledge, forasmuch as by that meane the absolution should be vncertaine. Where also is spoken of the absolution or condēnation which the ministers of the Gospell, or the church do pronouce according to y word, and of the certaintie therof. 3.4.21.

The absolution of the priests in the Papacie is vncertaine, as well on the behalfe of him that assoileth as of him that confesseth: but cōtrariwise it is in the absolution of the Gospell, which hangerh vpon

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this onely condition, if the sinner seke his purging in the onely sacrifice of Christ, and do yelde to the grace offered vnto him. 3.4.22.

The Popish Doctors, when they allege for themselves the power of loosing geuen to the Apostles, do wrongfully wrest to auricular confession those sayings which Christ spake partly of preaching of the Gospell, and partly of excommunication. The errors of Lombard and such other in this matter: and concerning the maner of remission with enioining of penance and satisfaction. 3.4.23.

* A summe of all before spoken: & what the faithfull ought to thinke of auricular confession. 3.4.24.

True Confession.

What kinde of confession is taught vs by the word of God, namely to confesse to God the knower of our hartes & of all our thoughtes. 3.4.9.

Out of this secret confession made to God, followeth a voluntary confession before men, so oft as it is behouefull for the glory of God or the humbling of our selues. And of this second kinde there was an ordinary vse in the old Church, & is also in the Church at this day. But yet extraordinarily it ought after a speciall maner to be vsed, whensoever it shall happen that the people be gilty in any generall offence, or to be plagued with any calamitie. Of the profite of such confession. 3.4.10, 11.

Of two other sorts of priuate confession: of which the first is vsed for

our owne cause, when we require comfort of our brethren, because the feling of sinnes doth vex and trouble vs: in which case we must chiefly resort to our pastors: and this remedy is wailely & moderately to be vsed, that no bondage be brought in. The other sorte is to appease and reconcile our neighbours, if he be in any thing offended by our fault, vnder which kinde is contained their Confession which haue sinned so farre as to the offence of y whole Church. 3.4.12, 13.

The power of the keyes hath place in the three kindes of Confession. Of the frute which they that confesse do receiue thereby, because they knowe that forgeuenes of sinnes is declared to them by the messenger of Christ. 3.4.14.

Of confession of sinnes one sorte is generall an other speciall. 3.10.9.

Confirmation Popishe.

The ceremonie of laying on of handes, when the children of the faithfull, which were baptised in their infancie, did yelde an accöpte of their faith. 4.19.4.

Of the popishe sacrament of Confirmation foisted in place of that holy institution. 4.19.5.

That the exäple of the Apostles is wrögefully alledged for defence thereof. 4.19.6.

It is blasphemy when they call it the oile of saluation. 4.19, 7, 8. and when they say that none are made full Christians till they be annointed with the Bishops Confirmation. Sect. 9. and when they say that this annoin-

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anointinge is to be had in greater reuerēce than Baptisme. Sect. 10, 11.

It is to be wished, that the maner of the olde Church were brought in vſe againe, to call children to geue accompt of their faith. 4. 19. 13.

Conscience.

Conſciences, when they ſeke aſſiſtance of their iuſtification before God, ought to forgette all the righteouſneſſe of the lawe. 3. 19. 2, 3.

The Cōſciences of the faithfull do not follow the law as cōſtrained by neceſſity of the lawe, but being free frō y^e yoke of the lawe, do volūtarily obey y^e will of god. 3. 19. 4, 5, 6.

Of y^e freedom of Cōſciēce in outward & indifferent things. 3. 19. 7, 8.

The Conſciences of the faithfull being ſet at liberty by the benefit of Chriſt, are made free from the power of all men: and howe this is to be vnderſtode: where alſo is ſpoken of the ſpirituall and ciuill gouernement, and what difference is to be put betwene the 3. 19. 14, 15.

What is Cōſcience: and in what ſenſe Paul ſaith, that the magiſtrat muſt be obeyed for conſcience. 3. 19. 15, 16.

What is Conſcience: and of the common difference betwene the temporall court, and the court of Conſcience. 4. 10. 3, 5.

Of Councils.

We muſt keepe a meane in honoring of Councils, that we take nothing away from Chriſt, and our doctrine for the moſt parte is confirmed by auncient Cōūcels. 4. 9. 1.

By the Scriptures the Councils

haue no authority, vnleſſe they be aſſembled in the name of Chriſt: and what that is. 4. 9. 2.

It is falſe which the Papiftes aſſirme: y^e truth remaineth not in the Church vnleſſe it be among the paſtors, and that the Church it ſelfe is not, vnleſſe it remaine to be ſene in generall Cōūcels. 4. 9. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

What things are to be weyed in ſearching y^e authority of any Cōūcell: and that Auguſtine preſcribeth a very good way therein. 4. 9. 8.

Councils one againſt another. 4. 9. 9. and euen in thoſe former and auncient Cōūcels are founde faulces and errors. 4. 9. 10, 11.

Creation of the World.

Although God ought to be known by the Creation of things, yet leaſt the faithfull ſhould fall away to the ſained inuētiōs of the heathen, his will was that the hiſtory of the Creatiō ſhould remaine written, & the time thereof expreſſed in the Scripture. 1. 14. 1. where their vngodly ſcoffing is confuted, which aſke why it came not ſooner in Gods mind to creat heauē & earth. 1. 14. 1.

For the ſame purpoſe it is rehearſed, that God ended his worke, not in a moment, but in ſix dayes: and likewise the order is ſet forth, namely that Adā was not created till God had firſte furniſhed the worlde with all plenty of good things. 1. 14. 2, 22.

A confutation of the error of Manicheus concerning two originall beginnings. 1. 14. 3.

It is proued by the Scriptures that

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the knowledge of God which appeareth in y^e workmanſhip of the world, can not by it ſelf alone bring vs into the right way. 1. 5. 13. and yet are we rightfully without all excuſe. Sect. 14.

Although the beholding of heauē and earth and the conſideration of the ordringe of things pertaining to men, do moue vs to worſhippe God, yet all theſe thinges paſſed away without profit, euen from the wiſeſt Philoſophers. 1. 5. 10.

Herupō came the infinite number of gods, and the contrarieties of opinion amōg the ſectes of Philoſophers concerning God. 1. 5. 11.

The ſubſtance of God is incomprehenſible: but in his workes, by engrauiing certaine pointes of his glory therein, he hath after a certaine maner preſented himſelfe to be ſeene. 1. 5. 1.

The wiſdome of God is teſtified, not onely by thoſe thinges which philoſophers and learned men do finde by ſpeculation in heauen and earth, but alſo which common men do perceiue by the onely helpe of their eyes. 1. 5. 2.

That we may with trewe faith conceiue ſo much as behoueth vs to know cōcerning God, it is good to learne y^e hiſtory of the Creation of the world, in ſuch ſort as Moſes hath ſet it forth, the chiefe pointes wherof are briefly rehearſed. 1. 14. 20.

The cōſideration of the workes of God, that is to ſay, of the Creation of all thinges, ought to be applied to two principall endes: firſt

that we do not with vnthankfull neglectinge or forgetfulnes paſſe ouer his vertues which he preſenteth apparantly to be ſeene in his creatures. 1. 14. 21. ſecondly, that we may learne to apply them, to our ſelues, whereby wee may ſtirre vp our ſelues to the truſt, inuocation, praiſe, and loue of him. 2. 14. 22.

Croſſe.

See Bearing of the Croſſe.

D.

Deacons.

OF Deacons and the two ſortes of them. 4. 3. 9.

In the olde Church the office of Deacōs was the ſame that it was in the Apoſtles time. Of ſubdeacons and archdeacons, and when they firſt began. 4. 4. 5.

How y^e Church goods were vſed and beſtowed in the olde Church. 4. 4. 6, 7.

Of popiſhe Deacons, their office, and the ceremony of their orderinge. 4. 19. 32.

Of popiſhe ſubdeacōs, and their triſting office, and the ſonde maner of their ordering. 4. 19. 33.

Of popiſhe Deacons and their institution. 4. 5. 15.

The Papiſtes haue no trewe Deaconry leſte, forasmuch as all the diſpoſition of Church goods amōg them is openly turned to ſacrilege and robbery. 4. 5. 16, 18, 19.

A conſuration of the ſhameleſſe of certaine papiſtes, which ſay that the riotous exceſſe of prieſts and of all the popiſh Church, is the gloriousneſſe of the kingdome of Chriſt

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Christ which the holy prophetes
spake of before. 4. 5. 17.

Death of Christ.

Although christ hath by y whole
course of his obedience, that is to
say by his whole life & all the partes
thereof, redeemed vs, yet the Scrip-
ture to set forth more planely the
maner of our saluatiō, doth ascribe
the same as peculiar and proper to
the Death of Christ. In the which
the voluntarie yeldinge of Christ
hath the first place, which yet was so
volūtary as he gaue ouer his owne
affectiō not without strife. Also his
cōdemnation is to be considered:
Wherein two things are to be no-
ted, namely that Christ was reputed
among the wicked, and yet that his
innocēcy was oftētimes testified euē
by the iudges owne mouth. 2. 1. 5.

The maner of his Death is to be
marked, that is to say, the accursed
crosse. And it is declared by many
testimonies of Esay & the Apostles,
that this behoued so to be, that the
curse which was dewe to vs being
cast vpon him and so ouercome &
taken away, wee should be deli-
uered. And this was figuratiuely re-
presented in the sacrifices of Moses
lawe, which at the last was perfor-
med in Christ the originall truth
of all figures. 2. 1. 6.

Both in the Death and buriall of
Christ a double benefit is set before
vs, y is to say, deliuerāce frō Death
whereunto we were in bondage, &
the mortifying of our fleshe. 2. 1. 6.

Descending of Christ to Hell.

The Descēding of Christ to Hell

containeth the mistery of a great
thing, and is of no small importāce
to the effect of our redemptiō. Di-
uerse expositions of this article are
rehearsed and confuted. 2. 16. 8, 9.

A trewe, godly, holy and comfor-
table exposition thereof out of the
word of God, which is also confir-
med by the testimony of the olde
Doctors, that Christ did not onely
suffer a bodily death, but also did
feele the rigor of Gods vengeāce,
whereby he might both appease
his wrath and satisfie his iust iudge-
mēt: and therefore it behoued that
he should, as it were hāde to hande,
wrestle with the power of Hell and
with the horror of euerlasting death,
yet was God not at any time either
his enemy, or angry with him. But
he did suffer the greuousefesse of
Gods seuerity, in respect that hee
being stricken and beaten with the
hande of God, did feele all the
tokens of Gods wrath and punish-
ment. 2. 16. 10. 11.

A cōfutation of certaine wicked
and vnlearned men, which at this
day do finde faulte with this expo-
sition, crying out that the senne of
God hath wronge done to him, and
that he is charged with desperatiō,
which is contrary to faith. There-
fore it is proued against them with
manifest testimonies, that these two
things do very well stāde together,
that Christ feared, was troubled in
spirit, was affraide, was tempted in
euery pointe as we are, and yet that
hee is without sinne. 2. 16. 12.

Deuelles.

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Those things that the Scripture teacheth concerning Deuels, tende commonly to this ende, that wee shoulde be carefull to beware of their deceites, & furnish our selues with those weapons which may be able to beat back the most mighty enemies. 1. 14. 13.

That we should be y more stirred vp to do so, it sheweth vs that there is not one or two Deuels, but great armies of euell spirites that make warre against vs: and in what sence it sometime speaketh of the Deuell in the singular number. 1. 14. 14.

This ought to enflame vs to a continuall warre with the Deuell, for y he is euery where called enemy to God and vs. 1. 14. 15.

The Deuell is naturally wicked, a murderer, a lier, and forger of all malitiousnes. 1. 14. 15. But this euellnesse of nature is not by creation, but by corruption. 1. 14. 16.

It is curiosity to enquire of the cause, maner, time and fashion of the fall of the euell Angels, forasmuch as the Scripture leaueth it vnspoken. 1. 14. 16.

This the Deuell hath of himselfe and of his owne naughtinesse, desirously and purposely to strue against God, but hee can do and performe nothing vnlesse God be willing and graunt it 1. 14. 17.

God so tempereth this gouernment, that hee geueth Satan no reigne ouer the soules of the faithfull, forasmuch as in the ende they euer obtaine the victorie, although in some particular doings they be

wounded and beaten downe: but he onely geueth the wicked to him to gouerne, and to vse his power vpon their soules and bodies. 1. 14. 18.

A cōfutation of them which say that Deuells are nothing els but euell affections or perturbations: and it is proued by testimonies of Scripture, that they are mindes or spirits endued with sence and vnderstanding. 1. 14. 19.

Discipline.

Discipline is a thing most necessary in the Church. 4. 12. 1.

Of priuate admonishings, which is the first foundation of the Discipline of the Church. 4. 12. 2.

Of the Ecclesiasticall Senate, that is to say, the seniors or elders, which together with the bishops haue y ouersight of maners. 4. 3. 8.

Princes as well as the common people ought to be subiect to the Discipline of the church, & so was it wont to be in the olde time. 4. 12. 7.

Of the olde Discipline of the cleargy, and the yearly assemblinge of prouinciall synodes: and howe this order is buried in the papacy, sauing that they kepe certaine shadowes thereof. 4. 12. 22.

E.

Excommunication.

WHat is the power of the iurisdiction of the Church, and howe necessary and auncient it is. 4. 11. 1, 4.

Of the power of binding and losinge, so much as pertaineth to Discipline, wherein there is spoken of Excommunication. 4. 11. 2.

This

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This power of the Church is distincte from the ciuile power, and the one is a helpe to the other. Therefore the opiniō of some men is false, which thinke that it ought to haue no place where are Christian magistrates. 4. 11. 1, 3, 8.

This is a stayed and continuall order in the Church, and not enduring onely for a time. 4. 11. 4.

Of the right vse of this iurisdiction in the olde Church: and howe this power belonged not to one man alone, but to the assembly of elders. 4. 11. 5, 6. and Ch. 12. Sect. 7.

Of the Excommunicatiō of the church, & y^e authority therof. 4. 12. 4.

Three endes which the Church hath regarde vnto in corrections and Excommunication. 4. 12. 5.

Of exercising the discipline of the Church according to the proportion of sinnes, forasmuch as some be priuate and some be publike, some be negligent defaultes, some be hainous offences. 4. 12. 3, 4, 6.

In Excommunication seuerity ought to be tempered. And in this behalfe is noted the extreme rigorousnesse of the in olde time. 4. 12. 8.

Euery priuate man ought to esteeme them that be Excommunicate as strangers from the Church, but not to accompt the past hope, but to endeouour to the vttermost of their power to bringe them into the way againe. 4. 12. 9, 10.

If the benche of elders do not so diligently correct faultes as they ought, or if the pastors can not amende all things as they would, yet

priuate men ought not to departe from the Church, neither ought the pastors to shake of their ministeric. 4. 12. 11.

Against y^e pecisenesse of the olde Donatistes & of the Anabaptistes of our dayes, which do acknowledge no congregation of Christ, but where there is in euery point an Angelike perfection. 4. 12. 12.

If the corruption of any sinne haue infected the whole multitude, the rigorousnesse of discipline must be tempered with the mercy, least the whole body be destroyed. 4. 12. 13.

F.

Faith.

THe name of Faith otherwise taken among holy writers than it is among the prophane. 4. 12. 13.

Howe it is to be vnderstode that God is the obiecte of faith. 2. 6. 4.

Of faith. And heere the Sophisters are reprobued, which vnderstande nothing els by this worde faith, but a common assente to the history of the Gospell, & do simply call God the obiect of faith, in the meane time leauing out Christ, without whom there is no faith, nor any acceſse to God. 3. 2. 1.

A confutation of the Scholemennes doctrine concerning vnexpressed faith, wheras faith requireth an expresse reknowledginge of the goodnesse of God, in which standeth our righteousness. 3. 2. 2.

Our faith, so longe as wee are waueringe in the world, is enwrapped with many remnautes of ignorance, and in all things infidelity

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is euer mingled with faith, whereof many examples are seene in the disciples of Christ before that they came to perfecte light, yet this is still most trewe, that vnderstanding is euer ioined with faith. 3. 2. 3. 4.

There is a certaine obedience to Christ, & aptnesse to learne, with a desire to profit, which is called by the name of faith, whereas it is but a preparatiō to faith, and that same may be called an vnexpressed faith: yet it farre differeth from the papistes inuention. 3. 2. 5.

The trewe faith or knowledge of Christ, is when we cōceiue him in such sorte as he is offred of the Father, that is to say, clothed with his Gospell. And faith hath a mutuall relation to the word, and the word to faith, because the worde is the fountaine of faith, the grounde of faith, and the mirroure in which faith beholdeth God. 3. 2. 6.

Faith, although it assente to all the partes of the word of God, yet most properly it hath regarde therin to the good will and mercy of God, that is to say, the promises of grace grounded vpon Christ, for the vnderstanding and certainty whereof, the holy Ghost lighteneth our mindes and strengtheneth our hartes: Hereupon is gathered the definition of faith. 3. 2. 7.

A confutation of the Sophisters distinction of faith, formed & formed: whereby it appeareth that they neuer thought of the singular gifte of the holy Ghost, forasmuch as faith can in no wise be seuered

from a Godly affection. 3. 2. 8.

This worde faith hath diuerse significatiōs, and is sometime taken for the power to do miracles, with which gift of God, sometime y wicked are endued: Sometime it is figuratiuely taken for that knowledge of God which is in some wicked men, which is rather a shadowe & ymage of faith, of which faith there are diuerse sortes in them. 3. 2. 9. 10.

The reprobate haue also sometime such a like feeling as the elect haue, yet they do not fully conceiue y force of spirituall grace, but only confusely. Neuertheless the same is a certaine inferior working of the holy Ghost. But this feling differeth farre from the peculiar testimony which he geueth to the elect. 3. 2. 11.

Yet is not the Spirit deceitfull, which lightly sprinkleth the reprobate sometime with such a knowledge of the Gospell, and feling of the loue of God as afterward doth vanish away. Sometime also there is stirred vp in their hartes a certaine desire of mutuall loue toward God, but such a loue as is a hired and not a hartly loue. At length it is concluded that there be some which do not faime a faith, & yet do lacke the trewe faith: Which is also proued by testimonies. 3. 2. 12. and such a feling is in the Scripture called faith, although it be vnproperly so called. 3. 2. 13.

Faith is sometime taken for the founde doctrine of religion, and the whole summe therof: contrariwise sometime it is restrained to some

parti:

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particular object, & sometime it signifieth y^e ministry of the Church 3.2.13.

Faith is most rightfully called knowledge and science, and yet is such a knowledge as rather consisteth of certaine perswasion than of vnderstandinge, forasmuch as that which our minde conceyueth by Faith is most infinite. 3.2.14.

Faith is not cōtent with a doubtful opinion or a darke conceiuing, but requireth a ful and settled assurednesse: & hereunto are to be referred all those titles of commendation wherewith the holy Ghost setteth foorth the authority of the word of God. 3.2.15.

Many do so conceiue the mercy of God, that they receiue very litle comfort thereof, because they doubt whether he wil be merciful to themselves or no: but there is a far other feelinge of the abundant store of Faith, the chiefe ground whereof is that we do not thinke the promises to be true without our selues onely, but rather that by inwardly embracing them we may make the our owne: Hereupon is gathered, who may truly be called Faithfull. 3.2.15, 16.

Though the Faithful in reknowledginge the goodnesse of God toward them are not only oftentimes tempted with vnquietnesse, but also are sometime shaken with most greuous terrours: yet this withstandeth not but that Faith bringeth assurednesse with it, because howsoeuer they be troubled, yet they

neuer fall and depart from that sure affiance which they haue conceived of the mercy of God, but struinge with their owne weakenesse they alway get the vpper hande at last: which is proued by many examples in Dauid. 3.2.17.

A description of the battell of the flesh & the spirite within a faithfull soule. 3.2.18.

The assurednesse of Gods good will. 3.2.18.

A confutation of the most pestilent subtle reasoninge of certaine halfe papistes, which although they confesse that so oft as we looke vpon Christ, we finde plentiful matter to hope wel, yet wil nedes haue vs to wauer and doubt in consideration of our owne vnworthines. And it is proued that we ought neuerthelesse to looke for assured saluation, forasmuch as Christ by a certaine maruelous communion doth daily grow together more & more into one body with vs. 3.2.24.

So soone as we haue any one drop of Faith we begin to beholde God mercifull vnto vs, although a farre off in dede, yet with so assured sight, as we knowe we are not decciued: Both these pointes are proued by testimonies of Paul. 3.2.19, 20.

It is shewed by examples, howe Faith armeth and fortifieth it selfe with the word of God to beare the violent assaultes of tentations, and howe the godly minde neuer suffereth the affiance of Gods mercy to be plucked away from it, although

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it be assailed with many remnanis of vnbeliefe and distrust. 3.2.21.

In the good will of God, which Faith is sayd to haue respect vnto, although Faith do chiefly looke vnto the assured expectation of eternall life, yet there are also contained promises of this present life and a perfect suretie of all good thinges, but the same such as may be gathered of y word: Both these poyntes are confirmed by testimonies of Scripture. 3.2.28.

Faith, although it embrace the word of God in euery point, that is to say in the commaundementes also and in the prohibitions and thretnings, yet hath her fundation and proper marke whereunto it is directed, in y free promise of mercy: and for this reason the Gospell is called the worde of Faith, and is set as contrary to the law. 3.2.29.

Yet do we not by this distinction teare Faith in sonder as Pyghius shamefully cauilleth. 3.2.30.

Faith doth no lesse neede the worde of God, than the frute doth neede the liuely roote of the tree, & with the worde must be ioyned a consideratiō of the power of God, without the which, mens eares will either not willingly heare y worde, or not esteeme it worthily. His power is to be considered, in that that it is effectuell, that is to say by the workes of God, & by his benefites either particular or ancient & such as he hath bestowed vpon y whole Church. 3.2.31.

The Faithfull ostentimes so be-

haue themselues, that some errours are mingled with their Faith, and they seme to passe the boudes of the word, but yet so, that Faith hath alway the vpper hand: This is proued by the examples of Sara & Rebecca, whome in the crooked turninges of their minde, God did by a secret bridle holde fast in the obedience of his word. 3.2.31.

By reason of our blindenesse and stiffneckednes, the word suffiseth not to make vs haue Faith, vnlesse the Spirit of God do enlighē our minde, & strengthen our hart with his power: & the same Spirit is not only the beginner of our Faith, but also doth encrease it by degrees. 3.2.33.

Although it seeme to the most parte of men a most straunge doctrine, that no mann can beleue in Christ, but he to whom it is giuen, yet, it is proued to be most true by reasons, testimonies of Scripture, and examples. 3.2.34.

Therefore Faith is called the Spirit of Faith, the worke and good pleasure of God: and it is a singular gift, which he giueth by singular priuilege to whom he will: as it is proued by notable sentences taken out of Augustine. 3.2.35.

It is not enough that the minde be enlightened with vnderstanding of the worde, vnlesse also the assurednesse of the word be poured into y very heart: both which thinges y Spirit worketh: which is therefore called the scale, the pledge, and the Spirit of promise. 3.2.36.

Although

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Although Faith be tossed with diuerse dourtings, yet it alway at the last escapeth out of the gulf of tē-
tations, and receiueth most sweete
quietnes. 3.2.37.

A confutation of the damnable
doctrīne of the Schoolemé, which
say that we can none otherwise de-
termine of the grace of God to-
ward vs, than by morall coniecture
3.2.38.

They are proued to be miserably
blinde, in saying that it is rashnes for
vs to conceiue an vndouted know-
ledge of the will of God : A good
comparison of them and Paule in
this point of doctrine. 3.2.39.

A confutation of their rursinge
shift, that although we may take v-
pō vs to iudge of the grace of God
accordinge to the present state of
righteousnes, yet the knowledge of
perseuering to the ende abideth in
suspense. 3.2.40.

It is proued that the definitiō of
Faith taught in this chapter Sect.7.
agreeth with the Apostles defini-
tion. Heb. Cap. 11. And the errour
of the Schoolemen, that charitie is
before Faith and Hope, is confuted
by the testimony of Bernarde. 3.2.
41.

Hope is alway engendred of Faith,
& is the vndeuided companion of
Faith, so that whosoever lacketh
hope, is proued also to haue no
faith. Also Faith is nourished and
strengthened by hope: and how ne-
cessary are the helpes of hope to
stabilishe Faith, which is assayed
with so many sortes of tentations.

3.2.42.

By reason of this conioyning &
alliace of Faith & hope, the Scrip-
ture doth many times vse those
two wordes without difference, and
sometime ioyneth them together. A
confutation of the errour of Peter
Lombarde, which maketh two fun-
dations of Faith, that is to say, the
grace of God, & y merit of workes.

3.2.43.

Of the imperfection of Faith, &
the confirming & encrease thereof.
4. 14.7,8.

Of the summe of our Faith, which
we cal the Crede, or Simbole of the
Apostles. 2.16.18.

The conclusion of the 16. chap-
ter, wherein are briefly contained
the benefites that came to vs by
those thinges that are spoken con-
cerninge Christ in the Simbole of
the Apostles. 2.16.19.

See iustificatiō of Faith.

Fasting.

Of that part of Discipline of the
Church, which cōcerneth the ap-
pointing of Fastinges, or extraordi-
nary prayers: & how pastors ought
to vse it. 4. 12.14,16,17.

It is to be prouided that no su-
perstition crepe in in Fasting. 4.12.
19.

The holy and rightfull Fasting
hath three endes. 4.12.15.

The definitiō of Fasting. 4.12.18.

Of the superstition of Lent, and
the diuersity of obseruing the same
Fasting. 4.12.20,21.

Feare.

The faithful are oftentimes trou-

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bled with Feare & distrust by reason of the feelinge of their owne weakenes. 3.2.17.

An other kinde of Feare conceived in a godly heart, either by examples of Gods vengeaunce against the wicked, or by consideration of his own misery: Such Feare is so much not contrary to faith, that the faithfull are much exhorted to haue it. Neither is it any maruell, if there be in a Faithfull soule both Feare and Faith, for on the other side in the wicked there are both dull negligēce and carefullnesse. 3.2.22,23.

The Feare of God proceedeth out of a double feeling, namely whē we honor God as our father, and feare him as our Lord: Neither is it any maruell if one minde haue both those affections. 3.2.26.

This Feare differeth from the Feare of the vnfaithfull, which they cōmonly call a seruile Feare. 3.2.27

Offorsaking of our selues.

The first beginning of framing our life after the rule set forth in the lawe, is to consider that we are not at our own liberty, but hallowed & dedicate to God. And therefore we ought to forsake our selues, and our own reason (which as the Philosophers thinke, ought alone to be obeyed) to the ende that we may be gouerned by the word & Spirit of the Lord. 3.7.1.

Also that we ought not to seeke those thinges that are our owne, but those thinges that are according to the will of the Lord, and do serue to aduance his glorie. And

that this is the forsaking of our selues, without the which there is a world of vices enclosed in the soule of man, and if there be any seming of vertue at all, the same is corrupted with wicked desire of glory. 3.7.2.

The forsaking or mortifyinge of our selues, is partly in respect of mē, and partely, yea, and chiefly in respect of God. Toward other men, the Scripture commaundeth vs to do two thinges: namely to preferre them in honor before our selues, & with vnfeined truth to employ our selues wholly to procure their commodities. Howe the first of these points is to be performed, is taught in the 3.7.4. & also how the Scripture leadeth vs by the hand to the seconde point is shewed in the 3.7.5.

See certaine things pertaining to this purpose. 3.20.43.

Freewill.

Man was endued with Freewill in the first estate of his creation. 1.15.8. which he lost by his fall. Of this the Philosophers were ignorant, and so all such as follow them, giuing Freewill to man, are vtterly deceiued. 1.15.8.

The pliability or weake power of Freewill, which was in the first man, doth not excuse his fall. 1.15.8.

It is as well for our profit, as for the glory of God, to acknowledge all our strength to be but a staffe made of a reede, yea, but a smoke. In the meane time we must be-

ware

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ware, that while we take al vprightnesse from man, we do not thereof take occasion of slothfulnesse. But rather we ought thereby to be stirred vppe to seeke in God all the goodnes whereof we our selues are voide. The defenders of Freewill do rather throw it downe hedlong than stablish it. 2.2.1.

The Philosophers determine three powers of the soule, Vnderstanding, Sense, & Wil or Appetite: and they thinke that the reason of mans vnderstandinge suffiseth for his good gouernance: that wil is by sense moued to euill, so that it doth hardly yeelde it selfe to reason, and sometime is diuersly drawn from the one to y other, but yet y it hath a free election & can not be stopped, that it may followe reason her guide in all things: finally that vertues and vices are in our powers. 2.2.2,3.

The Ecclesiasticall wryters, although they acknoweledged the soundnesse of vnderstanding, and the freedome of will to haue binfore wounded by sinne, yet haue spoken too much philosophically of this matter. The old wryters did it for this purpose, first because they were loth to teache a thinge that shoulde be an absurdity in the common iudgement of men, & also specially least they shoulde giue a new occasion of slothfulnes to the flesh beinge already too much dull to goodnes, as appeareth by many sayinges of Chrysostome and Hierome. The Greeke doctors about

all other, & specially Chrysostome, do exceede measure in aduaucing Freewill. But all the olde wryters generally, except Augustine, do so vary and wauer in this point of doctrine, that there can almost no certaintie be gathered of their wrytings. They which came after the, fell one after an other to worse & worse. The definitions of Freewill out of Origen, Augustine, Bernard, Anselme, Peter Lombard, & Thomas. 2.2.4.

In what things they do commonly giue Freewill to man, and of the three sortes of mans will, 2.2.5.

Also of the common distinction of the three sortes of libertie. 2.2.5.

Whether man be wholly deprived of power to do good, or whether he haue yet some power thought it be weake: where it is spoken of the common distinction of grace working and grace workinge together, and what is amisse in the same distinction. 2.2.6.

Forasmuch as it can not otherwise be said that man hath Freewill, but bicause he doth euil of his own will, & not by cōpulsion, it had bin very good for the church that this word Freewill had neuer bin vsed, which had raised vp men to a damnable trust of themselves. The old writers also do oft declare what they meane by that word, specially Augustin, out of whom there are many places alleged, where he weakeneth and mocketh the strength thereof, both when he calleth it

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of spirituall good things, yet the enioying thereof lyeth hidden vnder the custody of hope so long as we liue in this world, & therefore we must yet rest vpon the promises.

2.9.3.

A confutation of their errour which compare the lawe with the Gospell, none otherwise than the deseruings of workes with the imputation of free righteousnesse. 2.

9.4.

Iohn the Baptist had an office meane betwene the prophetes expositors of the lawe, and the Apostles publishers of the Gospell. 2.9.

5.

Gouernment.

See Politike Gouernment.

H.

Handes.

See laying on of Handes.

Holy water of Papistes.

See Booke.4. Chapter. 10. Section. 30.

Holy Ghost.

Testimonies whereby the Godhed of the holy Ghost is proued. 13. 14, 15.

The holy Ghost is the bonde wherewith Christ doth effectually binde vs to him, and without it, all that Christ hath suffered and done for the saluation of mankinde doth nothing profit vs. 3. 1. 1, 3.

Christ came after a singular manner furnished with the holy Ghost, to seuer vs frō the world, & therefore he is called the Spirit of sanctification. Why he is sometime called the Spirit of the father, & some-

time the Spirit of the Sonne. He is called the Spirit of Christ, not only in respect that Christ is the eternal Worde, but also accordinge to his person of Mediator. 3. 1. 2.

An exposition of the titles wherewith the Scripture setteth forth the holy Ghost: & there is created of the beginning and whole restoring of our saluation. The titles be these: the Spirit of adoption, the earnest and seale of our inheritance, life, water, oyle, oynment, fire, a fountaine, the hande of God. &c. 3. 1. 3.

Faith is the chiefe worke of the holy Ghost, and therefore to it for the most part are all those things referred which are commonly founde in the Scripture to expresse the force & effectuall power of the holy Ghost. 3. 1. 4.

Humility.

It is not the true Humility which God requireth of vs, vnlesse we acknowledge our selues vtterly void of al goodnesse and righteousnesse. 3. 12. 6.

Of this humility there is an example shewed in the Publicane. 3. 12. 7.

That we may giue place to the calling of Christ, both presumption & carelesnes must be farre away frō vs. 3. 12. 8.

There is no daunger least man shoulde take too much from himselfe, so that he learne that which wanteth in himselfe is to be recovered in God. It is a Deuillish word, although it be swete to vs, y^e listeth vp man in himselfe: for repulsinge wherco^f,

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whereof, there are recited out of the Scripture many weighty sentences, which do rigorously throwe downe mā: & also there are recited certaine promises, which do promise grace, to none but to thē that do pine away with feelinge of their owne pouerty. 2. 2. 15.

Certaine notable sayings of Christosome and Augustine concerning true Humility. 2. 2. 11.

I.

Idols.

THE Scripture setteth out God by certaine titles of addition & markes, not to the entent to binde him to one place or to one people, but to put difference betwene his holy Maiesty and Idols. 2. 8. 15.

An exposition of the first commaundement: where is shewed that worshippinge, trust, inuocation, and thankesgiuinge, belonge wholly to God, and no whit thereof may be conueied any otherwhere without great iniury to him to whose eies all things are open. 2. 8. 16.

An exposition of the second commaundement: where is spoken of Idols and Images. 2. 8. 17.

The Scripture, to y^e entē to bring vs to the true God, doth expressly exclude all the gods of the Gentiles. 1. 10. 3. & specially all Idols & Images. 1. 11. 1.

God is seuered from Idols, not only that he alone should haue the name of God, but y^e he alone should be wholly worshipped, & nothinge y^e belongeth to the Godhed should be conueied to any other. 1. 12. 1.

The glory of God is corrupted with false lying, when any forme is appointed to it. 1. 11. 1.

It is proued by textes & reasons, that God generally misliketh all Portraytures and Images that are made to expresse a figure of him, & this prohibitō pertained not to the Iewes only. 1. 11. 2.

God did in olde time so shewe his presence by visible signes either to the whole people, or to certaine chosen men, that the same signes admonished thē of the incomprehensible substance of God. 1. 11. 3.

It is proued euen of Iuuenals testimony that the Papistes are mad, which defende the Images of God and of Saintes with the example of the Cherubs coveringe the propitiatory. 1. 11. 3.

The stuffe it selfe and also the workemanship which is done with the handes of men, do shew that Images are not Gods. 1. 11. 4.

Against the Grecians, which make no graue image of god, but do giue thēselues leaue to paint him. 1. 11. 4.

The sayinge of Gregory, vpon which the Papistes say that they stande, that Images are vnlearned mens bookes, is cōfuted by the testimony of Hierome, Habacuc, Lactantius, Eusebius, Augustine, Varro, and the decree of the Elebertine councill. 1. 11. 5. 6, 7.

The Papistes Portraitsures or Images whereby they represent the holy martirs and godly virgins, are paternes of most wicked riotous excesse and vnchastnes. 1. 11. 7, 12.

NNNN

The Table.

The people shall learne much more by the preaching of the word and ministratiō of Sacramentes, than by a thousand woddē crosses.

1.11.7.

The antiquity and beginninge of Idolatry, for that men thinkinge God not to be neere them, vnlesse he did shew himselfe carnally present, raised vp signes in which they beleued that he was carnally conuerfant before their eyes. 1.11.8.

After such an inuentiō by and by followeth the worshippinge of the Image, like as of God or of any other creature in the Image: both which the law of God forbiddeth. 1.11.8,9.

Against them, which for defence of abominable Idolatry, do pretende that they do not take the Images for Gods, it is proued that neither the Iewes did thinke their calfe to be God, nor the heathen when they made to themselves Images did euer thinke y same to be God, whō yet no man excuse. 1.11.9.

The Papistes are so perswaded as the heathen and the Idolatrous Iewes were, that they worship God himself vnder Images. 1.11.10. Neither can they escape away with their distinction of seruice & worship. 1.11.11,16. & 1.12.2.

When Idolatry is condemned, grauinge & painting are not vtterly reprobued, but there is required a true and right vse of them both, that God be not counterfaieted with bodily shape, but onely those thinges which our eyes may be-

holde. 1.11.12.

Of Images in the temples of Christians. 4.9.9.

Euen the Idolaters themselves in all ages, naturally vnderstoode that there is one only God: but this vnderstandinge auailed no further than to make the to be vnexcusable. 1.10.3.

Idolatry is an euident prooffe that the knowledge of God is naturally planted in the mindes of all men. 1.3.1.

Image of God in man.

What it is, that man was create after the Image of God: And here are confuted the sonde expositions of Osiander and of others: and here is declared that though the Image of God do appeare also in the outward manne, and do extende to the whole excellence wherewith the nature of man passeth all kindes of liuinge creatures, yet the principall seate thereof is in the minde and in the heart, or in the soule & the powers therof. 1.15.3. & 2.2.1.

The Image of God at the beginning appeared in Adam, in light of minde, vprightnes of heart, and the soundnes of all his parts: which is proued by the repaying of corrupted nature, wherein Christ newly fashioneth vs after the image of God, and by other argumentes. 1.15.4.

Indulgences.

See Pardons.

Infantes.

See Baptising of Infantes.

Last Iudgement.

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Of the visible presence of Christ when he shall appeare at the last day: Of the Iudgemēt of the quick & dead, and that our faith is well & rightfully directed to the thinking vpon that day: and of the notable comforting that thereby ariseth in our consciences. 3. 25. 7, 8.

Of the incōprehensible greuousnes of Gods vengeance against the reprobate. 3. 25. 12.

Iudiciall proceedinges in Law.

Of the vse of Iudiciall proceedinges, Magistrates, and Lawes, among Christians. It is lawfull for Christians to sue for their right before a Magistrate, so that the same be done without hurting of piety & of the loue of our neighbour. 4. 20. 17, 18.

Desire of reuenge, is alway to be auoided, whether it be a commō or conuinciall action wherein menne striue before a Iudge. 4. 20. 19.

The commaudemēt of Christ, to giue thy cloke to him that taketh away thy coate, & such like, proue not but that a Christiā may sue before a Magistrate, & vse his help for y^e preserving of his goods. 4. 20. 20.

Paul doth not viterly condemne futes, but reproveth the vnomeasurable rage of suyng at lawe among the Corinthians. 4. 20. 21.

Iustification of Faith.

Of the Iustificatiō of faith, & first of the definition of the name & of the thing it selfe. 3. 11.

The article of doctrine concerning the Iustification of faith is of great importance. 3. 11. 1.

It is shewed by y^e Scripture what it is to be Iustified by workes, and what it is to be Iustified by faith. 3. 11. 2, 3, 4.

A confutation of the errour of Osiander, cōcerning essentiall righteousness, which taketh frō men the earnest feeling of the true grace of Christ. 3. 11. 5, 6, 7. & c. to the 13.

A confutation of Osianders inuentiō, that whereas Christ is both God & Man, he was made righteousness to vs in respect of his nature of Godhead and not of his Manhode. 3. 11. 8. 9.

Against them which imagine a righteousness compounded of faith and workes, it is proued that when the one is stablished, the other must nedes be ouerthrowen. 3. 11. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

It is proued by the Scripture against the Sophisters, that this is a sure principle, that we are Iustified by faith only. 3. 11. 19, 20.

It is proued by testimonies of Scripture that the righteousness of faith is reconciliation with God, which consisteth only vpon the remission of sinnes. 3. 11. 21, 22.

By the only intercessiō or meane of the righteousness of Christ, we obtaine to be Iustified before God. 3. 11. 23.

That we may be thoroughly persuaded of the free Iustification, we must lift vp our mindes to y^e Iudgement seate of God: before which, nothing is acceptable but y^e which is whole and perfect in euery behalfe, the dreadfull maiesty whereof.

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is described by many places of Scripture. 3. 12. 1, 2.

All godly writers do shewe that when mē haue to do with God, the only place of refuge for conscience is in the free mercy of God, excluding all trust of workes: And this is proued by testimonies of Augustine and Bernard. 3. 12. 3.

Two things are to be obserued in free Iustification: the first, that the Lord kepe fast his glory vnminished: which is done when he alone is acknowledged to be righteous, for they glory against God which glory in themselues. 3. 13. 1, 2 the seconde, that our consciences may haue quietnesse in the sight of his iudgement. 3. 13. 3, 4, 5.

What maner of beginning is of Iustification, and what continuall proceedings. 3. 14.

A brieue summe of the fundatiō of Christian doctrine taken out of Paul. 3. 15. 5.

This fundatiō being layd, wise builders do well & orderly build vpon, whether it be to set forth doctrine & exhortation, or to giue comfort. 3. 15. 8.

Good workes are not destroyed by the doctrine of Iustification of faith. 3. 16. 1.

It is most false that mens mindes are drawen away from affection of well doing, when we take from them the opinion of deseruinge. 3. 16. 2, 7.

It is a most vaine sclaunder, that men are prouoked to sinne, when we affirme a free forgiuenesse of

sinnes, in which we say that righteousness consisteth. 3. 16. 4.

In what sense the Scripture oftentimes saith that the faithful are Iustified by workes. 3. 17. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

The doers of the lawe are Iustified. 3. 17. 13.

He that walketh in vprightnes, is righteous. 3. 17. 15.

An exposition of certaine places, wherein the faithfull do boldly offer their righteousness to the iudgement of God to be examined, and pray to be iudged accordinge to the same, and it is proued that this disagreeeth not with the free iustification of Faith. 3. 7. 14.

The saying of Christ, If thou wilt enter into life, kepe the commaundementes, disagreeeth not with the free Iustification of faith. 3. 18. 9.

K.

Kingdom of Christ.

See Priesthoode.

Knowledge of God.

To Knowe God, is not onely to conceiue that there is some God, but to vnderstande so much as be-houeth vs to knowe of him, and so much as auaieth for his glory, and is expedient. 1. 2. 1.

The Knowledge of God ought to tende to this ende, first to frame vs to feare and reuerence: & then that by it guiding & teaching vs we may learne to aske all good things of him, & to accompt the same received at his hande. 1. 2. 2 & 1. 5. 8.

The Philosophers had no other Knowledge of God than y^e which made them vnexcusable, but did not

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not bringe them to the trueth, 2. 2. 18.

This perswasio is naturally planted in all men, that there is some God. 1. 2. 3. & that to this ende, that they which do not worship him, may be condemned by their owne iudgement. 1. 3. 1.

Though all men know by nature that there is a God, yet some become vaine in their superstitions, and other some of set purpose do maliciously depart from God. 1. 4. 1
See certaine things pertaining to this matter, in the Title of Creation of the world.

L.

Laying on of handes.

OF Laying on of hands in ordering of Ministers. 4. 14. 20.

Of the Laying on of handes in making of popish priestes. 4. 19. 31.

Law.

The Law, that is to say the forme of religion set forth by Moses, was not giuen to holde the olde people still in it, but to nourishe in their harts the hope of saluatio in Christ vntil his comming: which is proued by this that Moses repeateth the metion of the couenat: & by the order of the ceremonies appointed as well in sacrifices as in washinges, also by the office of priesthode in the tribe of Leui, and the honor of kingdom in Dauid & his posterity. The Law also of the ten commaundements was giuen to prepare men to seeke Christ. 2. 7. 1, 2. and that is done, whē it maketh vs vnexcusable being on euery side couicted of our

sinnes, to moue vs to seeke for pardon of our guiltines. 2. 7. 3. 4.

It is proued by the Scripture & declared, that the obseruing of the Law is impossible. 2. 7. 5.

There are three vses and offices of the morall Lawe: The first is, that shewing vnto vs the righteoulnes which onely is acceptable vnto God, it may be as a glasse for vs, wherein we may behold our weaknesse, & by it our wickednes, and finally by them both, our accursednesse: Neither turneth this to any dishonor of the Lawe, but maketh for the glory of the bountifullnes of God, which both with helpe of grace aideth vs to do that which we are commaunded, and by mercy putteth away our offences. Neither yet doth this office altogether cease in the reprobate. 2. 7. 6, 7, 8, 9.

The second office, is to restraine the reprobate with feare of punishment, least they vnbrideledly commit the wickednesse which inwardly they alway nourishe and loue: & also to drawe backe the children of God before their regeneration from outwarde licentiousnesse. 2. 7. 10, 11.

The third office, concerneth the faithfull: for the Law although it be already wrytten with the finger of God in their heartes, yet profiteth them two wayes: For by studyinge vppon it, they are more confirmed in the vnderstanding of the will of the Lord, & are stirred vp & strengthened to obedience, that they go

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not out of kinde by the sluggishnes of the fleshe. 2. 7. 12, 13. For, as touching the curse of the Law, it is taken away from the faithfull, that it can no more extend it self against them in damning and destroyinge them. 2. 7. 14.

By the ten commaundements of the Law we learne the same things which we but slenderly tast by instruction of the law of nature: First that we owe to God reuerence, loue, & feare, y^e righteousnesse pleaseth him, & wickednes displeaseth him: finally, that examininge our life by the rule of the Law, we are vnworthy to be accompted amonge the creatures of God, & that our power is vnufficiēt, yea, no power at all to performe y^e Law. Both these pointes engendre in vs humility & abacing of our selues, which teacheth vs to flye to the mercie of God, and to craue the helpe of his grace. 2. 8. 1, 2, 3.

Forasmuch as God the Lawmaker is spirituall, that is to say, speaketh as well to the soule as to the body, therefore the law likewise requireth not only an outward honesty, but also an inward and spiritual righteousnesse, & a very angelike purenesse. 2. 8. 6. which is proued by Christes owne exposition, when he confuted the Pharisees wrong interpretation, which required only a certaine outward obseruatiō of the Law. 2. 8. 7.

There is alway more in the commaundementes and prohibitions of the Law, than is expressed. Ther-

fore for the right and true expoundinge of them, it behoueth to wey what is the entent or ende of euery of them: Then from that which is commaunded or forbidden, we must draw an argument to the contrary, that we may vnderstande, that not only an euill is forbidden, but also the good is commaunded which is contrary to that euill. 2. 8. 8, 9.

Why God spake by way of emplied comprehendinge, in settinge forth the forme of his commaundementes. 2. 8. 10.

Of the diuiding of the Law into two tables: and how therein we are taught that the first fundation and the very soule of righteousnes is the worshipping of God. 2. 8. 11.

Of the diuision of the ten commaundements, & how many commaundements are to be appointed to the first table, and how many to the second. 2. 8. 12, 50.

An exposition of the commaundements of God: Where is declared that the Lord in the beginning of the Law, to stablish his own maiesty, vseth three argumentes: First by chalenging to himselfe the soueraigne power and right of dominion ouer vs, he doth as it were by necessity drawe vs to obey him: secondly he allureth vs with y^e sweetness of the promise of grace: thirdly he moueth vs to obediēce with rehearfall of the benefit that we haue receiued. 2. 8. 13, 14, 15.

The Law teacheth not only certaine introductions & principles of righte-

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righteousnes, but the very accomplishment thereof, the expressing of the image of God, & the perfectiō of holinesse: which law is al contained in two poyntes, that is to say, the loue of God and of our neighbour. 2.8.51.

The Law of Nature. 2.2.22.

Lawes Politike.

Neither can Lawes be without the Magistrate, nor the Magistrate without Lawes. A confutation of them which say that a common weale is not well ordered, vnlesse it be gouerned by the politike Lawes of Moses. For this purpose is rehearsed a diuision of the Lawes of Moses into morall Lawes, ceremonies, & iudiciall Lawes, and the ende of euery one of them beinge discussed, it is proued y it is lawefull for euery seuerall nation to make politike Lawes, 4.20.14.15. so that they agree with that natural equity, the reason whereof is set forth in the moral Law of Moses. Therefore it is shewed by examples that they may alter the ordinances of penalties accordinge to the diuersity of the cuntrie, time, & other circumstances. 4.20.16.

Liberty.

See Christian Liberty.

Lying.

An exposition of the ninth commaundement: wherein the Lord forbiddeth falshed, wherewith we by Lying or backebyting, do hurt any mans good name, or hinder his commodity. 2.8.47.

We many times sinne against

this commaundemēt, although we do not Lye. But in this point there must be a difference wisely made betwene the slaundringe which is here condemned, & iudiciall accusation or rebuking, which is vsed vpon desire to bring to amendemēt. 2.8.48.

Life of a Christian man.

The law containeth a rule how to frame a mans Life, and diuerse places also of the Scripture do here and there declare it, & not without an orderly maner of teachinge, although not so exquisite & curious as the Philosophers do. 3.6.1.

Herein the Scripture doth two things: it stirreth vs vp to the loue of righteousness and teacheth a rule how to followe the same. The first point it worketh by diuerse arguments & reasons. 3.6.2. & herein the Scripture layeth much better foundations, thā can be found in all the bookes of the Philosophers. 3.6.3.

Against them that pretende a knowledge of Christ, whē their life and manners resemble not the doctrine of Christ. 3.6.4.

Though perfection were to be wished in all men, yet we must also acknowledge for christiāns the most parte of menne which haue not yet proceeded so farre. We must alway endeour forward, & not despeire for y finalnes of our profiting. 3.6.5.

Out of a place of Paul these are gathered to be y parts of a wel framed Life: consideratiō of the grace of God, forsaking of wickednesse & of worldly lustes, sobernes, righte-

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ousnes, godlineſſe (which ſignifieth true holines) & the bleſſed hope of immortality. 3. 7. 3.

Life preſent, & the helps thereof.

The Scripture teacheth the beſt way howe to uſe the goodes of this Life. 3. 10. 4, 5.

Two faultes muſt be auoided: that we do neither binde our conſciences with too much rigorouſnes, nor giue looſe reines to the intemperance of men. 3. 10. 1, 3.

God both in clothing & in foode provided not onely for our neceſſity, but alſo for our delite. 3. 10. 2.

It is moſt neceſſarie, that euery one of vs in all the doings of his life do loke vpon his vocation, that we attempt nothinge raſhly or with doutfull conſcience. 3. 10. 6.

God diſdaineth not to provide alſo for the neceſſities of our earthly body, & in what ſenſe we aſke of him our daily bread. 3. 20. 44.

Life to come.

God doth by diuerſe myſteries teach vs the contempt of this preſent Life, that we may earneſtly deſire Life to come. 3. 9. 1, 2, 4.

Such a cōtempt of this Life is required of vs, that we neither hate it nor be vnthankefull to God, of whoſe clemency it is a teſtimony to the faithfull. 3. 9. 3.

An admonition to them which are holden with too much feare of death, y^e Chriſtians ought rather to deſire that day which ſhal make an end of their continuall miſeries, and fill them with true ioy. 3. 9. 5, 6.

Of the incomprehenſible excel-

lency of the eternal felicity (which is the end of the reſurrection) the taſt of the ſweeteneſſe whereof we ought here continually to take, but yet to auoid curioſity wherupon do ariſe triſling & noyſome queſtions, yea and hurtfull ſpeculations. And there ſhall be an egall meaſure of glory to all the children of God in heauen. 3. 25. 10, 11. In which place alſo is an anſwere to the queſtions which ſome men do moue concerninge the ſtate of the children of God after the reſurrection.

In what ſenſe eternall Life is ſometime called y^e reward of workes. 3. 18. 2, 4.

M.

Magiſtrates.

THE office of Magiſtrates is not only holy and lawefull before God, but alſo the moſt holy and honorable degree in all the life of men, and this is proued by diuerſe titles wherwith the Scripture doth ſet it forth, and by the examples of holy men, which haue borne ciuile power. 4. 20. 4.

This conſideration is a pricke to godly Magiſtrates to moue them to the doing of their deery, and alſo it is a cōfort to eaſe the hard trauailes of their office. 4. 20. 6.

A conſutation of the, which ſay that though in the olde time vnder the law Kinges and Iudges ruled ouer Gods people, yet this ſeruile kind of gōuernmēt doth not agree with the perfection which Chriſt hath brought with his goſpel. 4. 20. 5, 7.

They

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They erre which exclude the Magistrates from the charge of religion, forasmuch as their office extendeth to both the tables of the lawe: It is proued by Scripture, that they are ordeined protectors & defenders as well of the worshiping of God as of common peace and honesty, which they cannot thorowly performe without the power of the sweard. 4. 20. 9.

A declaration of this question by Scripture, howe the magistrats may be godly, and also drawe their swearde, & shed the blood of men, and it is proued that they are so faire from sinning in punishing offenders, that this is one of the vertues of a King, and a profe of their godlinesse. Herein the Magistrates must beware of two faultes, namely extreme rigorousnesse, and superstitious desire of pitie. 4. 20. 10.

It is the duty of subiectes toward Magistrates, to thinke honorably of them as of the ministers and deputies of God, forsomuch as concerneth their degree, but not that they should esteeme the vices of men for vertues. 4. 20. 22.

It is also their duty with mindes hartily bente to the honoring of them to declare their obedience towarde them, whether it be in following their decrees, or in paying of tributes, &c. to pray to God for their safety and prosperity, to raise no tumultes & not to thrust themselves into the office of the Magistrate. 4. 20. 23.

••Euen wicked princes of euell life,

and which rule tyrannously (forsomuch as pertaineth to publike obedience) ought to be had in as great reuerence and honor as we would geue to the best king that might be, 4. 20, 24, 25. because euen they also haue the publike power not without the prouidence and singular power of God. Which is proued by diuerse testimonies and examples of Scripture: and there is shewed with what considerations those subiects ought to bridle their owne inpatience which liue vnder such vngodly and wicked tyrants. 4. 20. 26, 27, 28, 29, 31.

It is not lawfull for priuate men to rise vp against tyrantes, but only for them which by the lawes of the kingedome or of the coutry, are the defenders of the liberty of the people. 4. 20. 31.

The Lorde by his maruellous goodnesse and prouidence, doth sometime raise vp some of his seruantes to punish tyrauntes, and sometime also he directeth thereunto the rage of wicked men while they intende an other thing. 4. 20. 30.

In the obedience which is due to the commaundements of kings and rulers this is alway to be excepted, that it drawe vs not away from the obedience of God. Neither is any wrong done to them when we refuse to obey them in suche things as they commaunde against God: And this is our duty, howe great and present perill soeuer do hang vpon such constancy. 4. 20. 32.

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Man.

Man is by knowledge of himselfe not only moued to seke God, but also led as it were by the hande to finde him. 1. 1. 1.

The creatiō of Man is a notable shewe of the power, wisdom, and goodnesse of God: wherefore Man is by some of the Philosophers called a little world. 1. 5. 3.

The vnthankfulnessse of Men, which feeling tokens of the prouidence of God both in their soule and body, yet do not geue God praise. 1. 5. 4.

Two sortes of knowledge of our selues, the one in our first originall estate, the other after Adams fall, and the latter is not to be receiued without consideringe the first, least we shoulde seeme to impute corruption to God the author of nature. 1. 15. 1.

The knowledge of himselfe is most necessary for Man, which consisteth in this, (as the truth of God prescribeth) that first consideringe to what ende he is created, and endued with excellēt giftes, he should hang altogether vpon God, of whom he hath all things by gift: then, that weyinge his owne miserable estate after the fall of Adā, hee should trewely loth himselfe and conceiue a newe desire to seke God, that in him he may recover these good things, of which he himselfe is found vsterly voide and empty. Wherefore we must beware that in this pointe we hearken not to the iudgement of the fleshe and

to y bookes of Philosophers, which while they withhold vs in considering onely our good thinges, would carry vs away into a most wicked ignorance of our selues. 2. 1. 1, 2, 3.

Man can neuer come to the trewe knowledge of himselfe, vnlesse he haue first beholdē the face of God, that is to say, till he haue begonne to knowe and weigh by the worde of God, what and howe exacte is the perfection of his righteousness, wisdom and power, to the which we ought to be made of like forme. 1. 1. 2.

Euen the most holy men were stricken with feare and astonishment, whē God did extraordinarily shewe his presence and glory vnto them. 1. 1. 3.

That whole man is corrupted in both partes of him, (that is to say both in vnderstanding minde, and in harte or will) is proued by diuerse titles wherewith the Scripture describeth him, specially when it sayeth that he is fleshe: And there is declared that this word fleshe is not referred onely to the sensuall parte but also to the superior parte of the soule. 2. 3. 1.

That Men do in vaine seke for any good thing in their owne nature, is proued by Paule, which entreating of the vniuersal kindred of the children of Adam, and not rebuking the corrupted maners of some one age alone, but accusinge the perpetuall corruptiō of nature, taketh from men righteousness, that

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that is to say vprightnesse, & purenesse, and then vnderstanding, and last of all the feare of God. 2. 3. 2.

A confutation of the obiection concerning certaine heathen Men, which forasmuch as they were all their life long by the guiding of nature bent to y^e endeuor of vertue and honesty, do seeme to warne vs, that we should not esteeme the nature of Man altogether corrupt. Therefore it is declared that in the vnbeleuers God doth not inwardly cleanse the corruption of nature wherwith Man is in eche parte defiled, (as hee doth in the elect) but by his prouidence sometime hee bridleth it in them, that it breake not forth into deedes, and restraineth it by diuerse wayes, so much as he knoweth to be expedient for preserving of the vniuersall state of things. 2. 3. 3.

Those vertues which wee reade to haue bene in heathen Men, are not sufficiēt proues of the purenesse of nature, forasmuch as their mind was inwardly not vpright, being corrupted with ambition or some other poison, and not directed with desire to set forth the glory of God: and also forasmuch as those vertues are not the common giftes of nature, but the speciall graces of God, which he diuersly and by a certaine measure geueth to profane Men, as oftentimes to kings, and sometime to priuate Men. 2. 3. 4.

See Image of God in Man.

Mariage.

An exposition of the seuenth

cōmaundement, wherein the Lord forbiddeth fornication, and requirereth chastity and cleannesse, which wee ought to kepe and preserve both in our minde, and in our eyes, and in the apparrell of our body, and in our tonge, and in the moderate vse of meate and drinke. 2. 8. 41, 44.

Continençe is a singular gifte of God, which he geueth not to all men, but to some, yea & that sometime for a season: As for them to whom it is not graunted, let them alway flee to Mariage, which is ordeined of the Lord for the remedy of mans necessity. 2. 8. 41, 42, 43.

Mariēd persons must beware that they committe nothing vnbeseming the honesty and temperance of Mariage: Otherwise they seeme to be adulterers of their own wiues, and not husbādes. 2. 8. 44.

The papistes do wrongfully call Mariage a Sacrament: And their reasons are confuted. 4. 19. 34 It is proued that the place of Paule, wherwith they seeke to cloke themselves, maketh nothing for them. 4. 19, 35.

In the meane they disagree with theselues when they exclude priests from this Sacrament, and do say that it is vncleannesse and defiling of the fleshe. 4. 19, 36.

By this false colour of Sacramēt, the Pope with his cleargy haue drawen to themselves the hearing of causes of Matrimony, and haue made lawes of Mariage, which partly are manifestly wicked against

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God, & partely most vniust toward men, which lawes are rehearsed, 4.19.37.

Mediator Christ.

It behoued that Christ, to the ende that he might performe the office of Mediator, should be made man, forasmuch as God had so ordeined, bycause it was best for vs, sith none other could be the meane for restoring of peace betweene God and vs, none other could make vs the children of God, none other could assure vnto vs y inhe-ritaunce of the heauely kingdome, none other could for remedy set mannes obedience against mannes disobedience. 2.12.1,2,3.

A confutation of their fantastical conceit, which affirme that Christ should haue become man, although there had needed no remedy for the redeming of mankind. And it is proued by many reasons and textes, that forasmuch as the whole Scripture crieth out that he was clothed with flesh, to the ende that he might be the redemer, therefore it is to great rashnesse to ymagine any other cause or purpose. 2.12.4.

Neither is it lawfull to searche further concerning Christ: & those that do search further, do with wicked boldnesse runne forward to the faining of a newe Christ: And herein Oñader is reprobued, which hath at this time renued this question, and affirmeth that this error is confuted by no testimonie of Scripture. 2.12.5.

And the principle is ouerthrowē

which he buildeth on, that man was create after the ymage of God, because he was formed after the likenesse of Christ to come, that he might resemble him whom the Father had already decreed to cloth with flesh: And there is shewed that the ymage of God in Adam, was the marks of excellēcie wherewith God had garnished him, which doth also shine in the Angels. 2.12.6,7.

A solution of other obiections or absurdities which the same Oñader feareth: namely, that then Christ was borne & creat after the ymage of Adam but as it were by chaunce: and that the Angels should haue lacked their hed, and men should haue lacked Christ their kinge. 2.12.6,7.

Howe the two natures do make one person of y Mediator in Christ: Which is shewed by a similitude taken of the ioining of the soule and body in one man: And then it is proued by diuerse places that the scripture doth many times geue vnto Christ those thinges which properly belongeth to the godhed, & sometime those thinges which must be referred onely to the manhode, and sometime geueth to the one nature that which is proper to the other: which figuratiue maner of speache is called Communicating of properties, 2.14.1,2. and sometime also geueth to Christ those thinges which do comprehend both natures together, but do seuerally well agree with neither of them.

Which

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Which last point the most part of the olde writers haue not sufficiētly marked: Yet it is good to be noted, for the dissoluing of many doutes, and for auoidinge of the errors of Nestorius and Eutiches. 2.14.3.4.

A confutation of the error of Seruettus, which had put in the stede of y^e sonne God, an imagined thing made of the substāce of God, spirit, flethe, and three elementes vncreate: His sutteltie is disclosed, and there is proued (which thing he denieth) that Christ was the sonne of God, euen before that he was borne in the flesh, because he is that word begotten of the father before all worldes. 2.14.5.

Also it is proued that he is truly and properly the sonne of God in flesh, that is to say in the nature of Man, but yet in respect of his godhed, and not of his flesh, as Seruettus babbleth. 2.14.6.

An exposition of certaine places which Seruettus and his disciples do enforce for defence of their error: There is also another cauilation of his disclosed, that Christ before that he appeared in the flesh, is in no place called the sonne of God but vnder a figure. 2.14.7.

Also there is opened the error of all them which do not acknowledge Christ the sonne of God but in the flesh: And there are bresely rehearsed y^e grosse suttelties of Seruettus, wherewith he hath bewitched himselfe and other, ouerthrowing y^e which pure faith beleueth

cōcerning the person of the sonne of God: And therupon is gathered that with the crafty darke suttelties of that filthy dog, the hope of saluatiō is viterly extinguished. 2.14.8.

Merit of Christ.

It is truly & properly sayd that Christ Merited for vs the grace of God and saluatiō: Where it is proued that Christ was not onely the instrument or minister of saluation, but also the author and principall doer thereof: And in so saying, the grace of God is not defaced, because the Merit of Christ is not set against mercy, but hangeth vpon it. And those things which are Subalterna, fight not as contraries. 2.17.1.

The distinction of the Merit of Christ and of the grace of God is proued by many places of Scripture. 2.17.2.

There are alleged many testimonies of Scripture, out of which it is certainly & soundly gathered, y^e Christ by his obediēce hath truly purchaced and deserued fauor for vs with his father. 2.17.3,4,5.

It is a foolishhe curiositie to enquire, whether Christ hath deserued any thing for himselfe: and it is rashnesse to affirme it. 2.17.6.

Merites of Workes.

The boastinges that are made of the Merites of workes, do ouerthrowe as well the praise of God in geuiing righteousnesse, as also the certainty of saluation. 3.15.

Whosoever first applied the name of Merit to good workes in the sight of Gods iudgement, he did against

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the purenesse of faith. And though the olde fathers vsed that name, yet they so vsed it that they haue in many places shewed that they attribute nothing to workes. 3. 15. 2.

An exposition of certaine places, wherewith the Sophisters go about to proue that the name of Merit toward God is found in the Scripture. 3. 15. 4.

It is proued by authoritie of the Apostles and Augustine, that the rewardes of righteousness do hang vpon the mere liberalitie of God. 2. 5. 2.

It is proued that this is a false saying, that Christ Merited for vs onely the first grace, and that afterwarde we do Merit by our owne workes. 3. 15. 6, 7.

There be certaine things touching merites in the title of Iustification by faith.

Ministry of the Church.

Of the Ministry of the Church, and of them which despise this manner of learning. 4. 1. 5.

Of the efficacy of the Ministry. 4. 1. 6.

God, which might teache the Church either himselve alone or by Angels, yet doth it by the Ministry of Men for three causes. 4. 3. 1.

The Ministry of the Church is garnished with many notable titles of commendation in the Scripture. 4. 3. 2, 3.

Of Apostles, Prophetes, Euangelistes, Pastors and Teachers: and what is the seuerall office of euery of them. 4. 3. 4, 5.

The chiefe partes of the office of Apostles and pastors are to preache the Gospell, and Minister the Sacraments. 4. 3. 6.

Pastors are so bounde to their Churches, that they may not remove to any other place without publike authoritie. 4. 3. 7.

They are called in the Scripture, Bishops, Priests, Pastors and Ministers, which gouerne Churches. 4. 3. 8.

No man ought to thrust in himselve in the Church to teache or gouerne: But there is a callinge required. 4. 3. 10.

The preaching of the worde of God is compared to seede which is scattered in the ground: Whereby we vnderstand that the whole increase procedeth of the blessing of God and the effectuall working of the holy Ghost. 4. 14. 11.

What maner of men ought to be chosen Bishops, and in whath sorte and of whom they are to be chosen, and with what forme or ceremony they are to be ordred. 4. 3. 11, 12, 13, 14. 15, 16.

The olde Church before the papacy, diuided all their Ministers into three degrees, Pastors, Elders, and Deacons. 4. 4. 1.

Of the commission to remit and retaine sinnes, or to binde & loose, which is a parte of the power of the keyes, and pertaineth to the Ministry of the word. 4. 11. 1.

Monkery.

Monasteries in olde time were the seedeploites of ecclesiasticall orders:

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orders: And there is described our of Augustine the forme of the olde Montery, & howe they were wont at that time to get their liuing with the labor of their handes. Wherby appeareth that at this day the manner of popishe Montery is farre otherwise. 4.13.8,9,10.

Of the proude title of perfectiō wherewith the Monkes do set out their kinde of life. 4.13.11. bycause they binde themselues to keepe the counsels of the Gospell (as they call them). whereunto other Christian men are not bounde. Sect. 12. and because they haue forsaken all their possessions. Sect. 13.

As many as go into Monasteries, do departe from the Church, sith they openly affirme that their Mōkerie is a forme of secōd Baptisme. 4.13.14.

The popish Mōkes do in maners much differ from the olde Monkes. 4.13.15.

Some things are to be misliked euen in the profession of the olde Montery, and they that were the authors therof brought a perillous example into the Church. 4.13.16.

Monkes with their vowes do cōsecrate themselues not to God but to the Deuell. 4.13.17.

As all vowes vnlawefull and not rightly made, are of no value before God, so they ought to be voide to vs. 4.13.20.

Therefore they which departe frō Montery to some honeste trade of life, are wrongfully accused of faith breaking and periury. 4.13.21.

Of Mortification.

See Forsaking of our selues.

O.

Obedience of children to parentes.

AN exposition of the fifth commaundement: The ende and summe thereof. 2.8.35.

Howe farre this word honoring extēdeth: and there be three partes thereof, Reuerēce, Obedience, and Thankefulnesse. 2.8.36.

Of the promise adioined to the fifth commaundement, concerning long continuance of life, and howe farre the same pertaineth to vs at this day. 2.8.37.

How & by howe diuerse meanes, God sheweth his vengeance vpon the disobedient: Yet obedience is not due to parentes and other, but sauing the lawe of God. 2.8.38.

Offences.

What Offences are to be auoided, and what to be neglected: what is an Offence geuen, and what an offence taken. 3.19.11.

It is declared by the doctrine & example of Paule who be weake, to whom wee must beware that wee geue no offence. 3.19.12.

Whereas we are cōmaunded to beware that wee Offende not the weake, the same is meant onely in things indifferent: Therefore they do wrongfully abuse this doctrine which say that they heare masse for the weakes sake. 3.19.13.

Officials.

Of popishe Bishops Officials, as they call them. 4.11.7,8.

Orders Papisticall.

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The Sacrament of Order breedeth to the papistes seuen other petie Sacraments, of whose names and differences they themselues be not yet agreed. 4. 19. 22.

Their sonde and vngodly foolishnesse, forasmuch as they make Christ felowe Officer with them in euery one of them. 4. 19. 23.

Of Acouthes, Dorekeepers and Reders, whom the papistes do make Orders of the Church and Sacraments, 4. 19. 24. and with what ceremonies they consecrate them. Sect. 27.

Of Exorcistes or Coniurers an order of the popish church. 4. 19. 24.

The orders of Psalmistes, Dorekeepers and Acouthes, are vaine names among the papistes, forasmuch as they themselues do not execute the Offices, but some boy, or any laiman. 4. 19. 24.

Of the shauing of the Clergie, and the signification thereof by the doctrine of the Papistes. 4. 19. 25.

They do wrongfully apply it to Pauls example, which shaued his head when he toke a vowe, or to the olde Nazarites. 4. 19. 26.

It is shewed out of Augustine whence it first began. 4. 19. 27.

Of the three hier orders: and first of Priesthode or sacrificerthip: where is shewed that the papistes haue most wickedly peruered the order appointed by God, and do wrong to Christ the only & eternal sacrificing priest. 4. 19. 28.

Of their blowing at the making of popish Priests, and howe in that

ceremonie they do wrōgfully counterfeit Christ: Where is declared that the Lorde did many thinges which he woulde not haue to be examples for vs to followe. 4. 19. 29.

Of the vndelible character or vndefaceable marke of y^e oile wherewith popishe Priests are anointed at their creatiō: And howe the same is wrōgfully applied to the childre of Aaron. But these Priests in coucting to be like the Leuites, are apostates from Christ. 4. 19. 30, 31.

Originall sinne.

A definition and expounding of Originall sinne. 4. 15. 10, 11, 12.

A true definition of Originall and a declaration of the same definition: Wherein is shewed, that not only punishment came from Adam vpon vs, but also that the infection distilled from him remaineth in vs, and howe it is the sinne of an other and also oure owne sinne: Finally that such infectiō pearced not only into the inferior desire, but also into the very vnderstanding minde and bottome of the heart, so that there is no part of the soule free from corruption. 2. 1. 8, 9.

A confutation of them that dare charge God with their faultes; by cause we say that men are naturally faulty: And there is proued, that man is corrupt by naturall viciousnesse: (to the ende that no man should think it to be gotten by euill custome) but yet such as proceeded not from nature, but is an accidentall qualitie, and not a substanciall propertie from the beginning. 2. 1. 10, 11.

Othe.

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Oshe.

See Swearing.

P.

Patience.

A Part of the forsaking of our selues, in respect of God, is cōtentation of minde and sufferance: Which we shall performe, if in seeking the commoditie or quietnesse of this present life we yelde our selues wholly to the Lorde, and do not desire, hope for, or thinke vpon any other meane of prosperinge than by his blessing. 3.7.8.

So shall it come to passe that we shall neuer seke our owne commodities by vnlawfull meanes or with wronging of our neyghbours: also that we shall not burne with vnmeasurable desire of richesse or of honors: finally if things prosper well with vs, we shall yet be holden from pride, and if they happen ill, we shall yet be restrained from impatience, 3.7.9. Which extendeth to all chaunces whereunto our present life is subiect, whereof the faithfull do alwayes acknowledge the hande of God their father, and not fortune, to be the gouernor. 3.7.10.

The Patience of the faithfull is not such as is without all feeling of sorowe, but such as being vpholden by Godly comfort, fighteth against the naturall feling of sorow. Therefore the Patience of the Stoikes is to be reiected: neither is it in it selfe any fault to wepe or feare 3.8.8,9.

A description of y^e struiuing which is engendred in the hartes of the

faithfull by y^e feling of nature, which feling can not be cleane done away, and by the affection of godlinesse wherewith that same feling must be subdued & ramed. 3.8.10.

There is great differēce betwene Philosophicall and Christian patience: Forasmuch as the Philosophers do teache vs to obey because we so must of necessitie: but Christ teacheth it, because it is righteous, and also bycause it is profitable for vs. 3.8.11.

Pardons.

The so long cōtinuing of Pardōs, declareth in howe depe darkenesse of errors men haue bene drowned these certaine ages past. 3.5.1.

What Pardons are by the papistes doctrine: Whereby is proued that they are a dishonoring of the blood of Christ: A comparison of Christ and popish Pardons. 3.5.1.

A cōsutation of the wicked doctrine of Pardons, by the notable sayinges of Leo bishop of Rome, & of Augustine. And there is shewed that the blood of martirs is not vnlawfull, although it haue no place in forgiuenesse of sinnes. 3.5.3,4.

Either the Gospell of God must ly, or Pardōs must be lieng deceites: And there is shewed what seemeth to haue bin the beginning of them. 3.5.5.

Penaunce, the Popish Sacrament.

Of the vsage of the olde Church in publike Penaunce: and of the laying on of handes at reconciliation. Also howe in proesse of time the laying on of handes was vsed in

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priuate absolutions.4.19.14.

The diuerse opiniōs of ſ Scholemen howe Penaunce is a Sacrament: And there is ſhewed that the definition of a Sacrament doth not agree with it.4.19.15,16.

It is a ly, and a deceitfull error which they haue inuented concerning the Sacrament of Penaunce: and it is a wicked and blasphemous title wherwith they haue garnished it, a ſecond boorde after ſhipwracke from Baptiſme.4.19.17.

Perſeuerance.

See Booke.2.Chap.5.Sect.3.

A confutation of the moſt wicked error, that Perſeuerance is geuen of God according to the Merit of men, ſo as euery man hath ſhewed himſelfe not vnthankfull for the firſt grace: and in this opinion is ſhewed a double error. Of the cōmon diſtinction of grace working, and working together: and howe Auguſtine vſed it, qualifying it with an apt definition.2.3.11.

Politike gouernement.

There is a diſſerēce to be made betwene Policie, and the inwarde gouernement of the ſoule. Their doctrine is to be reiectēd which go about to ouerthrowe Policie as a thing not neceſſary for Chriſtians, or as a thing that ouerthroweth the ſpirituall libertie of the ſoule. Alſo thoſe flatterers are to be reiectēd, which do geue to much vnto it, and do ſet it in cōpariſon againſt the authoritie of God.4.20.1,2.

Policie is the giſte of God, which bringeth great cōmodities to man-

kinde, and no ſmall helpe to the defence of the ſtate of religion. Politike gouernmēt hath three partes, the Magiſtrat, the Lawes, and the people.4.20.3.

Of three formes of Ciuile gouernmēt, Ariſtocracie the gouernment of the beſt choſen men, Democracie the gouernement of the people, Monarchie the gouernement of one: it can not ſimply be determined which of theſe is the beſt: yet it commeth to paſſe by the fault of men, that it is ſafer & more tollerable to haue many to gouerne than one to reigne: But all theſe formes are of God, and diuerſly diſpoſed by him, therefore it is ſ duty of priuate men to obey, and not to make innouatiō of ſtates after their owne will.4.20.8.

Of the immunitie that the Romiſhe clergy take to themſelues, which was altogether vnknown to to the Biſhops of the olde Church.4.11.15.

In matters of Faith, the iudgement in the olde time pertained to the Church, and not to Princes, although ſometime Princes entermediated their authoritie in eccleſiaſticall matters, but the ſame was done to preſerue & not to trouble the order of the Church.4.11.15,16.

Of the authoritie of the ſweard vſurped by the biſhops in the papacie: and howe they haue by litle & litle frō ſo ſmall beginnings growē to ſo great encrease.4.11.9,10.

Pope.

It is proued that the ſupremicy of

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of the see of Rome is not by the institution of Christ. 4.6. 1,2,3,4.

Neither had Peter any principallitie in the Church or among the Apostles. 4.6.5,6,7.

Neither is it profitable nor may be, that one man should beare rule over the whole Church. 4.6.8,9,10.

Although Peter had had a supremacie in the Church, yet it followeth not that the seat of that supremacie ought to be at Rome. 4.6.11,12,13.

It is proued by many arguments that Peter was not bishop of Rome. 4.6.14,15.

The supremacie of the see of Rome, is not according to the vse of the olde Church. 4.6.16,17.

Of the beginning and encreasings of the Romish papacie, vntill it aduanced it selfe to that heighth, whereby both the libertie of the Church is oppressed, and all moderate gouernement hath bene ouerthrowen. 4.7.

In the most parte of the councels, the Bishop of Rome nor his legates had not the chiefe place, but some other of the bishops had it at the Councell of Chalcedon: but yet without order. 4.7.1,2.

Of the title of supremacie and other titles of pride wherewith the Pope boasteth himselfe: and when and howe they crept in. 4.7.3.

Gregory pronounceth that the title of vniuersall bishop was deuised by the deuell, and published by the crier of Antichrist. 4.7.4.

It is proued by the vse of the old

Church, that it is false which the bishop of Rome boasteth, that he hath iurisdiction ouer all Churches, 4.7.5. Whether ye consider the ordering of Bishops, Sect.6. or ecclesiasticall admonitions and censures, Sect.7. or summoning of Councels, Sect.8. or authoritie of higher appeales. Sect.9,10.

The olde Bishops of Rome in the most part of their Epistles did ambitiously set fourth y^e glory of their see, but those Epistles at that time had no credite: Also they did thrust in certaine forged things as though they had bene written in the olde time by holy men. 4.7.11,20.

Although in the time of Gregory the authoritie of the bishop of Rome vs greatly encreased: yet it is proued by his writings that it was then faire from vnbridled dominion and tyranny. 4.7.12,13,22.

There was strife for the supremacie betwene the bishop of Constantinople and the bishop of Rome. 4.7.14,15,16. vntill Phocas graunted to Boniface y^e thurde, that Rome should be the head of all Churches: which afterwarde Pipine confirmed, when hee gaue to the see of Rome iurisdiction ouer the Churches of Fraunce. 4.7.17.

From thenceforth the tyranny of the see of Rome encreased more and more, partly by ignorance and partly by negligence of Bishops: which destruction of the whole order of the Church Bernarde lamenteth and layeth to the Popes charge. 4.7.18,22.

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The insolēce and shamelesnesse of the bishops of Rome in setting forth their owne supreme authoritie: 4.7.19,20. which is reprovēd by sayings of Cypriane and Gregorie. Sect. 21.

Rome can not be the mother of all Churches, forasmuch as it is no Church. Neither can the bishop of Rome be head of bishops, sith he is no bishop. 4.7.23,24.

It is proved by Paule, that the Pope is Antichrist. 4.7.25.

Although the Church of Rome in olde time had had the honor of supremacie, yet the same is not to be bounde to a place. 4.7.26,29.

Of the maners of the citie of Rome, of the Pope, and of the Cardinals and their diuinity. 4.7.27,28.

The Bishop of Rome first layed hand vpon kingdomes, & then vpon the Empire: Which is proved by most sharpe reprehensions of Bernarde to be vnmete for him that boſteth himſelfe the ſucceſſor of the Apoſtles. 4.11.11.

Of the gift of Cōſtantine, wherewith he laboreth to hide his robbery, 4.11.12. and howe there are not yet ſiue hundred yeare paſt, ſince the Popes were in ſubiectiō of Princes, and by what occaſion they haue ſhaken it of, Sect. 13. and how they brought the citie of Rome into their power, but about a hundred and thirty yeare ago. Sect. 14.

Prayer.

Trew faith can not be ydle from callinge vpon God. 3.20.1.

Howe neceſſary and howe many

wayes profitable is the exerciſe of Praying, 3.20.2. although the Lord will not ceaſſe while we craue nor, nor nedeth any to put him in mind. Sect. 3.

The firſt rule of well framinge our Prayer, is that we be no otherwiſe diſpoſed in harte and minde than becommeth them that enter into talke with God. 3.20.4,5.

The ſeconde rule is, y in Praying we alway feele our owne nedineſſe, and that earneſtly conſidering that we wante all theſe things that we aſke, we ioine with our Prayer an earneſt and ſeruent deſire to obtaine. 3.20.6.

We ought to pray at all times, and in the greateſt quietneſſe of our eſtates, the onely remēbraunce of our ſinnes ought to be no ſmall prouocatiō to moue vs to that exerciſe. 3.20.7.

The thirde rule of Praying well, is that we forſake all confidence of our owne glory, leſt if wee preſumptuouſly take any thing, be it neuer ſo little, vnto our ſelues, wee with our vaine pride, fall downe from his face. 3.20.8.

The beginning of Praying well, is the obtaining of pardon, with an humble and plaine confeſſion of offence. 3.20.9.

In what ſenſe the Prayers of certaine holy men are to be taken, in which to entreate God, they ſeeme to alledge their owne righteouſneſſe. 3.20.10.

The fourth rule of Praying well, is that being ſo ouerthrowen and beaten

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beaten downe with trewe humilitie, we be neuertheless encouraged to Pray with an assured hope to obtaine: So in our Prayers, faith and repêtaunce do mete together. 3.20.11.

Of the certainty of faith, whereby the faithfull do determine that God is fauorable vnto them: And howe necessary y^e same is in Prayer: Neither is that certainty weakened, when it is ioined with acknowledging of our own misery. 3.20.12.

God cōmaundeth vs to call vpon him: hee promifeth, that we shalbe heard: both these things are necessary, that we may Pray in faith. 3.20.13.

There are rehearsed diuerse promises of God, with the swetenesse whereof they that are not stirred vp to Pray, are altogether vnexcusable. 3.20.14.

An exposition of certaine places, wherein God semeth to haue assented to some mennes Prayers which yet were grounded vpon no promise. 3.20.15.

These foure rules of Praying well, are not examined with so extreme rigor, but that God herein doth beare with many infirmities, yea many intemperances in them that be his, which is proued by many examples. 3.20.16.

We must alway Pray in the name of Christ onely, 3.20.17. neither were the faithfull euer hearde any otherwise. Sect. 18.

They which Pray otherwise, haue nothing leste for the at the throne

of God, but wrath & terror. 3.20.19.

It is not against Christes office of mediator: that we be commaunded to Pray one for an other. 3.20.19.

A confutation of the Sophisters deuise, which say that Christ is the mediator of redemption, and the faithfull are mediators of intercession. 3.20.20.

Against them, which make dead Sainctes intercessors to God for them, or do mingle the intercession of Christ, with the Prayers and merites of dead men. 3.20.21.

This foolishnesse hath proceeded in the papacie to grosse monstrousnesse of vngodlinesse, and to horrible sacrileges. 3.20.22.

A confutation of the arguments wherewith the papistes labour to confirme the intercession of dead Sainctes. 3.20.23, 24, 25, 26.

It is vnlawfull to directe our Prayers to dead Sainctes, forasmuch as this kinde of worshippinge doth most properly belong to God alone. 3.20.27.

Of the sorts of Prayer, & chiefly of thankesgeuing: Also of the continuall exercise of the faithfull in Prayer and thankesgeuing. 3.20.28, 29.

Of the babbling of the papistes, & of auoiding all boasting in Prayers, of departing into secret places, and of publike Prayers. 3.20.29.

Publike Prayers must be made in the common and natiue speache of the lande. And there is entreated of kneeling and vncouering of the hed at Prayer. 3.20.33.

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Of infinite goodnesse of Christ, which hath also appointed vs a forme of Prayer: And howe great comfort commeth vnto vs thereby. 3.20.34.

A diuision of the Lordes prayer, 3.20.35.

An exposition of the same prayer. 3.20.36.

The same in euery point is a perfect and vpright prayer, 3.20.48. wherunto nothing ought to be added, although we may vse other wordes in making our prayers. Sect. 49.

Of the confidence which the name of the children of God doth bring vnto vs, which euen the conscience of our sinnes ought not to ouerthrowe. 3.20.36,37.

Although we ought to pray for all men, and specially for them of the householde of faith, yet this withstandeth not, but that we may praye specially, both for our selues and certain other. 3.20.38,39,47.

Of the boldnes of asking which the Lorde graunteth to his, and the trust of obtaining. 3.20.47.

It is good that euery one of vs for exercise, appoint to himselfe certaine peculiar houres to praye, so that it be done without superstitious obseruation. 3.20.50.

In all our prayer we ought diligently to beware that we go not about to binde God to certaine circumstances. 3.20.50.

Of perseuerance and patience in the exercise of prayer. 3.20.51,52.

Predestination.

It is proued that the doctrine of Predestination is a doctrine of most swete frute. There are rehearsed three principall profites thereof: and they are admonished which being moued with a certain curiositie do beyond the boundes of Scripture breake into the secretes of the wisdom of God: 3.1.1,2, and also they which would haue all mention of Predestination to be buried. Sect. 3.4.

What is Predestination, and what is the foreknowledge of God, and howe the one of them is wrongfully set after the other. The example of Predestination in all the offspring of Abraham in respect of other nations, is confirmed by many testimonies of Scripture. 3.21.5.

Also there is shewed a speciall Predestination, wherby euen among the Children themselves he hath made difference betwene some and other some. Sect. 6.7.

A confirmation of the doctrine of Predestination taken out of testimonies of Scripture. Bo. 3. Chap. 2.2.

Of them that make a foreknowledge of Merites the cause of Predestination. Also of other men that blame God because he electeth some and passeth ouer other. 3.22.1.

God as well in election as in reprobation hath no respect of workes neither passed nor to come, but his good pleasure is the cause of both, 3.22.2,3,4,5,6,7.11.

This is proued by Augustine, Sect. 8.

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Seēt. 8. and the trifling futtle deuise of Thomas to the contrary is confuted. **Seēt. 9.**

The promises of saluation are not directed to all, but pecularly to the elect. 3. 22. 10.

These two sayinges do not disagree, that God by the outwarde preaching of y word calleth many, and yet he geueth the giste of faith to fewe. 3. 22. 10.

Against them which so confesse election, that yet they deny any to be reprobate of God. 3. 23. 1.

The reprobate do in vaine contend with God, forasmuch as God oweth them nothing, and willeth nothing otherwise thā righteously, and they themselues may finde iuste causes of their damnation in themselues. 3. 23. 2, 3, 4, 5.

An aunswere to the wicked question of certaine men, why God should blame men for these things whereof he hath layed a necessitie vpon them by his Predestination. 3. 23 6, 8, 9.

A definition of Predestination. 3. 23. 8.

A confutation of them which gather of the doctrine of Predestination, that God hath respect of persons. 3. 23. 10, 11.

Against those hoggs which vnder color of Predestination do go carelessly forwarde in their sinnes: and against all them which say that if this doctrine take place, all endeour of well working decayeth. 3. 23. 12.

Against them which say that this

doctrine ouerthroweth all exhortations to godly life, it is proued by Augustine that preaching hath his course, and yet the knowledge of Predestination is not hindred thereby, 3. 23. 13.

In this point of doctrine we must so temper our maner of teaching the truth, that so farre as we may, we wisely beware of Offence. 3. 23. 14.

Whereas some obey the preaching of the worde of God, and other some despise it, or be more blinded and hardened thereby, although this come to passe by their owne malice and vnthankfulnesse, yet we must therewith also knowe, that this diuersitie hāgeth vpon the secret counsell of God, than which, it is vnlawfull for to search for any further cause. 3. 24. 12, 13, 14.

An exposition of certaine places wherein God semeth to deny that it commeth to passe by his ordinance that the wicked perishe, but inasmuch as against his will they wilfully bring destruction vpon themselues. And there is shewed that those places make nothing against the doctrine of Predestination. 3. 24. 15, 16.

The vniuersalnesse of the promises of saluation, maketh nothing against the doctrine of the Predestination of the reprobate: and yet not without cause are they framed vniuersally. 3. 24. 16.

Here also are confuted certaine obiections of them which deny this point of doctrine.

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Priesthode, Kingdome, and Propheticall office of Christ.

That wee may knowe to what end Christ was sent of his father, & what he brought vnto vs, three things are chiefly to be considered in him, his Propheticall Office, his Kingdome, and his Priesthode: and therefore is geuen to him the title of Christ (or Messias which signifieth annointed) although he be specially so called in respect of his kingdome. Albeit that God alway gaue Prophets and teachers to his Church, yet it is proued that all the Godly looked for full light of vnderstanding, onely at the comming of Messias: and that he when he appeared was annointed a Prophet, not onely for himselfe, but also for all his body. 2. 15. 1, 2.

As touching his kingdome, first we must note the spirituall nature thereof, whereuppon also is gathered the eternall continuance of it, which is of two sortes: the one pertaineth to the whole body of the Church, the other is propre to euery member: Both sortes are declared and plainly set forth by testimonies of Scripture. 2. 15. 3.

It is declared that the profit of the kingdome of Christ can not otherwise be perceiued of vs, but when we knowledge it to be spirituall: And the same profit consisteth in two things, namely that it enricheth vs with all good things necessary to eternall saluation, secondly that it fortifieth vs with

strength and vertue against the deuill and all his assaults: And so Christ reigneth for vs rather than for himselfe, whereupon we are rightfully called Christians: Where it is said that at the last day he shall yelde vp his kingdome to God and his Father, and such like sayings the same maketh nothing against the eternity of his kingdome. 2.

15. 4, 5.

As touching his Priesthode, that the efficacy and profit thereof may come to vs, it is shewed that we must begin at the death of Christ. Hereupon it followeth that hee is an euermolting intercessor, by whose mediation we obtaine fauor, whereby ariseth to Godly consciences both boldnesse to pray, and quietnesse: finally that he is so a Priest, that he ioineth vs in the fellowship of so great an honor, to the ende that the Sacrifices of prayers and praise which came from vs, may be acceptable to God. 2. 15. 6.

Promises.

Not without cause all the Promises are concluded in Christ: forasmuch as euery Promise is a testifying of the lawe of God toward vs, and none of vs is beloued of God without Christ. Neither was Naaman the Syrian, Cornelius the captaine, nor y^e Eunuche to whom Philip was carried, without knowledge of Christ, although they had but a very small tast of him, and a faith in some parte vnexpressed. 3. 2. 3. 2.

The Lord, to the ende to fill our heartes

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heartes with loue of righteousness and hatred of wickednesse, was not content to set forth bare commaundementes only, but added Promises of blessings both of this present life and of eternall blessednesse, & also threatnings both of present miseries, and of eternall death: The threatnings declare the great purities of God: the Promises do shew his great loue to righteousness, and his wonderful goodnes toward me. 2.8.4.

Of the Promise of Gods mercy to be extended to a thousand generations. 2.8.2.1.

Although the promises of the law be conditional, yet they are not giuen in vaine. 2.7.4.

Prophetickall office of Christ.

See Priesthode. &c.

Providence of God.

Prophane men, by fleshly vnderstanding do confesse God the creator, otherwise than we do by faith: forasmuch as faith doth teach that he is also the gouernour of all things, not by a certaine vniuersal motiō, but by a singular Providēce, which extendeth euen to the least sparrow. 1.16.1.

They which giue any thinge to fortune, do bury the Providence of God, by whose secreete counsell all successes are gouerned. 1.16.2.

Things without life, although eche of the haue their property naturally planted in them, yet do not put forth their force, but so farre, as they be directed by y^e present hand of God: Which is proued by the

sonne, before which he would both light to be, and the earth to abound with all kinde of good things: which also we read to haue stand stil by the space of two daies, and gone backe two degrees at the commaundement of God. 1.16.2. also by the starres and signes of the heauen, which the vnbeleuers do feare. Sect. 3.

The almightines of God is buyed in continuall doinge, so that it extendeth to euery particular act, and nothinge happeneth but by his counsell: Which who so do not acknowledge, they defraude God of his glorie and do extenuate his goodnes: But we on the other side do receiue double frute therof. 1.16.3.

It is proued that the Prouidence of God doth not onely beholde things that are done, but gouerneth all successes: Whereby is ouerthrowen the fained inuention of bare foreknowledge & of vniuersal Prouidence only: Also the error of the Epicures is cōfuted, & of the which giue to God a gouernaunce onely aboute the middle region of the aire. Yet there may a certaine vniuersall Providēce be graunted, but so, that y^e speciall Prouidence be not darkened, which doth gouerne not onely certaine but all particular doinges. 1.16.4, 5.

That not only the beginning of motion is in the disposing of God, is proued by the plentifulnesse of one yeare and the barrennesse of another, for whereas God calleth the

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be caried away with his owne wit, but committe himselfe to the wisdom of God : neither shall his trust so stay vpon outward helpes, that he will carelesely rest vpon them if he haue them, nor be dismaied for feare if he want them. 1. 17. 9.

A large description of the inestimable felicitie of a Godly minde which resteth vpon the Prouidence of God : and on the other side the miserable carefulnesse wherewith we must needes be distressed when the weakenes of this earthly cotage maketh vs subiect to so many diseases, sith our life and safety is besieged with infinite daungers at home, abroad, vpon the lande, in the water, by men, & by deuils. 1. 17. 10, 11.

Those places of Scripture where it is said that God repented him : make nothing against the doctrine of prouidence, forasmuch as therein (like as also when he is sayd to be angry) the Scripture applying it self to our capacity describeth him, not such as he is, but such as we feele him to be. Likewise, where he spared the Niniuites, to whom he had threatned destruction within forty dayes: wheras he prolonged the life of Ezechias for many yeres, to whō he had declared present deathe : because such threatnings containe an vnexpressed condition. Which is well proued by a like example in King Abimelech, which was rebuked for Abrahams wife. 1. 17. 12, 13, 14.

A confutation of them, which

coueting to get a praise of modesty, go about to maintaine y^e righteousness of God with a lying defence, when they say : that those thinges which Sathan and all the reprobate do naughtily, are done by the sufferance of God, and not by his prouidence and will. And it is proued by the affliction of Iob, the deceiuing of Achab, the killing of Christ, the incestuous adultery of Absolon, and many other examples, that men do worke nothinge but that which he hath alredey decreed with himselfe, and doth appoynt so to be by his secreete direction. 1. 18. 1.

And this hath place, not only in outward doinges, but also in secreete motiōs. For it is proued by the hardening of Pharaο and other testimonies, that God worketh euen in the mindes also and hartes of the wicked: Neither maketh it anything to the contrary, that oftentimes the worke of Sathan is vsed therein: For God worketh neuerthelesse, but after his owne manner, vsinge a iust reuenge, 1. 18. 2. and therefore God is not the author of sinnes. Sect. 4.

They are proued guilty of intolerable pride, which refuse this doctrine vnder pretence of modesty. A confutation of their obiection whē they say, that if nothing happē but with the will of God, then hath he in himselfe two contrary wils, forasmuch as he doth appoynt those thinges to be done by his secreete counsell, which he hath openly forbidden by his law. And there is shew-
wed

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wed, that God doth not disagree with himselfe, that the will of God is not chaunged, that he doth not faine himselfe to nill that which he willeth: but wheras there is in God, but one simple will, the same to vs appeareth diuerse, because for the weakenesse of our vnderstanding, we conceiue not howe he diuersly both willeth not, and willeth one selfe thing to be done. Finally it is proued by Augustine, that man sometimes with good will willeth somthinge which God willeth not: & sometime willeth that thing with euill will, which God willeth with good wil. 1. 18. 3.

The consideration of Gods power in gouerning this frame of heauen & earth, and all the partes that are in them. 1. 5. 5.

The felowship of men is so gouerned by the prouidence of God, that he sheweth himselfe liberall, mercifull, righteous, and seuer. 1. 5. 6.

Those thinges which in the life of men are cōpted chaunces, as well of prosperity as aduersity, are so many tokens of the heauenly Prouidence, 1. 5. 7. and ought to awaken vs to the hope of the life to come. Sect. 9.

How God worketh in the hartes of thē that be his: & Sathan in them that be his, but yet so, that they are not excused. 2. 4. 1.

God worketh also in the wicked, & euen in the same worke where in Sathan worketh, and yet is not God so said to be y^e author of sinne,

neither is Sathan or the wicked excused, but there is difference betwene the one & the other, both in the ende and maner of doing. 2. 4. 2. 5.

The old writers oftentimes referred these things, not to the working of God, but to his foreknowledge or sufferance, least the wicked shoulde thereby take occasion to speake irreuerently of the works of God. But the Scripture, when it saith that God blindeth, hardeneth and such like, declareth somewhat more than a sufferance: although God do worke two wayes in the reprobate, namely by forsakinge them, and takinge his spirite from them, and also by deliueringe them to Sathan the minister of his wrath. 2. 4. 3. 4.

The ministry of Sathan is vsed to stirre forward the reprobate, whensoever the Lorde by his prouidence directeth them hither or thither. 2. 4. 5.

Purgatory.

We ought not to winke at the doctrine of Purgatory, forasmuch as it is a damnable inuention of Sathan, which maketh voide y^e crosse of Christ, &c. 3. 5. 6.

An exposition of certaine places of Scripture which the Papistes do wrongfully wrest to the confirmation of their Purgatory. 3. 5. 7. 8. 9.

An aunswere to the obiection of the papistes, that it hath bin an ancient vsage of the Church y^e prayers shold be made for the dead. Where is shewed that this was done by thē

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in the olde time, without the word of God, by a certaine wrongfull imitation, least Christians, if they were slow in hauing care of funerals and the deade, shoulde seeme worse thā heathen men. Yet herein was a great differēce betwene this slipping of these olde men, and the obstinate error of the papistes. 3 5 10.

R.

Redemer Christ.

THe knowledge of God & Creator is vnprofitable vnto vs, vnlesse faith do also folow, setting him forth in Christ a father & Redemer to vs, and this doctrine from the beginning of the world in all ages hath bin holden amonge the children of God. 2. 6. 1.

It is proued by diuerse argumentes and testimonies of Scripture, that the happy state of the Church hath alway bin grounded vpon the person of Christ. For both the first adopsiō of the chosen people, & the preserving of the church, the deliuerance of them in perils, and the restoringe after their dissipation, did alway hange vpon the grace of & mediator. And the hope of all the Godly was neuer reposed any other where than in Christ. 2. 6. 2, 3, 4.

It is to be diligently considered how Christ hath fulfilled the office of Redeemer, that we may finde in him all thinges necessary for vs, sith (as Bernard sayth) he is to vs light, meate, oyle, salt, &c. 2. 16. 1.

An exposition howe we shoulde say that God was our enemy vntill he was reconciled to vs by Christ, whereas to giue Christ to vs, and to preuent vs with mercy, were signes of the loue wherewith he before embraced vs. And there is shewed that the Scripture vseth this speech and such other, to apply it selfe to our capacity: and yet it doth not say the same falsely. And all this is proued by the authority of Scripture, & the testimony of Augustine. 2. 16. 2, 3.

Regeneration.

Against certaine Anabaptistes which inuēt a phrentike intemperance in steede of spirituall Regeneration, namely that the children of God beinge now restored into the state of innocency, ought no more to be carefull to bridle the lust of the flesh, but only to folow the Spirit for their guide. 3. 3. 14.

The rest pertaining to this matter, see in the title of Repentance.

Religion.

Necessity enforceth the reprobate to confesse that there is some God. 1. 4. 4.

They are deceiued which say that Religion was deuised by the fattery of certaine men to holde the simple people in order. 1. 3. 2.

The very wicked & godles men are cōpelled, whether they will or no, to feele that there is a God. 1. 3. 2. & in what sense Dauid saith that they thinke & there is no God. 1. 4. 2.

Remission of sinnes.

Against them which dreame a per-

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perfection in this life, which taketh away neede of asking pardon. 3.20.45.

Of remission of sinnes : and in what sense sinnes are called dettes, and how we are sayd to forgiue o-ther that haue offended against vs. 3.20.45.

Of the distinction of fault and peine: wherewith most strong testi-monies of Scripture, the dotinge error of the papistes is confuted, namely that when the fault is for-giuen yet God retayneth the peine, which remaineth to be redeemed with satisfactiōs: 3.4.29,30. & there also is shewed that they can not scape away with their distinction betwene euerlasting peine & tem-porall peines.

Of certaine places of Scripture wherewith they go about to con-firme their error: where is declared that there are two kinde of the iudgement of God: the one of ven-geance, the other of chastisement, which are wisely to be distingui-shed a sunder. 3.4.31.

The first of these, that is to say vengeance, the faithfull haue al-way earnestly prayed to escape: the other, that is to say chastisement, they haue receyued with quiete minde, because it hath a testimo-ny of loue. And where it is said that God is angry with his Saintes, the same is not meant of his purpose or affection to punishe them, but is spoken of the vehement feelinge of sorowe wherewith they are stri-ken so soone as they beare any

parte of his seuerity : and this is profitable for them. On the other side the reprobate, when they are stricken with the scourges of God, do already after a certaine manner beginne to feele the peynes of his iudgement. All which thinges are proued by testimonies of the Scrip-ture, and also by the expositions of Chrysostome and Augustine. 3.4.32 33.

God when he had forgiuen the adultery of Dauid, chastised him both for common example, and al-so to humble him: and for this rea-son he dayly maketh the faithfull (to whom he is mercifull) subiect to the common miseries of this life 3.4.35.

An exposition of the article of the Crede, concerning remission of sinnes. 4.1.20,21.

The keies were giue to y Church, to forgiue sinnes, not only to men at their first conuerſion to Christ, but to the faithful all their life lōg. 4.1.22.

This doctrine is proued by testi-monies of Scripture against the Nouatians & certaine of the Ana-baptistes, which saie that the peo-ple of God are by baptisme rege-nerate into an angelike life, and af-terward there remaineth no pardō for them that fall. 4.1.23,24,25,26, 27.

A confutatiō of thē which make a voluntary transgression of the law a sinne vnardonable. 4.1.28.

Repentance.

Repentāce commeth of faith, &

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goeth not before it. 3. 3. 1.

A confutation of their reasons which thinke otherwise, but hereby is not signified any space of time wherein faith bredeth repentance: but only is shewed that no man can earnestly endeuer himselfe to Repentance vnlesse he know himselfe to be Gods. Of the error of certaine Anabaptistes, Iesuites, and such other which appoint to their nouices, certaine dayes for Repentance. 3. 3. 2.

Certaine learned men long before this time, made two partes of Repentance, namely Mortification, which they commonly call contrition, and Viuification which they wrongfully expound to be comfort by the feeling of the mercy of God, whereas it rather signifieth a desire to liue well. 3. 3. 3.

They do also make two other sortes of Repentance, the one of the lawe, the other of the Gospell: where also are shewed examples of either sorte out of the Scripture. 3.

3. 4.

A true definition of Repentance takē out of the Scripture, And how Repentance though it can not be seuered, yet ought to be distinguished from faith. 3. 3. 5.

A plainer declaration of the definition of Repentance: where first is shewed y there is requiringe a turning to God, that is to say an alteration, not only in outward workes, but also in the soule it self, 3. 3. 6. the that it proceedeth of an earnest feare of God: Where also is entreated of

the sorowfulness that is accordinge to God. 3. 3. 7.

Thurdly that sayinge is declared that Repentance consisteth of two parts, the Mortification of the flesh, and the quickening of the Spirit. 3. 3. 8.

Both these things do we obtaine by partakinge of Christ, the first by communicatinge of his death, the seconde of his resurrection. Therefore Repentance is a new forminge of the image of God in vs, & a restoringe into the righteousnesse of God by the benefit of Christ: And this restoring is not fulfilled in vs in one moment. 3. 3. 9.

But there remaineth in all the saintes, while they liue in mortall body, matter of strif with their flesh, and so thought all the ecclesiastical wryters that haue bin of sounde iudgement: & specially Augustine, which calleth this nourishment of euill and disease of lustinge in the elect, weakenes, and sometime sinne: And in deede it is sinne. 3. 3. 10.

This is confirmed by the testimony of Paule, & by the summe of the commaundements. Whereas it is sayd y God cleanse his church from all sinne, the same is spoken rather of the giltinesse of sinne than of the matter of sinne it self, which ceaseth not to dwell in the regenerate (but ceaseth to reigne in them) though it be not imputed. 3. 3. 11.

A declaration of the seuen causes or effects, or partes or affections of Repentance, which Paul rehearseth: Those

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Those be study or carefulnesse, excusing, displeasure, feare, desire, zeale, reuenge. Whereunto also is added out of Paul, and declared by an excellent admonition of Bernard, that in such reuenge we must keepe a measure. 3. 3. 15.

The frutes of Repentance are, deuotion toward God, charity toward men, holines and puresnes in all our life: but al these ought to be ginne at the inwarde affectiō of the heart, from whence outwarde testimonies may afterwarde springe forth: Where also is spoken of certaine outward exercises of Repentance, which the olde writers seme to enforce somewhat too much. 3. 3. 16.

Turninge of the heart to God, is the chiefe point of Repentance: sackcloth and ashes, weping & fasting, were vsed of them in the olde time before Christ, as tokens of publike Repentāce: of which the two last may yet be vsed to appease the wrath of God in y^e miserable times of the Church. 3. 3. 17.

The name of Repentance or penance is vnproperly drawen from his naturall sense to this outwarde profession. Publike cōfession is not alway necessary in sinnes: but priuate confession to God may neuer be omitted, wherein we ought to confesse not onely those things that we haue lately committed, but the displeasure of our greuous fall ought also to cal vs backe to remembrance of our passed offences. Of speciall penance which is required

of haynous offenders and certaine other: and of the ordinary penance which the children of God, even the most perfect, ought to vse all their life long. 3. 3. 18.

God doth therefore freely iustifie them that be his, that he may also with the Sanctificatiō of his spirit restore them into true righteousness: Therefore Iohn, Christ and the Apostles, preached Repentance and remission of sinnes. The effect of which saying is declared. 3. 3. 19.

Christians ought to exercise themselves in a continuall Repentance, & he hath most profited, that hath learned most to mislike himselfe. 3. 3. 20.

Repentance is a singular gift of God, vnto which he calleth all men, which he giueth to all them whom he purposeth to saue, and which the Apostle pronounceth y^e it shall neuer be giuen to wilfull apostataes whose wickednesse is unpardonable, that is to say, such as haue sinned against the holy ghost 3. 3. 1.

Although fained Repentance doth not please God, yet he sometime for a season spareth hypocrites which make a shewe of some conuersion, which he doth not for their sakes, but for common example, that we may learne more cherefully to giue our mindes to vnfained Repentance: And this is proued by the examples of Achab, Esau, & the Israelites. 3. 3. 25.

The Schoole sophisters do sowly
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erre in those definitiōs which they make of Repentance, and no better do they diuide it, when they parte it into contrition of heart, confessiō of mouth, & satisfaction of worke: Where is entreated of certaine questiōs which they moue: whereupon is easily gathered, that they babble of things which they know not, whē they speake of Repentance. 3.4.1.

When they require those three thinges in Repentance, they must needes binde thereunto forgiveness of sinnes: And if it be so, then are we most miserable, forasmuch as we can neuer haue quietnes of cōscience: Which is proued first in that cōtrition of heart such as they require. 3.4.2.

There is great differēce betwene the doctrine of such contrition, & that cōtrition which the Scripture requireth of sinners, that they truly hunger & thirst for the mercy of God. 3.4.3.

In what sense the olde wryters thought that solemne penance, which was then required for haynous offences, might no more be eftsoones done than Baptisme. 4.1.29.

Reason of Man.

Mans vnderstanding is not so to be condemned of perpetuall blindness, that we leaue it no whit of vnderstanding in any kinde of thing: but it hath some knowledge inasmuch as he is naturally caried with desire to searche out trueth. And yet this desire by and by falleth into

vanity, because the minde of man can not for dulnes, keepe the right way to search out trueth, & for the most parte discerneth not of what thinges it is behouefull for him to seeke the true knowledge. 2.2.12.

As touching earthly things, it is proued by exāples that the minde of man hath a sharp vnderstanding, as first of all in ciuile policy and in gouernance of householdes, sith euery man vnderstandeth that the felowships of men must be holden together by lawes, and comprehendeth in minde y principles of those lawes. 2.2.13.

Also in liberall artes and handy craftes, for learninge whereof, yea for amplifyinge and garnishing of the same, there is in man a certaine aptnesse, although some be more apt thā other. But the light of Reason and vnderstanding in men is so a generall good qualitie in all men, that yet it is a free gift of Gods liberalitie towardes euery man: which thing God sheweth when he createth some Idiotēs and dull witted: also when he maketh one man to excell in sharp inuention, an other in iudgement, an other in quicknesse of minde, againe when he poureth into men singular motions according vnto euery manes calling, and according to the time and matter that is to be done. 2.2.14, 17.

The inuention of artes, the orderly teaching or depe & excellent knowledge thereof, which appeare to haue bin in y olde Lawyers, Philosophers,

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losophers, Phisitions, being profane men, do declare vnto vs that the minde of men how much soeuer it be fallen from his first vprightnes, is yet still garnished with excellent gifts of God. 2. 2. 15.

They are the giftes of the holy Ghost which the Lorde giueth to whom he will, euen to the vngodly for the publike benefite of mankinde. Therefore we ought to vse them although they be communicate vnto vs by the ministry of the wicked, to whom they are but trāsitory and fleting, because they are without the sounde fundation of trueth. 2. 2. 16.

It is shewed in the first two points, that mans Reason seeth nothinge that concerneth the kingdome of God and heauenly matters, which are contained in three things, that is to say, to know God, his fatherly fauour towarde vs, and the way to frame our life accordinge to the rule of his lawe. 2. 2. 18. and to that purpose are alleaged diuerse testimonies of Scripture. Sect. 19, 20, 21 In the third it seemeth that he hath some more vnderstandinge than in the other, forasmuch as man is instructed by the lawe of nature to a right rule of life. But such knowledge is vnperfect in y vnbeleuers, & auayleth to no other end, but to make them vnexcusable: neither do they by that naturall light, see the trueth in euery thinge. And here is expounded the sayinge of Themistius, that vnderstanding in the vniuersall definition is seldome decei-

ued, but the error is when it descendeth to particular causes, and there is shewed, that mā's vniuersal iudgement in the difference of good and euil, is not alway sound and vpright. For it attaineth not those which are the chiefe things in the first table of the law, namely of cōfidence in God. &c. In the second table, although it haue some more vnderstandinge, yet it appeareth that it sometime erreth, as when it iudgeth that it is an absurditie to suffer to imperious gouernment, and not to reuenge wronges: also it knoweth not the disease of desire in the whole obseruation of the lawe. 2. 2. 22, 23, 24.

It is proued by the Scripture, that the sharpnes of our Reason in all the partes of our life, is nothing before the Lord: & our mindes do read the grace of enlightening, not only at the beginnunge, or for one day, but at euery moment. 2. 2. 25. See under the title of Freewill, certaine thinges pertaininge to this matter.

Resurrection of Christ.

Without the Resurrection of Christ, all is vnperfect that we beleue concerning his crosse, Death, & Burial. Thereof we receiue three profites: forasmuch as it hath both purchased vs rightcousnes before God, & is to vs a pledge of the Resurrection to come, & by his life, we are now regenerate into newnesse of life. 2. 16. 13.

A declaration of the history of the Resurrection of Christ. 3. 25. 3.

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Last Resurrection.

Forasmuch as the faithfull, do chiefly neede hope and patience, least they should faint in the course of their callinge : he hath soundly profited in the Gospel which is accustomed to a continuall meditation of the blessed Resurrection. 3.25.12.

The article concerning the last Resurrection, containeth a doctrine of great weight, graue and hard to beleue : for the ouercomminge of which hardnes by faith, the Scripture giueth two helps, the example of Christ, and the almightinesse of God. 3.25.3,4.

A confutation of the Sadduces, which deny the Resurrection : & of the Millenaries which appoint the kingdom of Christ to endure but a thousand yeares. 3.25.5.

A confutation of their error, which imagine that soules at y^e last day shall not receiue againe the bodies wherewith they are nowe clothed, but shall haue new and other bodies. 3.25.7,8.

Of the maner of the last Resurrection, 3.25.8.

By what reason the last Resurrection, which is a singular benefit of Christ, is cōmon also to the wicked and the accursed of God. 3.25.9.

S.

Sabbath.

AN exposition of the fourth cōmaundement, the ende thereof, and the three causes whereupon we must note that it consisteth. 2.8.28.

The first cause is a shadowing of spirituall rest, that is to say, of our sanctification: This is proued by diuerse places to haue bin the chiefe thing in the Sabbath. 2.8.29.

Why the Lorde appointed the seuenth day. 2.8.30,31.

This part, forasmuch as it was ceremonial, is takē away by the death of Christ. 2.8.31.

The two latter causes, that is to say, that there shoulde be certaine dayes appointed for assemblies in the Church, and that there should be giuen to seruantes a rest from their labour, do serue for all ages. 2.8.32.

Of daies of meting in the church to heare the word of God & common praiers : Where is spoken of obseruing of the Sunday, 2.8.32,33 and of superstition to be auoyded in this behalfe. 2.8.34.

Sacraments.

What is a Sacrament. 4.14.1.

For what reason the old writers vsed this word in that sense. 4.14.2,13.

A Sacrament is neuer without a promise going before, which the Lord sealeth by that meane, wherein he prouideth helpe for our ignorance and dulnesse, and also for our weakenes. 4.14.3,5,6,12.

A Sacrament consisteth of the worde & the outward signe: But the Sacramentall worde is to be taken otherwise than the papistes thinke. 4.14.4.

Sacramentes cease not to be testimonies of the grace of God, although

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though they be giuen also to the wicked, which do gather to themselves more greuous dānation thereby. 4. 14. 7.

Our faith is so confirmed by Sacraments, that yet it hangeth vpon the inwarde effectuall working of the Spirite, 4. 14. 9, 10, 11. and no vertue is to be put in the creatures. Sect. 12.

A confutation of the deuclishe doctrine of the Sophistical scholes, that the Sacramentes of the newe law do iustifie and do giue grace, so that we do not stop it with deadly sinne. 4. 14. 14.

Augustines good distinction betwene a Sacrament and the thinge of the Sacrament, whereby is proued that though God in Sacramēts do truely offer Christ, yet the wicked receiue nothinge but the Sacrament, y^e is to say, the outward signe. 4. 14. 15, 16.

We must not thinke that there is ioyned or fastened to the Sacraments any secrete vertue, whereby they by themselves do giue vs the graces of the holy Ghost. 4. 14. 17.

In the olde time God gaue vnto his people some Sacraments in miracles, and some in natural thinges. And there is spoken of the tree of life and of the raynebowe. 4. 14. 18.

Sacramentes are on the Lordes behalfe testimonies of grace & saluation, & on our behalfe tokens of our profession. 4. 14. 19.

The Sacramentes of the olde Church vnder the lawe, tended to

the same end that our Sacramentes do, that is to say, Christ: whom yet our Sacramēts do more plainly represent. Wherefore the scholemens doctrine is to be reiected, which say, that the olde Sacraments did shew a shadow of the grace of God, and ours do giue it presently. 4. 14. 20, 21, 22, 23. &c.

The five falsely called Sacraments.

When we deny those five to be Sacraments which are inuented by men, we strue not about the name but the thing: because the papistes will haue them to be visible formes of inuisible grace. 4. 19. 1.

Many reasons are brought, why it is not lawfull for men to make Sacraments. Also there is a difference to be put betwene Sacraments, and other ceremonies. 4. 19. 2.

The nūber of seuen Sacraments can not be proued by the authority of the old Church. 4. 19. 3.

Although the old Church vnder the law, had mo Sacraments, yet at this day, the Christiā church ought to be cōtent with those two, which Christ hath ordained: And it is not lawfull for men to make other, nor to adde vnto these any thinge of their owne. 4. 18. 20.

Sacrifices.

A difference betwene the Sacrifices of Moses his law, & the supper of the Lord in the Christiā church 4. 18. 12.

What the name of a Sacrifice properly signifieth: and of the diuerse kindes of Sacrifices vnder the lawe: which may be deuided into

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two sortes, whereof some may be called of thanksgiuinge, and other some propitiatory or of cleansing. 4.18.13.

Our only propitiatory Sacrifice, is the death of Christ. Sacrifices of thanksgiuing we haue many, as all the duties of charity, praiers, praises, giuinge of thanks, and all that we do to the worshipping of God. 4.18,13,16,17.

This maner of Sacrificing is daily vsed in the church, & in the supper of the Lord: And thereupon all Christians are Sacrificing Priestes.

Satisfactions Papisticall.

Of Satisfaction, which they make the third thing in penance, of retaininge the paine, the fault beinge forgiuen, & such like lies, which all are ouerthrowen, by setting against the free forgiuenes of sinnes, by the name of Christ. 3.4.25.

A confutation of the blasphemous error of the schoolemen, that forgiuenes of sinnes, and reconciliation is once done in Baptisme, but after Baptisme, we must rise againe by Satisfaction. 3.4.26.

By such error, Christ is spoyled of his honor, & the peace of consciences is troubled, forasmuch as they can nener certainly determine, that their sinnes are forgiuen them. 3.4.27.

In Daniel, when Nabuchadonesser is commaunded to redeeme his sinnes with righteousness, that same redeming, is referred to God, rather than to men, and the cause of pardon is not there set forth,

but rather the manner of true conuersion. The same is to be said of certaine other places of Scripture. 3.4.36.

An exposition of that place in the gospel, *Many sinnes are forgiven her, because she hath loued much.* Meaning that loue is not the cause, but the profe of forgiuenes. 3.4.37

The olde wryters of the church did not speake of Satisfaction in such sense as y papistes do: for they vnderstoode, that the penitent do make Satisfaction to the Church, and not to God. 3.4.38,39.

Scripture, the Worde of God, and the authority thereof.

Men do not sufficiently knowe God the creator, and discern him from fained gods, by consideration of his creatures, vnlesse they be also holpé by the light of his Word. And God hath kept this order in teaching them that be his, not only since that he chose the Iewes for his peculiar people, but also from the beginning, euen toward Adam, Noe, and the other fathers. 1.6.1.

Either by oracles, or by visions, or by the ministry of other, the fathers had the Worde which they were certainly perswaded to be the word of God, whereby they knew the true God the creator and gouernour of all things: which Word afterwarde, that he might prouide for men in all ages, he caused to be written in the law & the Prophets, as it were in publike registers, 1.6.2,3. in which place also is produced

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ued by testimonies of Scripture, y^e the doctrine of the Word, must be ioyned to the consideratiō of creatures, least we conceiue a fickle knowledge of God.

Of them which say that the authority of Scripture hangeth vpon the iudgement of the Church, & in how ill case we should be, if it were so. 1.7.1.

This error is well confuted by the place of Paule in the seconde chapter to the Ephesians, where he saith that the faithfull are builded vpon the fundation of the Apostles and Prophets. 1.7.2.

In what sense Augustine sayeth, that he woulde not haue beleued the Gospell, vnlesse the authority of the church did moue him: which place they do cauillously wrest to the confirmation of their error. 1.7.3.

Although there be many other arguments, which do proue, yea, & do enforce the wicked to confesse, that the Scripture came from God: yet by none other meane, than by the secrete testimony of the holy Ghost, our hearts are truly perswaded that it is God, which speaketh in y^e law, in the prophetes, & in the gospel: And this is proued by many places of Esay. 1.7.4,5.

The orderly disposition of the wisdom of God, the doctrine sauoringe nothinge of earthlinesse, the goodly agreement of all the partes among themselves, & specially that basenesse of contemptible wordes, vetering the hie mysteries of y^e hea-

uenly kingdome, are seconde helps to stablish the credit of Scripture. 1.8.1,2.11.

Also the antiquity of the Scripture, whereas the bookes of other religions, are later than the bookes of Moses, which yet doth not himselfe inuent a new God, but setteth foorth to the Israelites, the God of their fathers. 1.8.3,4.

Whereas Moses, doth not hide the shame of Leuy his father, nor y^e murmuring of Aarō his brother, and of Mary his sister, nor doth aduance his owne children: the same are arguments, that in his bookes is nothinge fained by man. 1.8.4.

Also the miracles which happened, as well at the publishinge of the lawe, as in all the rest of time. 1.8.5.

Which miracles, when the prophane writers could not deny, they cauilled, that Moses did them by Magicall artes. Which sclaunder, is confuted by most strong reasons. 1.8.6.

Also whereas Moses speaking in the person of Iacob, assigneth the gouernment to the tribe of Iuda, and where he telleth before of the callinge of the Gentiles, whereof the one came to passe foure hundred yeares after, and the other almost two thousand yeares: these are argumentes, that it is God himselfe which speaketh in the bookes of Moses. 1.8.7.

Whereas Esay telleth before of the captiuitie of the Iewes, and their restoringe by Cyrus (which was

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borne a hundred yeares after the death of Esay) and where Ieremy before that the people was led away appointeth their exile to continue three score & ten yeres, whereas Ieremy & Ezechiell, being farre distant in places the one from the other, do agree in all their sayings: where Daniell telleth before of thinges to come, for six hundred yeares after: these are most certaine proues, to stablish the authority of the bookes of the Prophets. 2.8.8.

Against certaine vngodly scofers which aske how we know that those are the writings of Moses and the Prophetes, which are red in their names: and how we knowe that there was euer any such Moses 1.8.9.

Also of them that aske, from whence the copies of the bookes of the Scripture came to vs, forasmuch as Antiochus commaunded them all to be burned. And there is spoken of the wonderfull Prouidence of God in preseruinge them so many ages, among so many enemies, and so cruell persecutions. 1.8.10.

The simplicity of speeche of the first three Euangelistes, containing heauenly mysteries, the phrase of Iohn thondering from on hie with weighty sentences, the heauenly maiesty shining in the writings of Peter and Paule, the sudden calling of Mathew frō the boorde, the callinge of Peter and Iohn from their fisherbotes to the preaching of the Gospell, the conuersion and calling of Paule beinge an enemy to Apo-

stleship, are signes of y^e holy Ghost speaking in them. 1.8.11.

The consent of so many ages, of so sondry nations, and of so diuerse mindes in embracinge the Scripture, & the rare godlines of some, ought to stablish the authoritie thereof among vs. 1.8.12.

Also the blood of so many martyrs, which for the confession thereof, haue suffered death with a constant and sober zeale of God. 1.8.13.

Against certaine phrentike men, which forsakinge the readinge of Scripture and learninge, do boast of the Spirite, & do flie to reuelations. 1.9.1,2.

A confutation of their obiection, that it is not mete that the Spirite of God, to whom all thinges ought to be subiect, shoulde be subiect to the Scripture. 1.9.2.

Also where they say that we rest vpon the letter which slayeth. 1.9.3.

The Lorde hath ioyned with a mutuall knot the certaintie of his doctrine and of his spirite. 1.9.3.

Such as the beholding of the heaue & earth & other creatures doth depaint out God vnto vs, such doth the Scripture set him forth, that is to say, eternal, ful of goodnes, clemency, mercy, righteousness, iudgement & trueth: and also to the same end. 1.10.1,2.

What is to be thought of the power of the church in exposition of Scripture. 4.9.13.

The Romish doctors do wrongfully

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fully abuse this colour to the confirmation of their errors and blasphemies. 4.9.14.

Of Singing in the Church.

Voice and Singing auaille nothing in prayer, without affection of the hart. 3.20.31,33.

Of y^e vsage of Singing in Churches. 3.20.32.

Single life.

Their shamelesnesse which do set forth the comelinesse of Single life for a thing necessary, to the great reproche of y^e olde Church. By what degrees this tyrāny crepte into the Church: and howe it can not be defended by the pretence of certain olde canons. 4.12.26,27,28.

Priests were forbidden to marry by wicked tyranny, and against the word of God, and against all equitie. 4.12.23.

An aunswer to the aduersaries obiection, that the priest must by some marke differ from the lay people. 4.12.24.

The blasphemy of the Pope, saying that mariage is defiling and vnclennesse of the fleshe. 4.12.24.

It is fonde to defend the forbidding of mariage with the examples of the Leviticall Priests, which whē they should go into the sanctuary lae asunder frō their wiues. 4.12.25.

Sinne.

A confutation of Platoes saying, that men Sinne not but by ignorance: also of their opinion which say that in all Sinnes there is an aduised malice and frowardnesse. 2.22,23,25.

Against the false imagination of the Sophisters concerning veniall sinnes, which they call desires without a determined assent, which do not long rest in the hart: it is proued that euery sinne, euen y^e lightest desire deserueth death, and is deadly, except in the saints which obtaine pardon by the mercy of God. 2.8.58,59.

A confutation of their fonde distinction betweene deadly and veniall sinnes, and of their sleaūder when they say that we make all sinnes egall. 3.4.28.

Howe it is to be expounded, that God visiteth the iniquity of the Fathers, vpon the children vnto the third and fourth generation: and whether such reuengement be vnseemely for the righteousness of God. 2.8.19,20.

Sinne against the holy Ghost.

The true definition of Sinne against the holy Ghost, and exāples therof out of the Scripture. 3.3.22.

It is not one or an other particular falling, but a generall forsaking, the description whereof is declared by the Apostle. Neither is it any maruell if God will be alwayes vnappealable to them that haue so fallen, 3.3.23. forasmuch as he promisetht pardon onely to them that repent, which they shall neuer do. And though the Scripture do say that some such haue groned and cried, yet that was not repentance or conuersion, but rather a blinde torment by desperation. 3.3.24.

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of the outwarde signes remaine. 18, 19, 32.

4. 17. 14.

The breade is a Sacrament to none but to mé to whom the word is directed. And here are confuted certaine arguments of the teachers of transubstantiation. 4. 17. 15.

Of some men, which though they do at one word graunt that the substance of the signes remaineth, yet placing the body of Christ in bread and vnder bread, they fall backe into the locall presence, and faine a being euery where. 4. 17. 16, 17, 18, 20.

A confutation of their obiections. 4. 17. 21, 22, 23, &c.

It is proued that this doctrine is not maintained, neither by the testimonies of Augustine, nor by authoritie of Scripture. 4. 17. 28, 29, 30, 31.

A confutation of certaine other of their obiections, and chiefly of this that they say, that whatsoeuer we teache of spirituall eating, is against the trewe and reall eating: where also is declared that y^e body of Christ is in the Supper offered to the infidels, but they receiue it not. 4. 17. 33.

Neither can the saying of Augustine be drawn to this purpose, that the Sacraments are nothing appaired by the infidelitie of men. Which is proued by diuerse other testimonies of the same man. 4. 17. 34.

Howe the body and blood of Christ is geuen to vs in the Supper, & what maner of presence of Christ we ought to holde therein. 4. 17.

Of the exposition of the wordes of Christ in the Supper. 4. 17. 20, 21.

The body of Christ is contained in quantity, and comprehended in heauen, vntill the last day, as it is proued by the scriptures. 4. 17. 26, 27.

Of the papistes carnall adoration, and concomitance, and consecration of the host (as they call it) and carrying it about in pompe. 4. 17. 35, 36, 37.

The mystery of y^e Supper ought to stirre vs vp to geuing of thanks, to exercise vs in remembring the death of Christ, to kindle vs to holinesse of life, and chiefly to charity. 4. 17. 37, 38.

In the papacie the Supper (the trewe ministracion whereof is not without the word) is turned into a dumme action. And here is spoken of the laying vp of the Sacrament to be extraordinarily distributed to sicke men. 4. 17. 39.

The doctrine of the papistes, whē they go about to prepare men to the worthinesse of eating the body of Christ, doth in cruell wise torment cōsciēces: And the deuell could not by any readier way destroy men. Of the best remedie to auoide this destruction. They erre which in the Supper do require of the faithfull perfection of faith. 4. 17. 41, 42.

As touching the outward vsage of the ministracion of the Supper, there are many things indifferent: And how it ought to be ministred most comely. 4. 17. 43.

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Of the finall assembly at this day at y^e pertaking of the Supper, which is a token of contempt, wherewith the holy fathers in olde time were much displeased : And howe the custome which commaundeth men to communicate once euey yeare, was a most certaine inuention of the deuell. 4. 17. 44, 45, 46.

It is proued by authority of the Scripture and by the vsage of the olde Church, foure hundred yeares before the death of Gregorie, and by many other arguments, that the cōstitution which toke away from lay men the cup of the Lorde, came out of the deuels workshop. 4. 17. 47, 48, 49, 50.

Of the concomitance of the blood in the flesh of Christ, which is a popishe inuention. 4. 17. 47.

The Supper of the Lorde is profanely abused, if it be geuen to all men without choise. Of the duty of ministers in reiecting the vnworthy. 4. 12. 5.

A brieife summe of those things which we ought to knowe concerning the two Sacraments. And why the Supper is oftentimes ministred, and Baptisme but once. 4. 18. 19.

Swearinge.

An exposition of the thirde cōmaundement, in which these three things are cōteined, that we neither think nor speake any thing of God, nor of his word and honorable misteries, nor yet of any of his workes, otherwise than reuerently. 2. 8. 22.

A definition of Swearing, where is declared y^e it is a kinde of worship-

ping of God : And therefore we must beware that our othes cōteine not any dishonor to the name of God, which is done in Forswearing: or any cōtempt of it, which is done in superfluous othes, or in which the name of any other thā of God is vsed. 2. 8. 23, 24, 25.

It is proued by Scripture against the Anabaptistes, that all othes are not forbidden vs, and that Christ in the Gospell chaunged nothing as touching the rule of Swearing, set forth in the lawe. 2. 8. 26. Which is proued by his owne example: and not onely publike, but also priuate othes are permitted, keping the moderation which the lawe cōmaundeth. 2. 8. 27.

T.

Temples.

OF Temples of Christian men for assemblies of the congregation. 3. 20. 30.

It is proued by the authority of the olde Church, and the reasons of Augustine, that it is not expedient, that there should be any images in Christian temples. 1. 11. 13.

The preaching of the word and the Sacraments, are liuely images which onely are fit to be in Christian Temples. 1. 11. 7, 13.

The wickednes of the Nicene Synode which was holden by the commaundement of Irene the Emperresse, and the filthy follies thereof in allowing images in Temples, and the worshipping of them. 1. 11. 14, 15, 16.

Of the garnishing of Temples

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& holy things in the olde Church.
4.4.8. & 4.5.18.

Temptations.

Of diuerſe kindes of Temptations: and in what ſenſe it is ſaid that God tempteth vs. 3. 20. 46.

Teſtament, olde, and newe.

Of the likenesse of the olde and newe Teſtamēt: Where is declared, that they are all one in ſubſtance and matter, but onely do differ in miniſtration. The likenes ſtandeth chiefly in three pointes. 2. 10. 1, 2.

The firſt point is, that the olde Teſtamēt did not holde the fathers in earthly felicitie, but had chiefe regard to the life to come. Which is proued by Paule, which ſaith that the promiſes of the Goſpell are contained vnder it. 2. 10. 3.

The ſame alſo is proued by the lawe and the Prophets: Firſt, by conſidering the wordes of the couenauant: *I am your God.* 2. 10. 7, 8.

Againe, *I will be the God of your ſeede after you:* Sect. 9. Alſo by the life of the holy fathers, as Adam, Abell, Noe, Sect. 10. Abraham, Sec. 11. Iſaak, Iacob, Sect. 12, 13, 14. And by many teſtimonies of Dauid, Sec. 15, 16, 17, 18. Of Iob. Sect. 19. Generally of all the latter Prophets. Sect. 20. But namely of Ezechiell. Sect. 21. Of Eſaye and Daniell. Sect. 22. A conſeſion of this point with rehearſinge certaine teſtimonies out of the newe Teſtament. Sect. 23.

The ſeconde point is that the olde Teſtamēt did not ſtande vpon the merites of men, but vpon the

free mercy of God. The third point is that the couenant of the fathers with God, did then ſtande vpon like knowledge of Chriſt the Mediator. 2. 10. 4.

Alſo in ſignification of Sacraments, the Iſraelites vnder the lawe were egall with ſ Christian people. 2. 10. 5, 6.

There are foure differences of the olde Teſtament from the newe, wherunto we may alſo adde a fifth. The firſt is, that although in the olde time alſo the Lordes will was to directe the ſoules of his people to the heauenly inheritaunce: Yet to the ende that they might be the better nourished in ſ hope therof, he gaue it them to be beholden, and after a certaine maner taſted vnder earthly benefites: But now the grace of the life to come, being more clerely reueled by ſ Goſpell, hee directeth our mindes ſ ſtreight way to the meditation thereof, leauing the inferior maner of exerciſing which he vſed among the Iſraelites. 2. 11. 1.

Therefore ſ olde Church is compared to an heire vnder age, which is gouerned by Gardians. 2. 11. 2.

For this reaſon, the fathers ſo much eſteemed this life, and the bleſſings thereof. 2. 11. 3.

The ſecond difference is in figures, wherewith the olde teſtamēt did ſhewe forth the image and ſhadowe of ſpirituall good things: The new teſtamēt geueth the preſent truth and perfect body. There is alſo a reaſon ſhewed why the
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Lorde kept this order: And a definition of the olde testament. 2.11.4.

In this sense it is said, that the Jewes were by the introduction or scholing of the law led vnto Christ. before that he was deliuered in the fleshe: 2. 11. 5. which appeared in the most excellent Prophets that were endued with singular grace of the spirit. Sect. 6.

The thirde difference, is taken out of the one and thirty chapter of Jeremy, and the thirde chapter of the seconde Epistle to the Corinthians, that the olde testament is literall, and the newe testament is spirituall: the olde bringeth death, the new is the instrument of life. 2. 11. 7, 8.

The fourth difference is, that the scripture calleth the olde testament, the testament of bondage, bycause it enyēdreth feare in mens mindes: but the newe is called the Testament of liberty, bycause it raiseth them vp to confidence and surety. The three latter differences are comparisons of the lawe and the Gospel. The first, conteineth also the promises made before the lawe. The fathers liued so vnder the lawe and the olde testament, that they stayed not there, but alwayes aspired to the newe, yea and embraced a certaine communicating therof 2.11.9,10

The fifth difference is, that before the comming of Christ, the Lorde had seuered one nation, in which he would kepe the couenāt of his grace, in the meane time neglecting all other nations. So the

calling of the Gentiles, is a certaine signe, wherewith the excellencie of the newe testament is set foorth aboute y^e olde: a thing so incredible, that it seemed yet newe to the Apostles themselues, being exercised in reading of the Prophets, and endued with the holy Ghost. 2.11.11,12.

A conclusion of this matter, and an aunswere to diuers obiections of some mē, which say that this variety in the Church, this diuers maner of teaching, so great change of vsages and ceremonies, is a great absurditie. Where is declared that the constancy of God appeareth in this chaunging, and he hath done nothing, but wisely, righteously, and in mercy, when he gouerneth his Church, after one sorte in childehode, & after an other sort in riper age, & also when he did keepe close in one people the shewing forth of his grace before the comming of Christ, which afterward he poured forth vpon all nations. 2. 11. 13, 14.

Thefts.

An exposition of the 8. Commandement: where is entreated of diuerse kindes of Theftes, and some which although mē iudge otherwise, yet are accōpted Theftes before God: And so he that doth not performe that which by the office of his calling he oweth to other, is a Thefe. 2.8.45.

What we ought to do, that we may obey this commaundement, is shewed by diuerse examples according to the diuersity of persons and offices. 2.8.46.

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Traditions.

Forasmuch as the Lorde, willing to teache a rule of trewe righteoutnesse, hath drawen all the partes thereof to his owne will, thereby it appeareth, that all the good workes which men deuise of their owne wittes, are nothing worth before him: But the trewe worshipping standeth vpon obedience onely, which is the beginning, mother, and preseruer of all vertues. 2. 8. 5.

Of Traditions of men, that is to say, ordinaunces proceeding from men, concerning the worshipping of God: And of the vngodlinesse and necessitie of them. 4. 10. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8.

A diuision of popishe constitutions, which they call Traditions of the Church, into such as conteine ceremonies, and other which are said to pertaine to discipline. The wickednesse of both sortes, bycause they place the worship of God in them, and consciences are bounde with precise necessity of the. 4. 10. 9.

For them the commaundement of God is made voide. 4. 10. 10.

A trewe marke of mens Traditions, which ought to be reiected of the Church, and of all Godly men. 4. 10. 16.

A confutation of the pretence which some men vse that defende popishe Traditions to be of God, bycause the Church cannot erre, and is gouerned by the holy Ghost. 4. 10. 17.

It is a meere mockery to say, that the Apostles were authors of the

Traditions, wherewith the Church hath heretofore bene oppressed. 4. 10. 18, 19, 20.

The example of the Apostles, when they commaunded the Gentiles to abstaine from things offered vnto Idols, from stragled, and from blood, is falsely alledged to excuse the tyranny of the popes lawes. 4. 10. 21, 22.

The Lordes kingdome is taken from him, when he is worshipped with the lawes of mennes Traditions: which is proued by examples and testimonies of Scripture, to haue alway bene a most hainous offence in the sight of God. 4. 10. 23, 24.

The inuentions of men can not be defended by the example of Menoha, which being a priuate mā offered sacrifice, nor of Samuel which sacrificed in Ramath, 4. 10. 25. nor of Christ, which willed men to beare the burdens that the Scribes and Pharisees did binde together. 4. 10. 26.

Of holy & profitable ordinances of the Church, and the ende that they tend vnto. 4. 10. 1.

Of such ordināces of the Church, as ought to be accompted holy, namely those which serue for comelinesse, or do preserue order and peace in the Church. 4. 10. 27, 28, 29. We must wisely consider, which be of that sorte. 4. 10. 30.

It is the duty of Christiā people, to obserue such ordinances: And what errors herein are to be taken heede of: And howe in the meane time,

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time, the libertie of consciences may still be preserved safe. 4. 10. 31, 32.

Tributes.

Of Tributes, Taxes, Impositiōs, and Finances, which are payed to Princes: And howe Princes may vse them with a good conscience. 4. 20. 13.

Trinitie.

In one simple essence of God, we must distinctly consider three persons, or (as the Grekes call them) *Hypostases*. 1. 13. 2.

A confutation of them which in this matter do condemne the name of person, and reiect it for newnesse. 1. 13. 3, 4, 5.

The holy doctors haue bin compelled to inuente certaine newe words, to defende the truth of God against certaine subtle men, which mocked it out with shifting: As against Arrius they inuented this word *homoousion* Consubstantiall, and against Sabellius the name of three properties or persons. 1. 13. 4, 16.

The diuerse sentences of Hierome, Hilarie, and Augustine, in the vse of these wordes. 1. 13. 5.

What we call a person, when we entreate of the Trinitie. 1. 13. 6.

Of the error of Seruettus, in the taking of this word Person. 1. 13. 22.

As God hath more clerely opened himselfe by the comming of Christ, so he is since that time more familiarly made knownen in y^e three persons. 1. 13. 16.

Testimonies of scripture, whereby is shewed the distinction of the

father from the Worde, and of the Word from the spirit. 1. 13. 17.

Also in the scripture there is a distinction made of the father, from the Word and the spirit, and of the spirit from them both, as well by obseruatiō of order, as by prophecies ascribed to them. 1. 13. 18.

This distinction of persons maketh not against the most simple vnitie of God. 1. 13. 19.

In what sense the fathers say, that the father is the beginning of the sonne, and yet that the sonne hath his essence of himselfe. 1. 13. 19.

A breife summe of those things which we ought to beleue concerning the one essence of God and the three persons. 1. 13. 20.

And herein we must dispute soberly, and with great moderation, that neither our thought, nor our tong, do passe beyond the boundes of the word of God. 1. 13. 21.

A confutatiō of the doting errors of Seruettus in this point of doctrine. 1. 13. 22.

A confutation, of the error of certaine lewde men, which say, that the father is trewly and properly the one only God, which in making the sonne and the holy Ghost, did poure his Godhed into the. 1. 13. 23.

It is false which they say, that when mention is made of God in the scripture, onely the father is meant thereby. 1. 13. 24.

Also it is false which they dreame of vndeuided substances, of which euery one hath a parte of the essence. 1. 13. 25.

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An aunswere to their obiection, that Christ, if he be properly God, is wrongfully called the sonne of God. 1. 13. 26.

An aunswere to many places which they bringe out of Ireneus for profe of their opinion, where he affirmeth the father of Christ to be the one onely and eternall God of Israel. 1. 13. 27.

Also to the places of Tertullian. Sect. 28.

It is proued that Iustine, Hilarie, and Augustine, do make of our side. 1. 13. 29.

The Sonne is of the same substance with the father. 4. 8. 16.

V.

Last Vnction, as they call it.

WHat maner of administratiō is of the popishe last Vnctiō, and in what forme of wordes: And howe it can not be defended by the authority of Iames, or by the example of the Apostles. 4. 19. 18.

Forasmuch as the grace of healing which was in olde time geuen to y Apostles, hath long ago ceased in the Church. Sect. 19, 20. And though it still remained, yet this their wicked obseruation is farre from that holy ceremony of the Apostles. A declaration of the blasphemies thereof, when they coniuire the oile, and ascribe vnto it that which is propre to the holy Ghost. 4. 19. 21.

Vocation.

See Callinge.

Vowes.

Of Vowes which are made against

the expresse word of God: whether they may well be Vowed of Christian men, and howe they are to be esteemed. 4. 13. 1, 6.

Three things are to be considered in Vowes: Who it is to whom wee Vowe, namely God which deliteth in obedience. 4. 13. 2. Who we be that do Vowe, that we measure our owne strength and loke vpon our Calling, that we neglect not the benefite of liberty which God hath geuen vs. Sect. 3. And with what minde we Vowe. Sect. 4.

Of the Priests, Monkes, and Nonnes Vowe of single life. 4. 13. 3, 17, 18, 19.

There be foure endes of Vowes, two haue respect to the time past, and two to the time to come. 4. 13. 4, 5.

There is one common Vowe of all the faithfull which they make in Baptisme. 4. 13. 6.

Of the rashenesse and superstition of the worlde in making of Vowes. 4. 13. 1, 7.

W.

Of Warres.

Warres are lawfull, when Magistrates are driuen of necessity to take weapon in hand, to execute publike reuenge vpon those that trouble the peace of their dominion, whether they be ciuile or fo-reine enemies. 4. 20. 11.

It maketh not to the contrary hereof, which many alledge, that there is not in the newe Testament any testimony or example which proueth that Warre is a thing lawfull

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full for Christians. But Magistrates ought to take great heede, that in taking of weapon in hand, they nothing at all followe their owne lustes. As Warre, so garisons also, leagues and ciuile fortifications, are things lawfull for Christians to vse.

4.20.12.

Will of God.

Of the secret Will of God. Also of an other Will, whereunto aunswereth Willing obedience. 3. 20. 43. and 3. 24. 1, 7.

Will of Man.

Whether the Will of man be in euery part through defiled and corrupted so that it bringeth forth nothing but euell: Or whether it yet reteine some liberty of choise. Where is declared the common saying taken out of the Philosophers, that all thinges by naturall dispositiō couet that which is good. And there is shewed that the liberty of Will can not be proued thereby. 2. 2. 26.

The soule hath not onely a weake power but no power at all of it selfe to aspire to goodnesse. And sith the whole man is subiect to the dominion of sinne, it is proued by testimonies of Scripture and of Augustine, that the Will of man is bound with most streight bōdes. 2. 2. 27.

Man by his fall lost not his will, but the soundnesse of his Will, so that he can not moue, much lesse apply himselfe to goodnesse, but is necessarily drawen or led into euell, howbeit not by compulsion but

voluntary. Which is proued by Augustine and Bernarde. A large declaration of the difference betwene compulsion and necessitie. 2. 3. 5.

Sith the Lorde both beginneth and perfiteth good in our hartes, sith he worketh in vs to will, that is to say the good will, sith he createth a newe harte, taketh away the stony harte and geueth a fleshly hart, it followeth, that the Will of man is viterly corrupted and hath no goodnesse at all. 2. 3. 6.

It is clerely proued by reasons and diuerse testimonies of Scripture, that God worketh good will in them that be his, not onely in preparing or turning them from the beginning so as it may afterward do some good of it selfe: But bycause it is his onely worke that Will conceiuerh a loue of goodnesse, that it is enclined to the study thereof, that it is stirred and moued to an endeuour to followe it, and againe that the choise, studie, and endeuour do not fainte, but procede to effect, finally that man goeth constantly forward in them and continueth to the ende. 2. 3. 7, 8, 9.

Therefore it is proued by the authority of Scripture and of Augustine that this which hath bene taught these many ages, that God so moueth our Will, that it is afterward in our owne choise, to obey or disobey his motion, and other like sayings are viterly false. 2. 3. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

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Also in doinges, which of themselves are neither righteous nor vnrightheous, and belonge rather to the bodily than the spirituall life, the will of man is not free, but by the speciall motion of God is enclined to clemency, mercy, wrath, feare, and other diuerse effectiōs, when it pleaseth him to make way for his prouidence. Which is proued by Scripture, by daily experience, and by the authority of Augustine. 2. 4. 6, 7.

Workes.

A comparison of the purenesse of God with all the righteousnesse of men. 3. 12. 4, 5.

Al the offspring of Adam being deuided into foure kindes of men, it is proued that they haue no holinesse or righteousness: First in them which are endued with no knowledge of God, in whom although there do sometime appeare excellent qualities (which are the giftes of God) yet there is in them nothing pure. 3. 14. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

The same is shewed in them, which being professed by Sacraments, are Christiāns onely in name, denying God in their deedes: Also in hypocrites which with vaine false colours do hide the wickednesse of their heart. 3. 14. 7, 8.

Finally, it is proued that euen the children of God trewly regenerated by his Spirit, can not stande by any righteousness of their owne Workes before the iudgement of God, because they can bringe forth no good Worke y^e is not sprinkled

with some vncleannes of the flesh, and therefore damnable. Moreouer although they coulde bringe forth any such Worke, yet one sinne is enough to blot out the remembrance of all former righteousnesses. 3. 14. 9, 10, 11.

A confutation of the papistes shiftes concerning the righteousnesse of Workes: And specially of the same horrible mōster of Workes of supererogatiō. 3. 14. 12, 13, 14, 15.

When we entreate of Workes, we must thrust two pestilences out of our minds: that we put no trust in the righteousnesse of our owne Workes, and that we ascribe no glory vnto them. 3. 14. 16.

The Scripture setteth out and declareth foure kindes of causes in stablishing our saluation: And it is proued that in them all there is no regard of Workes. 3. 14. 17.

Where sometime the sainctes do bolden themselves with remembrance of their owne innocence and vprightnesse: howe the same is to be taken: and howe it doth in no wise abate any thing from the free righteousnesse in Christ. 3. 14. 18, 19, 20.

Where the Scripture saith that the good Workes of the faithfull do moue God to do them good, the order is therein rather expressed than the cause. 3. 14. 21.

Why the Lorde in the Scripture calleth good Workes oures, and promiseth rewarde to them. 3. 15. 3.

A confutation of the Sophisters inuention, concerning morall Workes,

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Workes, whereby men be made acceptable to God, before that they be grafted in Christ. 3. 15. 6. and 17. 4.

Those rewardes are geuen to the Workes of the faithfull, which the Lorde in his lawe hath promised to the followers of righteousnesse: but thereof there are three causes to be considered. 3. 17. 3.

We may note in the scripture two acceptances of man with God, of which the latter although it haue respect to the good Workes of the faithful, yet is also of the free mercy of God. 3. 17. 4, 5.

When it is said that God doth good to them that loue him, here is not rehearsed a cause why he should do them good, but rather the maner of what sorte they be by his grace. 3. 17. 6.

An exposition of certaine places

wherein y^e scripture geueth to good Workes the name of righteousnes. And there is shewed that those places are not against the doctrine of iustification of faith. 3. 17. 7.

One good Worke or many do not suffice for righteousnesse before God, although one sinne suffice to condemne. And here the principle hath no place, the contraries haue all one rule. 3. 18. 10.

Why the Lorde said that he rendereth to Workes that which hee had freely geuen before Workes. 3. 18. 3. And therein he helpeth our weakenesse least we should be discouraged. 3. 18. 4, 6, 7.

Hereuppon hangeth the righteousnes of the good Workes which the faithfull do, that by pardō they are allowed of God. 3. 18. 5.

VVorlde.

See Creation of the VVorld.

THE ENDE OF THE TABLE.

TO THE CHRISTIAN AND STUDIOVS READERS OF

THIS BOOKE, AVGVSTINE

Marlorate Wiffheth Health.



Ho so euer shall reade and peruse these two Tables following, and especially the latter, may maruell what I means (after so many impressions and corrections of this worke) to collect and gather all the places of holy scripture therein alledged: and a great parte of the authorities therein expounded, wheareas if any frute or proffit thereof were to be had, the same longe before might haue bene done: and especially about there yeares past, when the author him selfe was so diligens therein: who besides the many and profitable ad-

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ditions (which it containeth) he himselfe setting the same in order, with his owne handes, and reducing it to a most exacte perfection, did then set and publish it forth, in such sorte, that in sower bookes being deuised into chapters and diuerse sections, he hath right worthely and in famillier maner, comprised the summe of the whole Christian religion. And certainly I cannot denie but it woulde haue bene very good and commodiose, if that any one man woulde haue taken the paine, faithfully and trewly to haue collected those places: which thing I thought ones to haue donne by the aduise of the imprinter, sauing that my chardge and office did else where call me: as also when I had perused and set it in an other order then it was before, and had euen finished it, I was compelled to omit it, or at the least, to surcease for the time. And after that this booke being put forth both in Latine and French, was set to sale in euery place, because I sawe no man, who then did take the paine, to reduce the places of Scripture to a Table, and understanding howe profitable the same would be to all men: I could not choose but after my power, and as leasure serued in those troublesome times, to employ my whole care & travell therein. And because all things should be done and come forth more certaine and in better order: I would not geue credite, nor trust to the number, which the imprinter had before set and made: for when I had diligently conferred them all, I found many false, many omitted, and some disorderly set: And surely that happeneth very sone to such as are not best skilfull in examining and perusing the places of holy Scripture to be sone deceaued. Wherefore all things diligently restored, & that supplied which seemed to want, I did so order the places of Scripture collected out of the olde and newe testament, that if there were any, through forgetfulnessse, or by any other meanes omitted or ouerskippped: (as it can not be but that in a great harvest some one eare of corne shall escape the reapers hande) I durst warrant so fewe shall be found, that this Table being brought to triall you shall not finde one much more plentifull or larger. Neuerthelesse I do pray and request the readers, that if they do finde any, they will aduertise the imprinter, wherby the same may better be examined and corrected. And this is to be noted, that such whole verses as I haue comprised in this table, they were not wholly but in part alleged, much lesse expounded in the Institution: which thing I did upon good consideration. For oftentimes it happeneth that in diuerse places of the Institutions, some authorities are alleged, which are proued but by some part of the verse. And because in noting the places and numbers, we must vse repetitions. (which for the most part bring a lothsomnesse to the reader) I thought it better to put in the whole verse, then by often diuisions, to vse vaine and superfluous repetitions. And as concerning the commoditie which the reader may gather by this my travell: (besides that which by vse and experience I am taught by those Tables, which for mine owne priuate study and exercise I wrote upon the Institutions heretofore set forth) I durst so affirme this much, that they which are not exercised

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exercised in entreating the holy Scriptures, and yet desirous to serue the Church of God, do diligently endueor themselves thereunto, they shall finde a large and a plaine way, both with dexteritie to expound the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, as also aptly to apply the authorities here alleged, and such like to the edifying of the Church, which is the very ende of the whole. And although we want not good Commentaries to discouer vnto vs the naturall sense of the Scripture, which we do nowe study and apply: yet because they who wrote the same, and who with good successe haue travelled therein, were contented with the plaine and sincere exposition of the text: none could tell by the vse of the said Commentaries onely (vnlesse they were well practised in the principales of religion) howe and to what common place they ought to apply the argument then in hande. But who so can be contented to vse this Table, whensoever he shall finde the places which he entreateth, he shall see howe and to what ende the same is to be applied, whether to the confirmation of true doctrine, or to the confuting of the aduersaries, or to the reconciling of such places as seeme to be repugnant. And this shalbe very commodious and profitable, not onely for the amplifying of any argument, but also to satisfie them, which are desirous to be confirmed in the principall pointes of Christian Religion. For it is manifest howe simple and slender is their oration and speech, which bring and allege nothing els, but as they read in the Commentaries: where the authors themselves (being most worthy and well learned) do cheefly desire breuitie, because the readers should vse and study the common places themselves, to the ende they should the more largely be applied to those things which in the Cōmentaries are but breely expounded. Againe, forasmuch as we haue not alwayes in readinesse, what good authors haue written vpon the scriptures: and very fewe commentaries vpon some bookes, and namely vpon this Institution, are to be founde or had. This Table expoundinge the obscure and harde authoriities, shall greatly further and helpe the readers: For they shall either finde some ready interpretation, or some entrance whereby to searche and finde out the trewe sentence. And as touching the translation, I trust it shall not seeme straunge to the reader, in that I haue rather followed the selfe same wordes, as they be in the Bible, then as they be alleged by Calvin in this his institution: For he being a man most excellently well learned, and of great reading (as by his works it doth appeare, how ready and famillier the Scriptures were to him) had not alwayes the bookes in readines, or lying open before him, when he wrote: neither was it necessary that whatsoeuer he did auouche out of the olde or new Testamēt, he should expresse or write it in the selfe same words: for it is sufficiēt, that the sense be faithfully retained, & the trew propriety of the words obserued, & so to eschew the cauilings of all men, sauing such as will finde fault in that, which in the least parte cannot be followed nor obserued. Being therefore perswaded that neither he himself will be offended, nor the reader mislike, if the sentences in the Bible be translated

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according to the Hebrews, as concerning the olde Testament, and according to the Greeke, as touching the newe Testament: I haue aduentured to aduouche the authorities of the Scriptures in another order (as concerning the wordes) then they are alledged in this booke of Institutions. And therefore sometimes that which is recied in the thirde person, this Table doth expresse it in the seconde, and so contrariwise: but yet so, that the sense and meaning is alwayes reserued, which thing euery man shall easily perceauē, if diligently and without hasty iudgement, he do conferre euery thing together: for else curiose heades do lose that fruit, which by aduised reading they might haue and receiue. And as concerning the names and numbers of the bookes, and of the Chapters of the olde Testament, we haue not followed the common translation, but that which is most agreeable to the Hebrew. And therefore we do aduertise the readers, that they do not take the first booke of the Kinges, for the first of Sannuell: nor the seconde of Kinges, for the seconde of the same Prophete: which is so done by them, who heretofore haue coted the Chapters in this imprinted Booke, bycause they followed the Concordances of the Bible, called the great Cōcordances, which is collected according to the common translation: and by that meanes, as it may euidently appeare to all men, some booke of the olde Testament, are not rightly intituled: and the Psalmes otherwise and in an other order deuided, then did the Hebrewes. And forasmuch as all the principall pointes of religion, are in this booke copiously and faithfully expounded, we may easily refute the false opinions of the aduersaries. Whosoever shall come to the reading thereof, either with a minde to learne, or a desire to profit: there is no doubt, but he shall very much profit himselfe, and helpe others: whose consciences he may so strengthen and assure, as they neede not to quail in any point, bycause they be assured, that their faith is grounded vpon the firme foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, who wrate and spake, being inspired by the holy Ghost, who hath willed and commaunded his most pretiose and deere word, to be redde, heard, and handled, in all feare and reuerence, without adding thereunto, or takinge from the same: least we be worthily reprovē of our folly. Let vs therefore, in all simplicity and feare of God, reade so wholsome and necessary thinges, and daily proceede therein, in the grace and knowledge of God, who onely is the savior, hedde and Doctor of the Church: To whom nowe and for euer be all glory.

Calend. Maij. 1562.

THE

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*The first number signifieth the Booke, the second the Chapter,
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 he vvas the priest of the almighty)
 &c. 4.18.2
- 15.1. Feare not Abraham, I am thy defen-
 der, and thy revvard is very great. 2
 11.1. & 3.25.10. & 4.10.11. & 4.16.24
5. Look vpon the heauens, and
 number the starres if thou canst: and
 he said vnto him, so shall thy seede
 be. 3.18.2
17. Therefore vwhen the Sunne vvas
 sette there rose a darke miste, and
 there appeared a smoking fornace,
 &c. 4.14.18
18. I vwill geue vnto thy seede this
 countrey, from the flud of Egypt vnto
 the great flud Euphrates. 4.16.11
- 16.2. Beholde, the Lorde hath shut me
 vp, that I shoulde not brnge forth:
 go thou into thy handmaid, if perad-
 venture at the least, &c. 3.2.31.
5. And Sarai said to Abraham, thou
 dealest vnjustly vwith me. 2.10.11.
 I gaue my handmaide into thy bo-
 some. 3.2.31
9. And the Angell of the Lorde said
 vnto

The Table.

- vnto her, returne vnto thy mistresse. 1.14.16
15. Agar brought forth a sonne to Abraham. 2.10.11
17. 2. I vwill make my agreement betwene me and thee, and I vwill multiply thee vunderfull much. 3.18.2
5. I haue ordained thee a father of many Nations. 2.10.11
7. And I vwill put my couenaut betwene me and thee, and betwene thy seede after thee in their generations by an euerlasting truce, that I may be thy God and the God of thy seede after thee. 2.8.21. & 2.10.9. & 2.13.1. & 4.15.20. & 4.16.3
10. Euery male of you shall be circumcised. 4.14.20. & 4.16.3
11. And you shall circumcise the flesh of your vncircumcision, and it shall be a signe of the league betwene me and you. 4.16.24
12. The child of 8. dayes shall be circumcised amongest you, euery male in your generations. 4.16.5. & 4.16.6 & 4.16.30
13. And my couenant shall be in your flesh for an euerlasting league. 4.17.22
14. The male, the fleshe of vvhose vncircumcision hath not bene circumcised, that soule shall be vvpied out fro amongest his people, because he hath broken my couenaut. 4.6.9
21. I vwill ordaine my couenaut vvhich Isaac. 4.14.5
- 23.1. The Lorde appeared vnto him in the valley of Mamre. 1.14.5
2. There vvere three men appeared vnto him standing by him. 1.14.9
10. Returning, I vwill come vnto thee about this time, and thy vvife Sarai shall haue a sonne. 3.18.2
23. If there shall be 50. iuste in the Citie, shall they perishe also? & vvilt thou not spare that place for 50. iuste, if they shall be in it? 3.20.15
27. Because I haue begone once, shall I speake vnto my Lorde, being dulst and ashes? 1.1.3
- 19.1. And two Angels came to Sodome in the euening. 1.14.9
- 20.2. And he said of Sarai his vvife, she is my sister. 2.10.11
3. VVwhether or no vvill thou die for the vvomā vvhich thou broughtest? for she hath a husband. 1.17.14
18. For God did shutte vp euery vvombe of the house of Abimelech, for Sarai the vvife of Abraham. 2.8.19
- 21.2. And Sarai conceaued, and bare a sonne to Abraham in her age. 2.10.11
10. Cast out this handmaide and her sonne. 2.10.11. & 4.2.3
12. All things that Sarai shall say vnto thee, harkē vnto her, because in Isaac shall thy seede be called. 3.2.5
24. And Abraham said, I vvill svveare. 2.8.27
25. And Abraham blamed Abimelech for the vvell of vvater vvhich his seruauntes tooke avway by force. 2.10.11
- 22.1. The vvhich after they vvere done, God tempted Abraham. 3.8.4 & 3.20.46
2. Take thou thy onely sonne Isaac, vvhom thou louest, and goe into the land of vitions, and offer him in sacrifice. 2.10.11
3. Therefore Abraham rising by night, sadled his Asse, carrying vvith him two young men and his sonne Isaac, and vvhen they had cut vvodde for sacrifice, he vvnt into the place that God had commaunded him. 3.18.2
8. My sonne, God vvill provide to himselfe an offering of sacrifice. 1.16.4
12. Nowve I knowve that thou fearest the Lorde, and hast not spared thy onely sonne for me. 3.8.4
16. I haue svvorne by my selfe (saith the Lorde) because thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared thy onely sonne, &c. 3.18.2
17. I vwill blesse thee, and multiply thy seede as the starres of heauen, and as the sand that is by the shore of the sea. 3.18.2
18. And all the natiōs of the earth shall be blessed in thy seede, because thou obeyedst my voice. 2.13.1. & 4.14.31

The Table.

- 23.4. I am a stranger and pilgrime among you, geue me the right of buriall vvith you, that I may burie my dead. 3.25.8
7. Abraham arose, and did vvorship the people of that countrey, that is to say, the sonnes of Heth. 1.12.3
12. Abraham did vvorship before the Lorde and the people of that countrey. 1.12.3
19. And Abraham buried his vvife Sara in the double caue of the field, vvvhich caue vvvas right ouer against Mamre, this is Hebron in the land of Canaan. 3.25.8
- 24.7. He vvill sende his Angell before thee. 1.14.6. & 1.14.12
12. Lord God of my maister Abraham, helpe me this daye, and deale mercifully vvith my maister Abraham. 1.14.12
- 25.27. Isaac loued Esau, because he did eate of his Venison. 3.2.31
- 26.1. A dearth being risen in that lād, after that barrenesse vvvhich happened in the dayes of Abraham: Isaac vvvent to Abimilech king of Palestine in Gerara. 2.10.12
4. And I vvill multiply thy seede as the starres of heauē, and I vvill geue to thy posteritie all these regions, and all nations shall be blessed in thy fede. 2.13.1
7. And he answered, she is my sister, for he feared to cōfesse that she vvvas associated vnto him in mariage. 2.10.12
15. For this, the Palestines enuying him, they dammed vp all the vvells that the seruantes of his father Abraham had digged, at that time filling them vp vvith earth. 2.10.12
20. But there also vvvas a bravvling of the shepheardes of Gerara against the shepheardes of Isaac. 2.10.12
31. And rising in the morning, they svvore one to the other. 2.8.27
35. VVhich both did offend the minde of Isaac and Rebecca. 2.10.12
- 37.9. Goe thy vvayes forth to the flocke, & bring vnto me tvvo good Kiddes, &c. 3.2.31
14. He vvvent and brought, and gaue vnto his mother. 2.10.14
27. So soone as he sented the smell of his garmentes, blessing him, he said, beholde the smell of my sonne as the smell of a full field the vvvhich the Lorde hath blessed. 3.11.23
38. Esau vvith a great howling vvvept. 3.3.24. & 3.3.25
39. Thy blessing shall excede in the fatnesse of the earth, & in the devve of heauen. 3.3.25.
- 28.5. Isaac therefore let Iacob depart. 2.10.12
11. An he savve in his sleepe a ladder standing on the earth, and the top thereof touching heauen. 2.9.2
12. And also the Angels of God going vp and going dovvn by the vvay. 1.14.12
18. Iacob therefore rising early, tooke the stone vvvhich he did lay vnder his head, and he reared it vp for a remembraunce, pouring oile therupon. 1.11.15
22. I vvill offer the tenthes vnto thee, of all things that thou shalt geue me. 4.13.4
- 29.20. Iacob serued for Rachell 7. yeares. 2.10.11
23. And in the euening he brought in Lelia his daughter to Iacob. 2.10.12
27. Fill vppe the vvecke of dayes of this coupling, and I vvill geue her vnto thee for the vvorke by vvvhich thou shalt serue me in 7. other yeares. 2.10.12
- 30.1. But Rachell seing that she vvvas vnfrutefull, she enuied her sister, and said vnto her husband, geue me children, othervvise I vvill die. 2.10.12.
2. VVhether or no am I a God that hath taken from thee the frute of thy vvombe? 1.16.7
- 31.19. And Rachell stole avway the Idoles of her father. 1.11.8
23. VVho tooke his brethré vnto him, and follovving after him 7. daies, he tooke him in the mount Gilead. 2.10.12
40. Day

The Table.

40. Day and night I vvas oppressed
vvith heate & colde, and sleepe vvas
farre from mine eyes 2.10.12
& 4.1.24
53. Therefore Iacob svore by the
feare of his father Isaac. 2.8.27
- 32.1. Iacob vvent on the iourney that
he had taken in hande, & the Angels
of the Lord met him. 1.14.5
7. Iacob feared vvonderfully, &c. 2
10.12
10. I am not vvorthy of the least of
all thy compassions, & all the trueth
vvhich thou hast shewed vnto thy
seruaunt: for vvith my staffe haue I
passed ouer this Iordan. 3.20.14 & 3
20.26
11. Deliuer me from the hande of my
brother Esau, because I feare him ve-
ry much, least he comming, do strike
the mother vvith her sonnes. 2.10.12
& 3.20.14
38. For if thou vvere stronge against
God, howe much more shalt thou
preuaile against men? 1.14.5
39. Iacob asked him, tell me vvhat is
thy name? he aunswered, vvhy dost
thou seeke after my name the vvhich
is maruelous? and he blessed him in
that place. 1.13.10
30. And Iacob called the name of that
place Phanuell, sayinge, I sawe the
Lord face to face, & my soule is safe.
1.13.10
- 33.3 And he going forth vvorship-
ped prostrate on the earth seuen
times, vntill his brother drevve nie.
2.10.12
- 34.5 Iacob vnderstode that he had ra-
uished his daughter Dina. 2.10.12
25. Simeon and Leui the brethren of
Dina vvent into the Citie boldely
vvith their svvordes, and al the male
being slaine, &c. 2.10.12 & 4.1.24
29. You haue troubled me, and haue
made me be hated of the Chananites
& Pharesites inhabitants of this con-
trei. 2.10.12
- 35.18 But her soule departinge for
greefe, & death being novv at hand
she called, &c. 2.10.12
23. Ruben vvent, and slept vvith Bala
the Cōcubine of his father, that vvas
not vnknovven vnto him. 2.10.12
& 4.1.24
- 37.28. And the Madianites Mar-
chaunts passing by, they drevv him
out of the Cefterne, they solde him
to the Ismaelites for 20. peeces of
siluer money. 4.1.24
32. They tooke his coate, sending the
vvhich bare it to his father, &c. 2.10
12
- 38.18 Therefore the vvoman concei-
ued at one copulation, &c. 2.10.12
& 4.1.24
- 42.6. The brethren of Ioseph came &
did reuerence vnto him. 1.12.3
36. You haue made me to be vvithout
childrē: Ioseph is not aliue any more,
Simeon is holden in chaines, & you
cary Benjamin avvay: all these euils
hath fallen on me. 2.10.12
- 43.14. My omnipotēt God, make him
fauorable tovvards you, and that he
let loose vvith you your brother
that he holdeth in chaines and this
Benjamin: for I shalbe as one desti-
tute vvithout children. 2.4.6
- 45.8. I vvas not sent hither by your
counsell, but by the vvill of God. 1
17.8
- 47.7. And Iacob saluted Pharaoh. 1.11
15
9. The daies of pilgrimage of my life
be 130. yeares: sevv and euill 2.10.12
And they came not vnto the dayes of
my fathers, in the vvhich they vvere
pilgrimes. 2.10.13
29. Thou shalt keepe promise & shalt
deale pitifully vvith me, that thou
bury me not in Egypt. 2.10.13
- 30 But I vvill sleepe vvith my fa-
thers, and thou shalt cary me from
this contrey, and put thou me in the
sepulcre of my Auncestors. 2.10.13
& 3.25.8
31. VVho svvearing, Israell vvorship-
ped the Lord, turning to the head of
the bed 1.11.15
- 48.14. And Israell stretchinge out his
right hande, put it on the head of E-
phraim. 4.3.16

The Table.

16. The Angell vvhich hath deliuered me from all euils, bleſſe theſe boyes. 1.14.6
- And let the names of my fathers Abraham and Iſaac be called vpon them. 3.20.25
19. But his younger brother ſhall be greater then he, and his ſeede ſhall grow into nations. 3.22.5
- 49.5. Simeon & Leui brothers, vvarlike veſſels of iniquity. 1.8.4
9. Iuda the vvhelp of a Lyon: my ſonne thou aſcendeſt to the pray, beinge ſtill thou diſdeſt lye as a Lyon, and as a ſhe Lyon: vvho ſhall raiſe thee? 1.8.4
10. The Scepter ſhall not be carried away from Iuda, neither the Captaine from his home, vntill he come that is to be ſent, & he ſhall be that the Gentiles looke for. 1.8.7
18. I vvill looke for thy ſaluation O Lord. 2.10.14
- 50.20. You haue imagined euill of me but God vvill turne that into good, that he might exalt me as you ſee preſently. 1.17.8
25. VVhen God ſhall viſite you, cary away vvith you my bones from this place. 2.10.13
- EXODVS.
- 2.12. **W**hen he looked here and there, and ſawe that no body vvaz preſent, he hid the Egyptian vvhich he ſtroke, or killed, in the ſand. 4.20.10
- 3.2 And the Lord appeared vnto him in a flame of fire from the middeſt of a brumbe buſh. 4.17.21
6. I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Iſaac, the God of Iacob. 2.8.15. & 2.10.9
8. I haue come downe that I may deliuer them from the handes of the Egyptians, and I that I may bring them out of that contrey. 4.20.30
10. But I came, that I might ſend thee to Pharaο, that thou mighteſt lead away my people. 4.8.2
14. VVhich is, ſet me vnto you. 1.13.23
21. I vvill giue fauour vnto this people before the Egyptians, & vvhen you go forth you ſhall not go forth empty. 1.17.7
- 4.3. And the Lord ſayd, throwe it on the earth, he threw it, and it vvaz turned into a ſnake. 4.17.15
11. VVho hath made the mouth of mā, or vvho hath framed the dumme and deaſe, the ſeeinge & the blinde? not I? 1.11.14
21. See thou do all things openly before Pharaο vvhich I haue put into thy handes, I vvill harden his hart, & he ſhall not let the people go. 2.4.4 & 3.24.13
- I vvill harden his hart, & he ſhall not let the people go. 1.18.2
25. Sephora tooke therefore a ſharp ſtone, and circumcited the vn-circiſion of her ſonne. 4.15.22
- 6.7. And I vvill take you vnto me for a people, & I vvill be your God. 2.10.8
23. Aaron tooke Elizabeth to vvife the daughter of Aminadab the ſiſter of Nahafon, vvhich bare vnto him Nadab, and Abiu, and Eleazar, and Ithamar. 2.13.3
- 7.1. And the Lorde ſayd vnto Moſes, beholde, I haue ordained thee the god of Pharaο, and Aaron thy brother ſhall be thy Prophet. 1.13.9
3. But I vvill harden his hart, and vvill multiply my ſignes and vvonders in the lande of Egypt. 1.18.2 & 2.4.3 & 2.4.4
10. Aaron tooke his rod before Pharaο & his ſeruantes, & it vvaz turned into a ſnake. 4.17.15
11. Pharaο called his vvife men & inchaunters, and they made vnto him like vvife certaine vvonders through Egyptian call inchaunements. 1.8.6
12. And they in like maner caſt forth their rods, vvhich vvaz turned into dragons, but the rod of Aaron deuoured their rods. 4.17.15
- 8.15. But Pharaο ſeeing that quietnes vvaz giuen him, he made his hart vvorſe. 1.18.2
- 10.1 And the Lorde ſayd vnto Moſes, go in vnto Pharaο: for I haue hardened

The Table.

- hardened his hart, and the harts of his seruants, that I may make these tokens on him. 2.4.4
- 11.3. The Lorde vwill giue fauour to his people before the Egyptiās. And Moses vvas a great man in the con- trey of Egypt before the seruants of Pharaο & all the people. 2.4.6
- 12.5. It vvas a Lambe vvithout spot, a he Lambe of a ycare olde. 4.16.31
26. And vvhen your children shall say vnto you, vvhat religion is this? 4.16.30
43. This is the religiō of passing ouer, euery straunger shall not eate there- of. 4.17.22
46. Neither shal you breake the bones thereof. 1.16.9
- 13.12. Sanctifie to me euery first borne that doth opē the wombe amongest the children of Israell, as vvell of mē as of beast, for they be al mine. 4.16.31
- 14.19. And the Angell of the Lorde, listinge vp himsefse, vvhich did goe before the campe of Israel, vvnt af- ter them. 1.14.6
21. And vvhen Moses had extended his hande against the sea, the Lorde tooke it avway, a mightie vvinde blovvng and burninge all the night. &c. 4.15.9
26. And the Lorde sayd vnto Moses, stretch out thy hande ouer the sea, that the vvaters may returne to the Egyptians & vpon the chariots and horsemen of them. 4.15.9
31. The people feared the Lorde and beleued in him, and in his seruaut Moses. 4.8.2
- 15.3. The Lord as a champion, omni- potent is his name. 1.13.24 & 4.17.23
- 16.7. And in the morninge you shall se the glory of the lord, I haue heard you murmuring against the Lord: But vve, vvhat be vve that you do mur- mure against vs priuily. 1.8.3
14. And vvhen the devv vvas ascēded that vvas fallen, beholde vvpon the vpper part of the earth there appea- red a litle thinge in a manner of the likenes, &c. 4.17.34 & 4.18.30
- 17.6. Beholde, I vwill stande there be- fore thee vpon the rocke horeb, and thou shalt strike the rocke, and vva- ter shall proceede there from, that the people may drinke. 4.17.15. & 4.17.21. & 4.18.20
15. And Moses did build an altar, and called the name thereof *Iehouah-Nissi*. 1.13.9
- 18.16. And vvhen there shall be any disputation amongst them, they shall come vnto me, that I may iudge betvvene them, & that I may shevve the commaundements of God & his lavves. 4.11.8
- 19.5. You shal be vnto me as the tre- sure and best of all the people, for all the earth is mine. 4.16.13
6. And you shal be vnto me a kingely Priesthode, and a holy people. 2.7.1
16. And novv the third day vvas come, and it vvaxed bright in the morning, and beholde thundering beganne to be hard, and lighteninges to flashe, and thicke cloudes to cower the hill, and the sounde of the trompet did make a noyse very vehemently, and the people did feare vvhich vv ere in the tentes. 1.8.5
- 20.3. Thou shalt not haue straunge gods before me. 1.13.24
4. Thou shalt not make to thy selfe a grauen image, neither any likenesse that is in heauen aboue the earth, neither that is in the earth beneath, neither of those thinges that be in the vvaters beneath the earth. 1.11.1 & 1.11.12 & 1.13.24
5. Thou shalt neither vvorship them nor serue thē: I am thy mighty Lord God, gelious, visiting the iniquity of the fathers vpō the children, to the third and fourth generatiōs of them that hate me. 1.12.1
6. And being merciful vnto thousands of them that loue me and keepe my commaundements. 2.10.9
13. Thou shalt not kill. 4.20.10
24. In vvhich shall be the memory of my name, I vwill come to thee and blesse thee. 4.1.5

The Table.

- 21.13. But he that hath not lyen in vvaite, but that God hath giuen him into his handes, &c. 1.16.6. & 1.18.3
17. He that shall curse his father or mother, shall dye the death. 2.8.36
- 22.1. If any man shall haue stollen an Oxe, or a Sheepe, and shall haue killed him or sold him, he shall restore fve Oxen for one Oxe, and foure Sheepe for one Sheepe. 4.20.16
8. If the theefe be not found, the master of the house shall be brought to the Iudges, and he shall svveare that he hath not &c. 4.20.4
21. An oth shall be betvvene the, that he hath not stretched out his hande to the thing of his neighbour. 2.8.26
- 29 Thy tenthes and first frutes thou shalt not be slacke to pay. 3.7.5
- 23.1. Thou shalt not admit a lye, neither shalt thou ioyne thy hand, that thou shouldest beare false vvitnessse for the vvicked. 2.8.47
4. If thou shalt meete the Oxe or Assse of thy enemy going astray, bring him backe vnto him. 2.8.56
5. If thou shalt see the Assse of him that hateth thee lye vnder his burde, thou shalt not passe by, but shalt lift it vp together vvith him. 2.8.56
- 12 That thy Oxe & thy Assse may take rest, and that the sonne of thy handmaiden may be refreshed, and the straunger. 2.8.32
13. And ye shall not svveare by the name of outvvard Gods, neither shall it be hearde out of your mouth. 2.8.25
19. Thou shalt cary the first of thy frutes into the house of the Lord thy God. 3.7.5
20. Beholde, I vvill sende my Angell, vvhich may go before thee, and may kepe thee in the vvay, and may bring thee into the place vvhich I haue prepared. 1.14.6
- 24.18 And Moses entring the middelt of the cloude, ascended into the hill, & vvvas there 40. daies & 40. nightes. 1.8.5. & 4.12.10
- 33.17. Also thou shalt make a mercy seate of fine golde, tvvo cubites and a halfe longe, and one cubite and a halfe broad. 1.11.3
18. Thou shalt also make tvvo golden Cherubins, beaten out on both sides of the Oracle. 1.11.3
20. They shall couer both sides of the mercy seate, stretchinge out their vvinges, and coueringe the Oracle, & their faces one to an other, to the mercy seate vvardes, by the vvhich the Arke is couered: in the vvhich thou shalt put the testimony that I shall giue thee. 1.11.3
40. Looke in, and do according to the example vvhich vvvas shevved thee in the mountaine. 2.7.1. & 4.14.20
- 28.9. And thou shalt take tvvo Onix stones, and thou shalt graue on them the names of the children of Israell. 3.20.18
10. Six names in one stone, and the other fixe on the other stone, according to the birth of them. 3.20.18
12. And Aaron shall cary the names of them before the Lord, vppon either shoulder, for a remembrance. 3.20.18
21. And the stones shall be accordinge to the names of the children of Israell, 12. accordinge to their names, grauen as signets, euery one according to his name, and they shall be for the 12. tribes. 3.20.18
- 29.9. And thou shalt gird them vvith girdles, both Aaron and his sonnes, and thou shalt put on them bonets, and they shall be priestes to me by a perpetuall religion, &c. 4.2.9
- 36 And thou shalt offer a Calfe euery day for reconciliation, & thou shalt cleanse the altar, &c. 2.17.4. & 4.18.13
- 30.10 And Aaron shall make reconciliation vppon the hornes thereof once a yeare, vvith the blood that is offered for sinne. 2.15.6
30. Thou shalt annoint Aaron and his sonnes, and thou shalt sanctifie them, that they may minister vnto me in the Priestes office. 4.19.31
- 31.3. And I haue filled Beseleell vvith the spirit of God, vvith vvisedome, vnder-

The Table.

- vnderstandinge, and knowvledge in
each vvorke. 2.2.16
13. See that you kepe my Sabaoth, be-
cause it is a signe betwene me & you
in your generations. 2.8.29
- 32.1. Arise, make vs gods that may go
before vs, for vvhy, vve knowve not
vvhat hath happened to this manne
Moses, that brought vs out of the
land of Egypt. 1.11.8
4. And they sayd, these be thy gods, O
Israell, vvhich brought thee forth
of the land of Egypt. 1.11.9
27. Lette euery man put his svvord by
his side, and go to and fro from gate
to gate throwve the hodie, and slay
euery man his brother, and brend, &
neighbour. 4.20.10
32. Either pardon them this fault, or
else if thou do it not, vvipe me out
of the booke vvhich thou halt vvrit-
ten. 3.20.35
- 33.19. I vvill haue mercy on vvhom I
vvill, and I vvill be fauorable vnto
vvhom it shall please me. 2.5.17 & 3
11.11. & 3.22.6, 8 & 3.24.15
20. Thou canst not see my face, for mā
shall not see me and liue 1.11.3
- 34.6. The Lord passing before him, he
sayd: the Lorde, the Lorde, stronge,
mercifull, and gracious, patient and
of much mercy. 1.10.2
7. VVhich doest pay the iniquitie of
the fathers to the childre, and vpon
the childres children, vnto the third
and fourth generation. 2.8.9
18. Therefore Moses vvast there vvith
the Lord 40. daies & 40. nightes, he
eate neither bread, nor dronke vva-
ter. 1.8.5. & 4.12.20
29. And vvhen Moses came dovvne
from the mount Sinai, the tvvv Ta-
bles of testimony vvvere in his hands
(and he vvist not that the skinne of
his face did shine bright after that
God had talked vvith him.) 1.8.5
- 35.2. You shal vvorke six daies, the se-
uenth day shall be vnto you the ho-
ly Sabaoth of the Lordes rest. 2.8
29
30. Beholde, the Lord hath called by

- name Beseleel the sonne of Vri, the
sonne of Hur of the Tribe of Iudah.
2.2.16
- 40.34. And a cloude did couer the Ta-
bernacle, the maiesty of the Lorde
glittering and shining. 1.8.5
- ## LEVITICVS.
- 1.2. W Hosoever of you shall offer
a sacrifice vnto the Lord,
yes shall offer it of cattel, as of Beefes
and of sheepe. 4.14.20
4. And he shall put his hand vpon the
heade of the sacrifice, and it shall be
acceptable and profitable for his at-
tonement. 4.3.16
5. And he shall offer vp the calfe be-
fore the Lord. 4.18.11
- 4.2. A soule vvhe it shall sinne
through ignoraunce in any of the
commaundementes of the Lord, &c.
4.1.28
- 5.13. And the priest shall make an at-
tonement for him as touchinge his
sinne, that he hath sinned in one of
these pointes, & it shall be forgien
him, &c. 2.17.4
- 8.6. And all the multitude being ga-
thered together before the dore of
the Tabernacle, he vvashed Aaron &
his sonnes. 4.3.15
- 11.44. Be you holy because I am holy.
4.19.25
- 16.2. Speake vnto Aaron thy brother,
that he enter not eche time into the
sanctuary that is betwene the vail
before the propitiatory, &c. 2.15
6
21. And Aaron putting both his hāds
vppon the liue Goate confessed all
the iniquities of the children of Is-
raell, &c. 3.4.10
- 18.5. The vvhich thinges if a man do,
he shall liue in them. 2.8.4. & 2.17.5
& 3.14.13. & 3.17.3
6. None shall come neere any of the
next of his blood that he should re-
ueale their shamefulnesse. 4.19.13
- 19.2. Be you holy, because I the Lord
your God am holy. 2.8.14. & 3.6.2
& 4.19.25
- 12 Thou shalt not forsvveare in my

The Table.

- name , neither shalt thou defile the name of thy God. I am the Lord, &c. 2.8.24
- 16 Thou shalt not be a false accuser nor a vvhisperer. amongst the people. 2.8.47
8. Thou shalt not seeke auengement, neither shalt thou be mindfull of the vvronge of thy Citizens to thee. 2.8.56.& 4.20.19
31. You shall dravve avway your promises from them that vvorke vvith spirits, neither inquire you any thing of soothsaiers that you should be polluted by them. 4.1.5
- 20.6 The soule vvvhich follovveth after coniurers and soothsayers, and goeth a vvhooringe after them, I vvill put my face against him, &c. 1.8.5
7. Sanctifie your selues, and be you holy, because I your Lorde God am holy. 4.19.25
9. He vvvhich curseth his father or mother , shall dye by death. 2.8.36
- 26.3. If you shall vvalk in my vvayes, and shal keepe my cōmaundements, and do them. 2.5.10
4. I vvill giue you raine in his time. 1.16.5.& 2.8.4
12. I vvill vvalk amongst you, and I vvill be your God, & you shal be my people. 2.10.8
20. Your strength shall be consumed in vaine, the earth shall not bringe forth her frute, neither the trees, &c. 3.20.44
23. Yet if by these you vvil not receiue my discipline, but vvill vvalk contrary vnto me. 1.17.8
26. Aftervvardes I shall haue broken the staffe of your bread, in such sorte, that tenne vvomen may bake bread in one ouen, and they shall deliuer them by vvayghr, &c. 3.20.44
33. But you I vvill disparce amongst the nations, and I vvill dravve out a fvord after you, and your land shall be desert, &c. 2.11.1
36. And such of you as shall remaine, I vvill cause feare in your heartes. 1.18.2.& 2.4.6
- ## NUMBERS.
- 6.5. **A**L the vvvhile of his separation, the rasor shall not passe ouer by his head. 4.19.26
18. Then the Nazarite shall be shauen before the dore of the Tabernacle of promise, by the lockes of his consecration and he shal take his heare and put it vpon the fire. 4.19.26
- 9.18. All the daies that the cloude did stande vpon the Tabernacle, they did erect their tentes there according to the commaundement of the Lorde. 4.15.9
- 11.9. And vvhen the devv did fall by night vpō the campe, the Manna did fall together vvith it. 1.8.5
18. Be you sanctified, to morrow you shall eate flesh. 3.20.51
31. Avvinde going out from the Lord, brought quailles from beyonde the sea. 1.16.7
33. As yet the flesh vvvas betvvene their teeth, neither as yet vvvas chavved, and beholde the vvyrath of the Lord vvvas stirred amōgest his people, &c. 3.20.51
- 12.1. Mary & Aaron spoke against Moses for his vvives sake, vvvhich vvvas an Ethiopian. 1.8.4
- 14.43. The Amalekites & Chananites are before you, by vvwhose fvorde you shal fall, for because you vvould not stay your selues vpon the Lorde, neither vvil the Lorde be vvith you. 2.5.11
- 15.32. It came to passe vvhe the children of Israell vvvere in the desert, and hadde founde a man gatheringe stickes on the Sabaoth. 2.8.29
- 16.24. Command all the people, that they be separated from the Tabernacles of Chore, Dathan, and Abiron. 1.8.5
- 20.10 The multitude being gathered before the rocke, he said vnto them, harken you rebels and infidels, vvwhether

The Table.

- ther or not shall vve bringe you vva-
ter out of this rocke? 1.8.5
26. And vwhen you shal haue stripped
the father from his garmēt, cloth E-
leazar his sonne vwith it. 4.3.15
- 21.8. Make a Braſen Serpent, and put
him for a ſigne, whoſoeuer beinge
ſtroken and looke vppon him, ſhall
liue 4.18.20
9. Moſes made therefore a Braſen Ser-
pent, and ſette him for a ſigne, the
vvhich vvhē they that were ſtroken
did beholde, they were healed. 2.13.4
- 23.10. Let my ſoule dye the death of
the righteous, and let my laſt end be
like to theirs. 2.10.14
19. God is not as man, that he ſhould
dye, nor as the ſonne of man, that he
ſhould be chaunged 1.17.12
- 28.2. Theſe be the ſacrifices that you
ſhoulde offer, tꝛꝛo Lambes of tꝛꝛo
yeares olde without ſpot, daily for a
continuall ſacrifice. 4.1.5
- D E V T E R O N O M I V M.
- 1.16 **H**ear them, and iudge you that
is right, vvhether he be a Ci-
tizen or ſtraunger 4.20.4,6,9
39. Your litle ones vvhome you ſayd
ſhould be caried captiues, and your
ſonnes vvhich this day knevv not
good from euill, they ſhall enter in. 4.16.19
- 2.30. The Lord thy God vwill harden
his ſpirite, & vwill make his hart ob-
ſtinate. ſo that he ſhall be deliuered
into thy handes. 1.18.2.& 2.4.3.& 2.4.4
- 4.2. You ſhall not adde to the vvorde
vvhich I ſpeake vnto you, neither
take therefrom. 4.9.2
7. Neither is there a nation, ſo great,
vvhich hath the gods ſo at hande, as
our God is at hande at euery of our
requeſtes. 3.24.15
9. Kepe thy ſelfe therefore & thy ſoule
carefully, that thou forgette not the
vvords that thy eies haue ſeene, and
let them not depart out of thy hart
all the daies of thy life, &c. 2.8.5
11. And you came vnto the foote of
the hill, vvhich did burne to heauen,
there vvas therein darkenes, cloudes,
and miltes. 1.11.3
15. Keepe your ſoules therefore care-
fully: you ſavv not any likenes in that
day that the Lord ſpake vnto you. 1.11.2
16. Leaft that beinge deceiued, you
ſhoulde make vnto your ſelues ſome
grauen ſimilitude, or image of male
or female. 2.8.17
17. The likenes of euery beaſt that be
vpon the earth, or of flyinge birdes
vnder the heauens. 2.8.17
- 5.14. That thy ſeruaunt and handmaid
may reſt as well as thou. 2.8.32
17. Thou ſhalt not kill. 4.20.10
- 6.5. Loue the Lord thy God vwith all
thy hart; & vwith all thy ſtrength 2.7.5. & 2.8.51. & 3.19.4
13. Thou ſhalt feare the Lorde thy
God, and ſerue him onely, and thou
ſhalt ſvveare by his name. 2.8.25
16. Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lorde
thy God, as thou temptſt him in the
place of temptation. 4.13.3
25. He vwill haue mercie vpon vs, if
vve doe keepe and doe all his com-
maundementes before our Lorde
God as he hath commaunded vs. 3.17.7
- 7.6. Becauſe thou art a holie people
vnto the Lord thy God: the Lord thy
God hath choſen thee, that thou
ſhouldeſt be vnto him a peculiar
people of al the people vvhich be on
the earth. 2.8.14
7. Not becauſe you did proceede in
number the reſt of the nations, is the
Lord ioined vnto you and hath cho-
ſen you, vwhen as you be the leaſt of
all nations. 3.22.5
8. But becauſe the Lord loued you, &
did keepe his othe that he ſvvore to
your fathers, &c. 3.22.5
9. And thou ſhalt knowv, becauſe the
Lord he is the ſtronge God & faith-
full, keepinge couenant and mercie
vwith them that loue him, and vwith
them that keepe his commaunde-
ment. 3.17.5

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12. If after you shall heare these iudgements, you shall kepe and do them, the Lorde thy God will keepe the couenant and mercy vvith thee, vvhich he swore to thy fathers. 3.17 1
13. And he will loue thee, and blesse & multiply the frute of thy vvombe, and the frute of thy lande, &c. 3.17 1
- 8.2. And thou shalt remember all thy iourney by the vvhich the Lorde thy God leade thee fortie yeares by the desert, that he might afflicte thee and proue thee. 3.20 46
3. That he might shevve thee, that man liueth not onely by bread, but by euery vvord that goeth out of the mouth of the Lorde. 1.16.7.& 3.20 44
- 9.6. Knowe thou therefore, the Lorde thy God gaue thee not this good cuntry for to possesse for thy righteousness sake, vvhen as thou art a people of a molt hard necke. 3.21 5
- 10.12. And nowv Israel, vvhat doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but that thou shouldest feare the Lorde thy God, &c. 2.8.51
14. Loe, beholde the heauen, and the heauen of heauens, the earth, and all that be in the be the Lord thy Gods. 2.11.11 & 3.21.3
15. And yet notwithstandinge, the Lorde was ioyned vnto thy fathers, and loued them, & chose their seede after them, &c. 3.21.5
16. Circumcise therefore the vncircumcision of your hartes, and harden not your necke any more. 2.5.8 & 3.6.& 4.16.3.& 4.16.21
20. Thou shalt feare the Lorde thy God and shalt serue him onely, thou shalt cleaue vnto him, and shalt svveare by his name. 2.8.25
- 11.26. Loe, I put before your sight this day a blessinge and a cursinge. 3.17.1
- 12.13. Bevvare thou offer not thy burnt offerings in euery place that thou shalt see. 4.2.9
14. But in that place that thy Lorde God hath chosen, in one of thy tribes there thou shalt offer thy offerings, & thou shalt do vvhatsoever I commaund thee. 4.2.9
28. Keepe and harken to all that I commaund thee, that it goe vvell vvith thee, and thy children after thee for euer, &c. 2.8.5
32. Thou shalt not adde nor diminish any thing. 4.10.17
- 13.3. The Lorde your God proued you, that it might appeare, vvwhether you loued him or not vvith all your hart, and vvith all your soule. 3.20.46
- 14.2. Thou art a holy people to the Lorde thy God, and he chose thee, that thou mightest be to him a peculiar people, out of all the nations of the earth. 2.8.14
- 16.10. And thou shalt celebrate the holie day of vveekes vnto the Lord thy God a vvillinge offeringe of thy handes, vvhich thou shalt offer according to the blessing of the Lord thy God. 2.18.8
19. Thou shalt not respect persons nor take bribes, because bribes doe blinde the eyes of the vvise, and doe chaunge the vvordes of the iust. 4.20.9
- 17.8. If thou shalt perceiue hard and doutfull iudgement betvvene blood and blood, and cause and cause, &c. 3.4.4
9. Thou shalt come vnto the Priest of the Leuites, and to the Iudge that shall be at that time, and thou shalt seeke of them, &c. 3.4.4.& 4.8.3
11. And they shall teache thee according to that lawv, and thou shalt follow their iudgement. 4.8.3
12. Vvhofoeuer shall be proude, not vvillinge to obey the gouernment of the Priest, vvhich that time serueth before the Lorde the God, by the sentence of the Iudge that man shall die, and thou shalt take avay euill from

The Table.

- from Israell. 4.8.2
16. And vvhē he shall be ordained, he shall not encrease his horse, neither shall he cary the people backe into Egypt. 4.20.9
- 18.11. Neither he vvhich seeketh the trueth at the dead. 3.5.6
13. Thou shalt be perfect and vwith- out spotte vwith thy Lorde God. 2.8.51
15. The Lorde thy God vwill raise vp a Prophet vnto thee of thy nation, and of thy brethren like vnto me, him thou shalt heare. 4.1.5
- 19.19. They shall giue vnto him, as he hadde thought to haue done vnto his brother. 4.20.16
- 21.18. If a manne shall beget a contumelious & stubborne sonne, vvhich vvil not be ruled by his father or mother, and shall contemne to obey to be chastened, &c. 2.8.36
23. He is cursed of God that hangeth on a tree. 2.7.15 & 2.16.6
- 23.5. And he vwill turne his curse into a blessing, because he did loue thee. 3.21.5
- 24.13. But by and by thou shalt restore vnto him his pledge before the sunne set, that sleepeing in his garment he may blesse thee, and that thou mayst haue righteousnes before the Lorde thy God. 3.17.7
- 26.18. Beholde, the Lord hath chosen thee this day, that thou shouldest be vnto him a peculiar people, as he told thee, and that thou mightest keepe all his preceptes. 2.8.14
- 27.26. Cursed be he that doth not abide by the vvordes of this lavv, and that doth not thoroughly do them in vvoike. 2.7.5. & 2.7.15. & 2.16.6 & 3.11.19. & 3.12.1. & 3.14.13. & 3.17.1. & 3.17.9
- 28.1. If thou shalt heare the voice of the Lord thy God, that thou do and keepe all his commandements that I commaund thee this day, the Lord thy God vwill make thee excellenter than all nations that dyvell on the earth. 1.17.8. & 2.5.10
- 2 All these blessings shall come vpon thee, and shall ouertake thee if thou shalt harken to those precepts. 2.8.4
12. The Lord shall open his best treasure the heauen, & he shall giue raine vnto thy land, &c. 1.16.5
29. And alvvayes thou shalt suffer reproche, and thou shalt be oppressed by violence, neither hast thou any to deliuer thee. 4.20.25
36. The Lorde shall lead thee and the kinge, vvhich thou doest ordaine ouer thee, into a nation vvhich thou doest not knowv, neither thy fathers, &c. 2.11.1
65. For the Lord shall giue vnto thee a fearefull heart, and failed eyes, and a soule consumed vwith griefe. 2.4.6
- 29.2. You haue seene al that the Lord did before you in the land of Egypt, &c. 2.2.20
4. And the Lord gaue not vnto you an vnderstanding hart, and seeing eies, and eares vvhich might heare, vntill this present day. 2.2.20
18. Least there be amongst you a mā, or vvomā, or family, or tribe, vvwhose hart this day is contrary frō the Lord our God, that it shoulde go & serue, &c. 3.17.5
19. And vvhen he hath heard the vvordes of this othe, he blesse himselfe in his heart, sayinge: Peace shall be vnto me, and I vvill vvalke in the vvickednesse of my hart: and so he take vwith dronkenesse thirst. 3.17.5
30. And the Lorde shall not forgiue him, but the most of all shal his rage fume and his zeale against that man, and all the curses shall light vppon him that are vvritten in this booke, &c. 3.3.7
29. The secrete thinges belonge vnto our Lord God, but those that be manifest, vnto vs and our children for euer, that vve may do euery thing of this lavv. 1.17.2. & 3.21.3
- 30.2. And thou shalt returne vnto him, and thou shalt be obedient vvhich his gouernment, as I haue commaū-

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- ded thee this day , with thy children,&c. 3 3.6
- 3 The Lord thy God shall bring thee backe from thy captiuitie, and he shall haue mercie of thee, and he shall gather thee together againe from amongst all the nations amongst whome he hadde scattered thee. 4.1.24
6. The Lord thy God vwill circumsise thy hart, and the heart of thy seede, that thou maiest loue the Lorde thy God,&c. 2.5.8.& 2.5.12.& 3.3.6 & 4.16.3
10. If thou shalt for all this heare the voice of the Lord thy God, and shalt keepe his preceptes and ceremonies which be commaunded in this lawv, &c. 1.7.5
11. The commaundement that I doe commaunde thee this day, is not aboue thee, neither a far of. 2.1.12
13. Neither is it set beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say : vwho of vs shall go ouer the sea and fetch it vs, that vve may heare it? 2.5.12
14. But the vvorde is very neere vnto thee, in thy mouth and hart, that thou maiest do it. 2.5.12.& 3.24.3
15. Consider that this day I haue put before thy sight life & good, & contrariwise, death and euil. 3.17.1
19. I do cal heauen and earth this day to vvittnesse, that I haue put before you, life and good, blessinge and cursinge: choose therefore life, that thou mayst liue and thy seede. 2.5.4 & 2.7.3
- 32.5. They haue corrupted themselves towarde him by their vice, not being his children, but a froward & crooked generation. 1.8.6
8. VVhen the almightie deuided the nations, vvhen he separated the sonnes of Adam, he appointed the boundes of the people, &c. 2.11.11 & 3.21.5
15. The well beloued is vvaxen fatte: he hath kicked, beinge svolen vp vvith fatte, hath forsaken God his maker,&c. 3.8.5
17. They haue offred vp to Deuills, & not to God. 4.13.17
21. They haue prouoked me vvith that vvich vvas not God. 1.13.15
- 35 Vengeance is mine, and I vvill re-vvard,&c. 2.8.56.& 4.20.19
46. Set your harts vpon all the vvords that I testifie vnto you this day, that you may commaunde them vnto your children, that they may obserue and do all the vvordes of the lawe. 2.7.13
- 33.1. All holy menne be in his hand. 2.10.9
29. Blessed art thou O Israell, vvho is like thee O people, vvich art saued in the Lord?&c. 2.10.8
- 34.5. And Moses the seruauit of the Lord died in the lande of Moab, the Lord commaunding. 4.6.11
- I O S V A H.
- 1.7. S VVarne not from it, neither to the right hand nor to the left, that thou mayst vnderstand all things that thou doest. 4.9.12
8. The volume of this Lawe shall not departe from thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate thereon day & night, &c. 4.9.12
- 2.1 VVho goinge soorth, entred the house of a vvoman harlot, named Rahab,&c. 3.24.11
9. I haue knowven that the Lord hath deliuered vnto you the lande, for vvhy, the feare of you hath fallen vpon vs, and all the inhabitantes of the land hath fainted. 2.4.6
11. And vve hearinge these thinges, fared vvonderfully, and the hart of vs faynted, neither vvas there any courage left in vs at the entraunce of you: For the Lorde your God, he is God in heauen aboue, and in earth beneath. 2.4.6
- 5.14. I am the chiefe of the host of the Lorde. 1.14.5
- 7.19. And Iosuah said to Acam, my sonne, geue glory vnto the Lorde God of Israell, and cōfesse and shevv vnto me vvhat thou hast done. 2.8.24
- 10.13. And the Sunne and Moone stood

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- Roode still. 1.16.2
11. 20. It vvas the iudgement of the Lord, that their harts should be hardened, & that they should fight against Israell. 1.18.2
24. 2. Your fathers dwelt beyond the flud, from the beginning, euen Thare the father of Abraham, and the father of Naſor, and they ſerued ſtraunge gods. 1.11.8. & 3.24.2
3. I tooke your father Abraham from the borders of Meſopotamia, and I brought him into the land of Chanaan, &c. 3.24.2

I V D G E S.

2. 1. **A**nd the Lorde vvent vp from Gilgall to a place of, &c. 1.14.6
18. And vwhen the Lorde had raiſed them vp Iudges, in thoſe dayes, he vvas moued vvith compaſſion, and did heare the grones of their afflictions, &c. 3.3.25. & 3.20.15
19. Yet after the Iudge vvas dead, they vvere turned, and they did much vvorſe then their fathers did, folloving ſtraunge gods. 3.3.25
3. 9. And they cried vnto the Lorde, vvhich raiſed vnto then a ſauior, and he deliuered the. 3.20.15. & 4.20.30
12. And the children of Israell began againe to do euill in the ſight of the Lorde. 3.20.15
15. And after vvardes they cried vnto the Lorde, vvhich raiſed them vp a ſauior, &c. 3.20.15
6. 11. The Angell of the Lorde came and ſatte vnder the Oke. 1.14.6
14. And the Lorde looked vpon him, and ſaid: go in, this thy ſtrength and thou ſhalt deliuer Israell from the hand of the Median. 1.13.10. & 1.14.5
34. But the ſpirit of the Lorde clothed Gedion, vvho ſounding a trompet, called together the houſe of Abiezer that it ſhould follovv him. 2.2.17
37. I vvill put this fleece of vvool in the theſſhing place: if dewve ſhall be in the onely fleece, and drineſſe on all the ground, &c. 4.14.18

8. 27. And Gedion made thereof an Ephod, and put it in his Citie Ephra, and all Israell vvēt a vvhooring there after it, vvhich vvas the deſtruction of Gedion and his houſe. 4.10.25
9. 20. But if ſrovvardly, let fire come forth from Abimelech, and conſume the inhabitants of Sechem, and the towne of Mello, &c. 3.20.15
11. 30. Iephthe vvowed a vvowe vnto the Lord, ſaying: if thou ſhalt deliuer the ſonnes of Ammō into my handes, &c. 4.13.3
13. 10. Beholde, the man appeared vnto me vvhich I did ſee before. 1.14.6
16. To vvhom the Angell aunſwered, if thou compell me, I vvill not eate of thy bread, but if thou vvilt make burnt offering, offer that vnto the Lorde. 1.13.10
18. VVhy doeſt thou inquire after my name, that is maruelious? 1.13.10
19. Therefore Manoah tooke a kidde of the goates and meate offerings, and put it vppon the ground, offering it vnto the Lord. 4.10.25
22. VVe ſhall die the death, becauſe vve haue ſeene the Lorde. 1.13.10. & 1.14.5
23. If the Lorde vvould kill vs, he vvould not haue receiued a burnt offering and meate offerings at our handes. 1.11.10
16. 28. O Lorde my God be mindfull of me, and geue me novve mine olde ſtrength, that I may reuenge me of my enemies. 3.20.15
21. 25. In thoſe dayes there vvas no king in Israell, but euery one did that that ſeemed right in his ovvne eyes. 4.20.9

R V T H.

3. 13. **I**f he vvill not haue thee, I vvill take thee vvithout any doubt: The Lorde liueth. 2.8.27
1. S A M V E L.
1. 13. **B**Vt Anna ſpake in her hart, and only her lippes did moue, and her voice vvas not at all heard, vvherfore Heli thought ſhe vvas drunken. 3.20.33

The Table.

- 2.6. The Lorde doth kill and quicken,
he doth lead vnto hell and bringeth
backe againe. 3.20.32
- 9 He vwill kepe the feete of his Sain-
ctes : and the vicked shall keepe
silence in darknesse. 2.18.18
10. And he vwill geue rule vnto his
king : and he vwill exalt the horne of
his annointed. 2.6.2
15. And they heard not the voice of
their fater, because the Lord vwould
kill them. 1.18.3.& 3.24.14
34. And this shall be a signe vnto thee,
that shall come vpon thy two sonnes
Ophne and Phinees : they shall die
both on one day. 1.18.1
- 6.9. And you shall see, and if so it go
vppe by the vway of his coastes a-
gainst Bethsames, he did vs this great
euill, &c. 1.16.9
- 7.3. If you do turne vnto the Lorde,
vwith all your hartes, put away the
straunge Gods from amongst you,
Baalem and Astaroth, and prepare
your hartes vnto the Lord, &c. 3.3.5
6. And in that day they fasted, & they
said there : we haue sinned against
the Lorde. 4.12.17
17. He built there an altar to the Lord.
4.10.25
- 8.7. They haue not cast of thee, but
me, that I should not rule ouer thee.
4.20.6
11. This shall be the right of your king,
vvhich shall rule you, he shall take
your sonnes & put them in his cha-
riots, &c. 4.20.26
- 10.6. And the spirit of the Lorde shall
come vpon thee, and thou shalt pro-
pheticie vwith them, and thou shalt
be changed into an other man. 2.
2.17.8 & 2.3.4
9. Therefore, vwhen he had turned his
backe to go from Samuell, God gaue
him an other hart, & all these signes
chaunced in that day. 3.2.12
16. Saule also went home to Gibeah,
and vwith him part of the armie,
vhose hart God had touched. 2.2.17
- 11.6. Then the spirit of the Lorde came
vpon Saule, vwhen he heard these
vvordes, &c. 3.4.6
15. And all the people arose in Gilgal,
and made Saule their king before the
Lorde, &c. 1.8.6
- 12.22. And the Lorde vwill not forsake
his people, for his great names sake,
because the Lorde svvore he vwould
make you his people. 3.2.5
- 14.44. And Saule said, God do so, and
more also vnto me, thou shalt dy the
death Jonathan. 2.8.24
- 15.11. It repēteeth me, that I haue made
Saul king, because he hath forsaken
me, and hath not done as I com-
maunded him : and Samuell vvas sad,
and cried vnto the Lorde all night.
1.17.12 & 3.20.5
22. VWhether vwill the Lorde haue
burnt sacrifice and offerings, and not
rather that the voice of the Lorde
should be obeyed, &c. 4.10.17. & 4
18.9
23. For rebellion is as the sinne of
vwitchcrafte, and not to trust in the
Lorde as the sinne of idolatry, for
that thou hast cast away the vvorde
of the Lorde, &c. 3.4.33. & 4.10.17
29. For the triumpher in Israell vwill
not spare, neither vwill he be chaun-
ged by repentance, neither is he
man that he should repent. 1.17.12
30. But he said, I haue sinned : but
honor me, I pray thee, before the
seniors of my people, &c. 3.3.4
35. But Samuell did bevvaille Saule : and
it repented the Lorde that he had
made Saule king ouer Israell, 3.20.15
- 16.1. And the Lorde said vnto Sa-
muell, howe long vilt thou bevvaille
Saule? seing I haue cursed him, as
that he shall not reigne, &c. 3.20.15
13. Samuell toke therefore his horne
of oile, and annointed him in the
middest of his brethren. 1.8.7. & 2
2.17
14. And an euill spirite did vexe him
from the Lorde. 1.14.17. & 2.4.5
- 18.10. And after an other daye, the
euill spirit of God entred Saule. 1.14
17. & 2.4.5
- 19.9. And the euill spirit of the Lorde
vvax

The Table.

- was vpon Saule, and he satte in his house, and helde a laueline in his hand, &c. 2.4.5
- 33.26. And Saule and his men went on the one side of the hill, and Dauid & his men on the other side. 1.16.9
37. And a messenger came vnto Saule, and said: make hast & come, because the Philistines haue inuaded the countrey. 1.16.9
- 24.7. The Lord keepe me, that I do not this thing vnto my Lord the annointed of the Lorde, that I should lay my hand vpon him, which is the annointed of the Lorde. 4.20.28
11. But mine eye hath spared thee: for I said, I will not stretch out my hand against my Lorde, because he is the annointed of the Lorde. 4.20.28
- 26.9. And Dauid said vnto Abisai, kill him not: for vho shall stretch forth his hand against the annointed of the Lorde, and be blamelesse? 4.20.28
12. All of them did sleepe, because the drowfinesse of the Lord fell vpon them. 1.18.2
23. The Lorde shall rewarde euery man according to his righteousnesse and faithfulnessse, for the Lorde hath deliuered thee into my handes, &c. 3.17.4
- 31.13. And they tooke their bones, and buried them in a groue at Iabes, and they fasted 7. dayes. 4.12.17
2. S A M V E L.
- 5.8. Therefore it is said in a prouerbe, the blinde and lame shall not enter into the temple. 4.16.31
- 7.14. The which if he shall do any thing wickedly, I will correct him with the rodde of men, and in the plagues of the sonnes of men. 3.4.32
27. Because thou O Lorde God of the holles of Israel, hast reuealed vnto thy seruauant, saying: I will builde a house to thee, &c. 3.20.13
28. Nowe therefore, O Lorde God, thou art God, and thy vvordes are true, thou hast spoken vnto thy seruauant these good things, 3.20.14
- 30.13. Be thou a stout man, and let vs fight for our people, and for the citie of our God, and the Lorde will do that seemeth good in his owne eyes. 1.17.9
- 11.4. Dauid hauing sent messengers, brought hir, vho vhen she came vnto him, he slept with hir. 4.1.24
15. He vvrote in a letter: put Uriah in the front of the battel where the greatest scermithe is, and forsake him, that being stroken he may dy. Ibidem.
- 12.12. Thou didest it priuile, but I will do this thing in the sight of all Israel. 1.18.1
13. And Dauid said vnto Nathan, I haue sinned against the Lorde. And Nathan said vnto Dauid: the Lorde hath put avay thy sinne, thou shalt not dy. 3.3.4. & 3.4.10. & 3.4.31. &c. 4.1.24
14. Notwithstanding for because thou madest the enemies of the name of God blasphemie for this thing, the sonne that is borne vnto thee shall dy. 3.4.33
- 16.10. The Lorde hath commaunded him that he should curse Dauid, and vho is it that dare say, why hast thou done so? 1.17.8. & 1.18.1. & 1.18.4
22. Therefore they spred Absolon a rent vpon the toppe of the house, and he went in vnto the concubins of his father, before all Israel. 1.18.1 & 1.18.4
- 17.7. And Chusay said vnto Absolon: it is not good counsell that Achitophel gaue this time. 1.17.7
14. The profitable counsell of Achitophel is scattered abroad by the becke of the Lorde, that the Lorde might bring vpon Absolon euell. 1.17.7. & 2.4.6
- 22.20. And he brought me forth into largenes, he deliuered me because it pleased him. 3.17.5
21. The Lorde hath geuen vnto me according vnto my righteousnesse, and according vnto the cleannesse of my handes. 3.17.5

The Table.

34.1. And the vvroth of the Lorde
vvas againe kindeled against Israell,
and he moued Dauid against them in
that he said vnto Ioab, go number
Israell and Iuda. 1.14.18

10. But the harte of Dauid stroke him
after he hadde numbred the people:
and Dauid said,&c. 3.3.4

20. And going forth, he vvorshipped
the king, groueling vvith his face
toward the earth. 1.12.3

1. KINGES.

1.16. **B**ethsabee bowed hir selfe and
vvorshipped the king. 1

12.3

21. It shall comme to passe, vvhen my
Lorde the king shall sleep vvith his
Fathers, my sonne and I shalbe coun-
ted offenders. 3.11.3

2.5. Thou knowest vvhat Ioab the
sonne of Seruiz hath done vnto me,
and vvhat he hath done to the tyyo
capitaines of the host of Israell. 4

20.10

6. Thou shalt do therefore according
to thy vvisedome, and thou shalt not
bring his gray heares peaceably
vnto the graue. 4 20.10

8. Thou halt also vvith thee Semey the
sonne of Gera the sonne of Gemini, of
Bahurim, vvwhich cursed me vvith an
euell curse,&c. 4.20.10

8.23. VVhich kepest couenant and
mercies vvith thy seruantes, vvwhich
vvalke before thee vvith all their
harts. 3 17.5

46. If they sinne against thee (for there
is not a man that sinneth not) and
being angry thou shalt deliuer them
vnto their enemies,&c. 2.7.5. & 3

14.9 & 4 1.25

47. And if they shall repēt them vvith
all their harts in the place of their
captiuitie,&c. 4.1.25

58. That he may bowe our harts vnto
him, that vve may vvalke in all his
vvayes, and that vve may kepe his
commaundements and ceremonies,
&c. 2.3.9

11.12. Notvvithstanding, in thy daves
I vvill not do it for Dauid thy fathers

sake, But I vvill rent it out of the
hand of thy sonne. 2.6.2

23. God stirred him vp an aduersarie,
&c. 1.18.1

31. I vvill rent the kingdom out of
Salomōs handes, & I vvill giue vnto
the ten tribes. 1.18.1

34. Nether vvill I take the vvhole king-
dome out of his hand, but I vvill
ordaine him a captain all the dayes
of his life for Dauids sake,&c. 2.6.2

39. And I vvill for this, afflikt the seed
of Dauid, but not for euer. 2.6.2

12.10. And the yonge men said vnto
him vvwhich vvwere brought vp toge-
ther vvith him, speake thus vnto this
people,&c. 1.17.7

15. And the kinge harkened not vnto
the people, because the Lorde vvas
aduersarie vnto him,&c. 1.7.7. & 1

18.4 & 2.4.6

20. Neither did any follov the house
of Dauid, but the tribe of Iuda only,
&c. 1.18.4

28. Counsell being taken, he made
tvyo golden calues, and said vnto
them: go not further vp to Ierusa-
lem, behold thy Gods Israell vvwhich
brought thee,&c. 4.2.8

30. And this thing turned to sinne, for
the people vvvent to vvorship euen
to day. 4.20.32

31. And he made a house in highe pla-
ces, and priests of the rascals of the
people vvwhich vvwere not of the Sōnes
of Leui. 4.2.8

15.4. But for Dauids sake the Lorde
his God gaue him a light in Ierusa-
lem, that he should raise vp his sonne
after him, and that he should esta-
blish Ierusalem. 2.6.2

18.10. The Lord thy God liueth, there
is no nation or kingdome into the
vvwhich my Lorde hath not sent. &c. 2.8.27

41. And Elias said to Acab: cum vp
and eate and drinke, because there is
a sounde of much raine. 2.20.3

42. But Elias came vp vnto the top of
Carmel, and he put his face groue-
ling

The Table.

- ling on the earth betvvne his knees. 2.20.3
43. And he said vnto his boy, go vp and loke towvards the sea : vvho vvhen he vvent and savve and had beholden, he said, there is nothing: and he said vnto him againe, retorne seven times. 2.20.3
- 19.8. And he vvalked in the strength of that meat 40. dayes & 40. nights, euen vntill the hill of God Horeb. 4.12.10
18. I haue left vnto my selfe in Israell 7000. men, vvhofe knees haue not bowed before Bale. 4.1.2
- 21.12. They proclaimed a fast, and set Naboth amongst the chiefe of the people. 4.12.17
28. And the vvord of the Lorde came vnto Elias the Thesbite, saying. 3.3.25
29. Halt thou not sene Achab humbled before me? because he vvvas humbled before of me, I vvill not bring the euell in his dayes, &c. 3.3.25. & 3.20.15
- 22.6. The king of Israell gathered therefore about 400. Prophets. 4.9.6
31. A spirit vvent forth and stode before the Lorde, and said, I vvill deceiue. 1.14.17 & 1.17.7. & 1.18.1
22. And he said, I vvill go out and I vvill be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. 4.9.6
27. Thus saith the king, send this man into prison, and maintaine him vvith the bread of tribulation and vvith the vvater of greife, vntill I retourne in peace. 4.9.6
2. KINGES.
- 5.17. **A**Nd Naaman said, as thou vvilt: but I pray thee graunt vnto me thy seruauant, that I take the burden of tvvvo Asses of earth: for heereafter thy seruauant vvill offer no burnt offering nor sacrifice to strange Gods, but vnto the Lorde. 3.2.32
18. This is the onely thing that thou shalt pray vnto the Lorde for thy seruauant, vvhen my Lorde shall go into the Temple, &c. 3.3.32
19. And he said vnto him, depart in peace, he vvent therfore from thence a furlonge of ground. 3.2.32.
- 6.15. Out alas maister, vvhat shall vve do? 1.14.11
16. There be mo vvith vs then vvith them. 1.14.12
17. Lorde open the eyes of this boy, that he may see. And the Lorde opened the eyes of the ladde, & he savve, and beholde, a mountaine full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elizei. 1.14.7,8,11
31. The Lorde do so, and so vnto me, if the head of Elizei the sonne of Saphat shall stand vpon him this day. 2.8.24
- 10.7. And vvhen letters came vnto them, they toke the sonnes of the king, and slue 70. men, &c. 1.18.4
10. Knowve novve that there shall fall vnto the earth nothing of the vvord of the Lorde the vvich the Lorde hath spoken, &c. 1.18.4
- 16.10. And vvhen he had sene the altar that vvvas at Damascus, he sent to Vria the Priest the paterne therof, and the likenesse, according to the vvorke thereof. 4.10.23
- 17.24. The king of Assyria brought me fro Babilon & fro Cutha, &c. 4.10.23
25. And vvhen they beganne to dwell there, they feared not the Lord, and the Lorde sent Lions vnto then that they might kill them. 4.10.23
32. Thus they feared the Lorde, and appointed out prielts out of themselves for the hy places, &c. 3.2.13. & 4.10.23. & 4.15.22
33. And vvhen they feared the Lorde, they did serue also their gods, according to the maner of the people from vvhen they vvvere brought, &c. 3.2.13.
34. Euen vnto this present day they follovv the auncient custome, they feare not the Lorde, neither keepe his ceremonies, &c. 3.2.13.
- 19.4. And make prayer for the rest that be found. 3.20.14.
35. It came to passe in that night, the

The Table.

Angell of the Lord came and stroke in the campe of the Assyrians one hundredth foure score and five thousand. 1.14.6.

20.1. Set thy house in an order, for thou shalt die & not liue. 1.17.12.

2. Then Ezechias turned his face to the vvall, and he prayed to the Lord. 3.3.4.

3. I beseech thee Lord remeber I pray thee, howe I haue vwalked before thee in truth and in a perfecte hart, and haue done the thing that thou likest of. 3.14.19.& 3.20.10.

5. Behold, I haue healed thee, the third day thou shalt goe vp to the temple of the Lorde. 1.17.12

9. VVill thou that the shadowe goe forvvards 10. degrees, or that it goe backward so many 4.14.18

11. And Isaias called vpon the Lord, and he brought backe the shadowe by the lines by the vvhicke it vvnt dovvne into the clocke of Achab. 1.16.2.

21.4. And he built altars in the house of the Lord, of the vvch the Lorde spake, I vvill put my name in Ierusalem. 4.10.23.

16. Moreouer Manasses shedde innocent bloode ouer much, till he filled vp Ierusalem vnto the mouth, &c. 3.24.11.

22.2. And he did the thing that pleased the Lorde, and he vwalked in all the vvayes of his father Dauid, and declined not neither on the right hand, nor left. 4.10.23

3. And Heclias the hy Priest said vnto Saphan the scribe, I haue found the booke of the Law in the house of the Lorde, and Heclias gaue it to Saphan the scribe, and he read in it. 1.8.8

1. CHRONICLES.

28.2. And the footestool of the Lord our God. 4.1.5

2. CHRONICLES.

19.6. SEE vvhat you do, said he: you do not execute the iudgement of man but of the Lord. 4.30.4. & 4.30.6

The 2. of Esdras, orthervvise called N E H E M I A H.

1.4. And after that I had heard these things, I satte down & vvcept, and I bevvailed many dayes, and did fast and pray before the face of the God of heauen. 4.12.16

5. I pray the Lorde God of heauen, mightie, great, and terrible, vvch keepest couenaunt and mercy vvith them that loue thee, &c. 3.17.5

7. VVe haue bene carried avay by vanitie, and haue not kept thy commaundements, ceremonies, & iudgements, vvch thou commaundest vnto thy seruauent Moses. 3.4.11

9.14. And declarest vnto them thy Sabaoth to be sanctified. 2.8.29

I O B.

1.6. NOW on a day vvhen the childre of God came before the Lord, Sathan vvvas also amongst them. 1.14.17.& 1.14.19.& 1.18.1.& 2.4.5

12. The Lord said therefore to Sathan, behold, all things that he hath be in rhy handes, onely stretch not out thy hand vpon him. 1.17.7

17. And he speaking, there came an other and said, the Chaldees made three bandes & inuaded thy Camels, and carried them avay, and killed the boyes vvith the svorde, and I only haue fled that I may tell it thee. 2.4.2

21. The Lorde hath geuen, the Lorde hath taken avay, the name of the Lorde be blessed. 1.17.8.& 1.18.1.&c 1.18.3.& 2.4.2

2.1. And Sathan came amongst them that he might stande in the sight of the Lorde. 1.14.17. & 1.14.19. & 1.18.1

4.17. VVhether shall a man be Iustified in comparision of God, or shall a man be purer then his maker? 3.12.1

18. Beholde, they vvch serue him be not stedfast: And he found vvickednes in his Angels. 3.12.1.& 3.17.9

19. Howe much more, they vvch dwell in hovvses of clay, vvch haue a earthly foundation, shall be consumed,

The Table.

- sumed, euen as a moth. 1.15.1.& 1
15.2.& 3.12.1.
17. Blessed is the man that is corrected
of the Lorde: reprove not therefore
the correction of the Lorde. 3.4.3.2.
- 9.2. I knowv for a truth that it is so:
And that man shall not be Iustified,
in comparison of God. 3.12.2.
20. If I vould Iustifie my self, my mouth
shall cōdēne me: If I vould shōvve
my selfe innocent, he shoulde make
me manifest to be vvicked. 3.12.5
- 10.15. And if I shalbe vvicked, it is
vvoe vvith me: and if I be iust, I vvill
not lift vp my head, beinge filled
vvith affliction and miserie. 3.14.16
- 12.18. He loseth the collar of kings,
and he girdeth their raynes vvith a
corde. 4.20.28
20. He changeth the speache of the
faythfull, and taketh avvay the lear-
ning of the auncient. 2.4.4
- 13.15. Although hee shall kill me, I
vvill truste in him. 2.10.19. & 3.2.21
- 14.4. VVho canne make cleane of vn-
cleane? not thou onelic vvich art
alone. 2.1.5. & 3.12.5
5. Short be the daies of man, the nom-
ber of his mōthes is vvith thee: thou
hast ordeined the limites thereof,
vvich can not be passed. 1.16.9
17. Thou hast sealed vp my vvicked-
nes as in a bagge, & thou hast had
care of my iniquitie. 3.4.29
- 15.15. Beholde, amongst his Sainctes
there is none immutable, and the
heauens be not cleane in his sight.
3.12.1
16. How much more abominable
and vnprofitable is man, vvich drin-
keth iniquitie as vvater. 3.12.1.5
- 19.25. I knowve that my redeemer li-
ueth, and that I shall ryse out of the
earth in the latter daye. 2.10.19. & 3.
2.5.4
26. And I shall bee compassed about
agayne vvith my skinnē, & I shall see
God agayn in my fleshe. 2.10.19.
27. VVhom I my selfe shall see, and
my eyes shall behold and none o-
ther, &c. 2.10.19
- 21.13. They leade their daies in hap-
pynes, and in a moment they goe
down to the graue. 2.10.17
- 25.5. Behould, the Moone doth not
shine in his sight, & the Starres be
not cleane. 3.12.1
- 26.14. Lo, these be parte of his vvai-
es: but how littell a portion heare vve
of him? And vvho can vnderstand his
fearefull povver? 1.17.2.
- 28.12. VVhere is vvisedome found, and
vvhat place is there of vnderstāding?
1.17.2.
21. It is hid from the eyes of all li-
uing, from the foules of the ayre it is
also kept close. Ibidem.
23. But God vnderstandeth the vvay
thereof, and he knowveth the vvay
thereof. Ibidem.
28. And he sayd vnto man, behold,
the feare of the Lorde is vvisedome,
and to depart from euill is vnder-
standing. 1.17.2. & 3.2.26.
- 34.30. VVho causeth an hypocrite
to ragine for the sins of the people.
4.20.25.
- 36.27. VVho restrayneth the drops of
rayne, and poureth down shōvvers
in maner of streames. 1.5.5.
- 41.2. And vvho gaue me firste that I
should geue him? againe, al that is
vnder the heauen bee myne. 3.14.5.

P S A L M E S.

- 1.1. **T**He man is blest that hath not
led his life according to the
counsel of the vvicked, neither that
hath abidden in the vvay of sinners.
3.17.10.
2. But his vvil is in the Lavv of God, &
in his lavve vvill meditate day
and night. 2.7.13
- 2.2. The kinges of the earth stōode
together, and the Princes assembled
in one, against the Lorde, and
against his anoynted. 2.16.3.
3. Let vs breake the bands a sonder,
and let vs throwv from vs their yock.
Ibidem.
4. He that dwelleth in heauen shall
laughe thē to scorne, the Lord shall
haue thē in derision. 1.5.1. & 2.16.3.

The Table.

8. Aske of me & I vwill giue thee the gē-
tels for an inheritaūc e, & forthy pos-
sessiōs the endes of the earth. 2. 11. 11.
9. Thou shalt rule them vwith an yron
rodde, and thou shall breake them as
an earthen vessell. 2. 11. 5. & 4. 1. 19.
12. Laye hould of discipliē, leaste that
the Lorde bee angrie, and you perish
from the righte vway. 2. 6. 2. & 4. 20. 5
& 4. 20. 29.
3. 5. I slept and slombred, and rose
vp againe, because the Lorde toke v-
pon him to keep me. 3. 2. 17.
4. 7. The light of thy countenaūce hath
ben sealed vpon vs. 1. 11. 14.
5. 4. I vwill be early present before thee
& I vwill vveate: for thou art a god
that loueth not iniquitie. 3. 20. 12.
8. I vwill enter into thy house in the
multitude of thy mercie, and I vwill
vvorshippe at thy holy temple in thy
feare. 3. 2. 23. & 3. 20. 11.
6. 1. O Lorde reprocne me not in thy
furie, and correct me not in thine
angre. 3. 4. 32
7. 6. Arise O Lorde in thy angre, and
be thou exalted in the quarters of my
enemies, &c. 3. 20. 15
9. Iudge me O Lord according to my
righteousnesse, & according to the
innocencie of my cause. 3. 17. 14
8. 3. Thou hast made perfect thy prayers
by the mouth of infants & suckings.
1. 16. 3
5. VVhat is mā that thou art mindefull
of him? or the sonne of mā that thou
doest visit him? 1. 5. 3. & 2. 13. 2
9. 10. And they may trust in thee, that
haue knovven thy name. 3. 2. 31
10. 13. He sayd in his harte, God hath
forgotten, he hath tourned avay his
face that he should not see at the
ende. 1. 4. 2.
11. 4. The Lord in his holy tēple. 1. 5. 1.
12. 2. They haue spoken vaine thinges
euery mā to his neighbour: defecysfull
lippes, &c. 4. 14. 8.
7. The vvords of the Lorde, are pure
vvords: as the siluer tried in a fornīs
of earth fined vij. fould. 3. 2. 15.
14. 1. The folish man sayd in his harte
there is no God. 1. 4. 2
3. The Lord looked from heauen vpon
the children of men, to see if there
vvere any that vnderstode or sought
after God. 3. 14. 1
4. There is not that doeth good, no
not one. 2. 3. 2
15. 1. Lorde vvho shall dvvell in thy ta-
bernaclē? or vvho shall rest in thy
holie hill? 3. 17. 6. & 3. 24. 8
2. He that vvalketh vvithout spot, and
vvorketh righteousness, vvhich spea-
keth the truth in his hart. 3. 6. 2
16. 2. Thou art my God and haste no
neede of my goods. 2. 8. 53.
3. To thy Saints that be in earth: all
my delight is in them. 1. 11. 14, & 2. 8.
53. & 3. 7. 5.
5. The Lorde is the portion of my in-
heritaunce & cuppe, thou art he that
doest restore vnto me my inheritaūce.
2. 11. 2. & 3. 25. 10.
10. Thou shalt not leaue my soule in
hell, neither shalt thou suffer thy
holie one to see corruption. 3. 25. 3
17. 1. Heare O Lord righteousness: geue
eare vnto my prayer. 1. 17. 14
3. Thou hast proued my harte and visi-
ted it by night, thou hast tried me by
fier, and halt not found in me iniqui-
tie. Ibidem.
15. I vwill appeare in righteousness be-
fore thy presence, I shall be satisfied
vvhen thy glorie shall appeare. 2. 10.
17. & 3. 25. 10.
18. 1. I vwill loue thee O Lorde my for-
titude. 3. 20. 28.
20. And he brought me into largenes:
he made me fete, because he vvould.
3. 17. 5
21. And the Lorde shall geue vnto me
according to my righteousness, and
according to the purenes of my hand
shall he geue vnto me. 3. 17. 5. & 3. 17.
14.
28. Bycause thou doest saue the hūble
and thou shalte bring loue the eyes
of the provvde. 3. 12. 6.
31. The vvorde of the Lorde is tried
by fier, he is a defēder of all that trust
in him. 3. 2. 15
19. 1. The

The Table.

- 29.1. The heaués shovv forth the glory of God. 1.5.1. & 1.6.4
3. The Lavve of the Lorde is pure, conuerting soules: the testimonie of the Lorde is faythfull, geuinge wisdom to the simple. 2.7.12. & 4.8.6
13. VVho vnderstandeth his faultes, cleanse me from my secrete sinnes. 3.4.16. & 3.4.18. & 3.17.2
- 20.3. Let him remember all thy offerings, and let him make thy burnt offerings fatte. 3.20.18.
10. Lorde saue the kinge, & heare vs vwhen vve call vpon thee. 2.6.2
- 22.1. O God my God, vvhy haste thou forsaken me? 2.16.11.
5. Our fathers trusted in thee: they trusted & thou didest deliuer the. 3.20.26.
26. I vvill pay my vovves in the sight of them that feare him. 4.13.4
- 23.4. For although I shall vvalke in the middest of the shadowe of death I vvill feare no euel bicause thou art vvith me. 1.17.11. & 3.2.21. & 3.2.28.
6. And thy mercies shall follovv me all the dayes of my life. 2.3.12.
- 24.3. VVho shall ascend into the hill of the Lorde? or vvho shall stand in his holy place? 3.6.2.
4. VVho hath innocent handes and a cleane harte, vvho hath not lift vppe his minde vnto vanitie, nor hath not svvorne to the deceite of his neighbour. 3.6.2
6. This is the generation of them that seeke him. 3.24.3
- 25.1. Vnto thee, O Lord, haue I lift vp my soule. 3.20.5.
6. Remember O Lorde thy tender mercies and louing kindnesse vvhich be for euer. 3.20.9
7. Remember not the faultes and ignorances of my youth, but according to thy kindnesse remember thou me. 3.3.18. & 3.20.9.
10. All the vvaies of the Lorde are mercye and truth to the that seeke after his vvill &c. 3.20.7. & 3.17.2.
11. For thy name sake, O Lorde, thou shalt be mercifull vnto my sinne, for it is great. 3.17.2.
18. Loke vpon my affliction & travell, and forgeue all my sinnes. 3.20.9.
- 26.1. Iudge me O Lord, for I haue vvalked in my innocencie: & trusting in the Lorde, I shall not slide. 3.17.14
2. Proue me Lorde, and trye me, examine my raines and hart. 3.20.46.
5. I haue hated the cōgregation of the vvicked, and I vvill not sit vvith the vngodly. 3.17.14.
8. O Lorde I haue loued the beautie of thy house, & the place of the habitation of thy glory. 1.11.14
9. Destroy not my soule vvith the vvicked, and vvith men of, &c. 3.17.14.
- 27.1. The Lord is my light & my health vvhom shall I feare? 1.17.11.
3. If camps shall stand against me, my hart shall not feare. 1.17.11
10. My father & mother hath forsake me but the Lord hath take me vp 3.20.36
14. Hope in the Lord, and be strong: & he vvill comfort thy hart, & trust in the Lord. 3.2.17.
- 28.8. The Lorde is the strēgh of his people, & the strēgh of the saluatiō of his annointed. 2.6.2. & 2.6.3.
- 29.3 The voice of the Lord is vpon the vvaters, the God of maiestie hath thundred, the Lorde (is) vpon great vvaters. 1.6.4.
- 30.6. VVeping may abide at euening, but ioy cōmeth in the morning 1.10.8
7. And in my prosperitie, I said, I shall neuer be moued:
8. For thou O Lord of thy goodnes didest geue strēgh vnto my beaurie thou turnest thy face from me, and I vvias troubled. 3.8.2.
- 31.1. I haue trusted in thee O Lorde, I shall not be cōfounded for euer: deliuer me in thy righteousness. 3.11.12.
6. I commend my spirite into thy handes, thou hast redemed me, O Lorde God of truth. 3.20.26.
- 16 My lots are in thy handes. 1.17.11.
23. I said in the heat of my mind, I ā cast out from the face of thine eyes. 3.1.4.
- 32.1. Blessed are they vvwhose iniquities be remitted, and vvwhose sinnes are couered. 3.4.29. & 3.11.11. & 3.14.

The Table.

11. & 3. 17. 10.

5. I haue made my fault knowen vnto thee, and I haue not hid mine vnrighteousnesse: I haue said, I will cōfesse against my selfe vnto the Lord mine iniquities, &c 3. 4. 9.

6. For this shall euery one that is holy in time conuenient, &c 3. 20. 7. & 3. 20. 26.

33. 6. The heauens were established by the worde of the Lord, & by the spirit of his mouth all the pōuers of them. 1. 1. 3. 15. & 1. 16. 1.

12. Blessed is the people whose God is the Lorde, a people whom he hath chosen for an inheritance vnto him selfe 2. 10. 8. & 3. 2. 28. & 3. 21. 5.

13. The Lorde looked from heauen and saw all the children of men. 1. 16. 1.

18. Beholde, the eyes of the Lorde be vpon them that feare him, and vpon them that trust on his mercy. 3. 20. 40.

22. O Lorde let thy mercy be vpon vs as we trust in thee. 3. 20. 12.

34. 7. This poore man cried, and the Lorde heard him, and he saued him from all his tribulations. 3. 20. 26.

8. The Angell of the Lorde pitcheth round about them that feare him, & he shall deliuer them. 1. 14. 6. & 1. 14. 8 & 3. 10. 23.

15. Depart from euill and do good. 3. 8.

16. The eyes of the Lorde be vpon the iuste, and his eares to their prayers. 1. 16. 7. & 3. 20. 3. & 3. 20. 10.

17. The countenance of the Lorde is vpon them that do euill, that he may roote frō the earth their memorie. 1. 16. 17.

22. The death of the vicked is euill. 2. 10. 14. & 2. 10. 18.

23. The Lorde redeemeth the soules of his seruantes. 2. 10. 16.

36. 1. The vicked man said to him self that he might doe euill: there is no feare of God before their eyes. 1. 4. 2.

2. For he hath done deceitfully in his owne sight, that his iniquitie may be found to hatred. 1. 4. 2.

4. Thy mercie, O Lord, reacheth vnto

the heauens, and thy truth vnto the cloudes. 3. 2. 7.

7. Thy iudgements are vnderstandable. 1. 17. 2. & 3. 23. 5.

10. With thee is the fountaine of life and in thy light we shall see light. 2. 20.

37. 7. Be subiect to the Lorde and entreate him. 3. 2. 3. 7.

22. For because those that be blessed of him, shall possesse the earth: but they that be cursed of him, shall perishe. 2. 1. 3.

38. 1. O Lorde in thy wrath reprove me not, neither in thy anger correct me. 3. 4. 32.

5. Mine iniquities haue gone ouer my head, & as a heauie burden they haue vwayed vpon me. 3. 4. 16.

39. 10. I was dumme and opened not my mouth, because thou diddest it. 1. 17. 8.

13. I am a stranger and a pilgrime with thee, as all my fathers were. 2. 10. 15.

14. Let me pause, that I maye come to my selfe before I depart, and be no more. 3. 20. 16.

40. 4. And he put in my mouth a new song, a verse to our God: many shall see & feare, & they shall trust in the Lorde. 3. 20. 26. & 3. 20. 28.

6. Many hast thou made, O Lorde, thy marueillous workes, and there is none that is like to thee in thoughts. 1. 5. 9. & 1. 17. 1.

7. Thou wouldest not sacrifice and offering, but thou madest vnto me eares. 3. 22. 10.

8. Then I said, beholde, I come: it is written of me in the chapter of the booke. 2. 16. 5.

9. I desired to do thy good will, O my God, and thy law is in the midst of my hart. 2. 16. 5.

11. I haue sheved forth thy truth & saluatiō. I haue not hidde thy louing kindnesse and truth from the great congregation. 3. 2. 7.

12. Thy louing kindnesse & truth haue alwayes preferred me. 3. 2. 7.

41. 5. Heale

The Table.

- 41.5. Heale my soule, for I haue sinned
against thee. 3.20.12
- 42.3. My soule thirsted after the strong
God, euen the liuing God: vvhē I shall
I come and appeare before the face
of God? 4.17.21
5. I passed to the house of God vvith
the voice of mirth & praise, &c. 3.4.9
6. VVhy art thou sadde my soule? and
vvhy doest thou trouble me? trust in
the Lorde. 3.2.16
- 43.5. VVhy art thou sadde, O my soule?
& vvhy doest thou trouble me? trust
in the lorde. 3.2.16
- 44.4. Neither did they possesse the
lande by their ovvne svvord, & their
ovvne arme did not saue them, but
thy right hand and thy arme, and the
light of thy countenance: because
thou diddest fauor them. 3.21.5
21. If vve haue forgotte the name of
our God, and haue stretched forth
our hāds vnto a strange God. 3.20.27
22. Shall not God search this out? for
he knowveth the secrets of the harte.
3.20.27
23. For thy sake be vve slaine all the
day long, vvee be esteemed as sheepe
for the slaughter. 3.25.3
- 45.7. Thy seate, O God, endureth for
euer, the rodde of thy kingdome is a
rodde of direction. 1.13.9
3. Thou hast loued righteousnesse and
hated iniquitie, therefore God thy
God hath annointed thee vvith the
oile of gladnesse about thy compa-
nions. 2.15.5. & 4.19.18. & 4.30.10
23. And all the daughters of Tirus
vvith the riche of the people, shall
do homage before thy face vvith
giftes. 1.11.15
- 46.2. God is our refuge and strength,
our helper in time of tribulatiō. 3.2.37
3. For all that vve vvill not feare,
vvhilest the earth is troubled, and
the mountaines be carried into the
hart of the sea. 3.2.37
6. God is in the middest thereof, it shall
not be moued. 4.1.3
- 47.3. The lorde is high and terrible, a
great king above all the earth. 1.13.24
5. He hath chosē vnto vs his inheri-
taunce, the beautie of Iacob vvhom
he hath loued. 3.21.5
- 48.9. As vve haue heard, so vve haue
scene in the citie of the Lorde of
povver, in the citie of our God: God
hath built it for euer. 1.11.14
11. According to thy name O God,
such is thy praise through out the
earth, thy right hand is full of righte-
ousnesse. 3.20.41. & 4.16.32
- 49.7. They that trust in their ovvne
strength, and glory in the multitude
of their riches. 2.10.17
8. He can by no meanes redeeme his
brother, he shall not pay his rāun-
some to God. 2.10.17
11. VVhen he shall see vvise men die, &
ignorant persons and fooles perishe.
2.10.17
12. The building of them from genera-
tions to generatiōs, they called their
names by their landes. 2.10.17
13. And man vvhen he vvvas in honor,
knevve not thereof: he vvvas cōpared
vnto foolishhe beastes, and he vvvas
made like vnto them. 2.10.17
14. This vvay vnto them is the stum-
bling blocke of them, & aftervvardes
they delight themelues in the ho-
nor thereof. 2.10.17
15. As sheepe they be put into hell:
death seedeth vpon them: and the
righteous shall rule over them in the
morning. 2.10.17
- 50.15. And call vpon me in the days
of trouble: and I vvill deliuer thee,
and thou shalt honor me. 3.20.13.28
& 4.17.37
23. He that offereth vp praises, he doth
glorifie me: and this is the vvay by
the vvvhich I vvill shewe him the sal-
uation of God. 4.18.17
- 51.3. Haue mercy vpon me, O God, for
thy goodnes sake, &c. 3.4.9
6. That thou maest be acknowvledged
pure, vvhen thou hast iudged. 1.18.3
& 3.11.11. & 3.33.2
7. Beholde, I vvvas fashioned in ini-
quitie, and my mother conceaued
me in sinne. 2.1.5. & 3.3.18. & 3.20.2

The Table.

84. 16. 17
 12. Create in me O God, a cleane hart,
 and renue a right spirit vwithin me. 2. 2. 25, 27, & 2. 3. 9
 17. Open thou my lippes, O lorde, and
 my mouth shall shevve forth thy
 praise. 3. 20. 28
 19. The sacrifice to God is a broken
 spirit a contrite and broken hart, O
 God, thou wilt not despise. 3. 20. 16
 21. Then thou shalt be delighted vwith
 offerings, vwith the sacrifice & burnt
 offering of righteousness; then they
 shall lay calues vpō thine altar. 4. 18. 17
 32. 10. But I vvill be like the greene
 Oliue tree in the house of the lorde.
 2. 10. 17
 53. 4. There is not one that doth that
 vvwhich is good. 2. 3. 2
 55. 23. Cast thy burden vpon the lord,
 and he shall vpholde thee: he vvill
 not suffer the righteous to fall for
 euer. 1. 17. 6. & 2. 10. 17
 24. Thou in the meane time O God,
 shall throwve dovvne these blood
 thirstie and deceatfull ones, into the
 pit of destruction. 2. 10. 17
 56. 5. I haue trusted in God, I feare no
 thing that fleshe may do vnto me. 1.
 17. 11
 10. So often as I call vpon thee, mine
 enemies gene backe: in this I am as-
 sured, that thou art my God. 3. 20. 11
 13. I vvill make vowves vnto thee, O
 God: I vvill shevve forth thy praise.
 4. 13. 4
 59. 11. Thy goodnes O Lord may preuēt
 me, bring it to passe O God, that I may
 see thy vvorks on my enemies. 2. 3. 12
 60. 14. In God vve shall do valiantly,
 and he shall tread dovvne our ene-
 mies 3. 20. 46
 62. 9. Poure out your hartes before
 him, for God is our refuge. 3. 20. 5
 10. The sonnes of men be vaine, the
 sonnes of men beliers: if they vvere
 put in a paire of ballaunce, they
 vvould be lighter then vanitie it
 selfe. 2. 3. 1
 63. 4. Thy louing kindnesse is more to
 be vvished for then life it selfe. 3. 2.
 28. & 3. 17. 14
 65. 1. Vnto thee, O God, is praise in
 Sion, vnto thee shall the vowe be
 paide. 3. 20. 29
 3. Thou hearest prayers, because of
 this shall all fleshe come vnto thee.
 3. 20. 13
 5. Blessed is he vvhom thou chooshest, he
 shall dvvell in thy courtes, &c. 3. 21. 5
 68. 19. Thou art gone vp on hy, and
 hast led captiuitie, &c. 1. 13. 11
 21. Vnto the Lorde God belong the
 issues of death. 3. 25. 4
 36. Thou art terrible O God out of
 the holy places: the God of Israell he
 geueth strēgth to the people 1. 11. 14
 69. 3. I am sonke dovvne into a deepe
 mier, in the vvwhich there is no bot-
 tome, &c. 4. 7. 13
 5. That I am cōstrained to repay that
 I toke not. 2. 16. 5
 22. For they gaue me in my meate gall:
 and vvhen I thirsted they gaue me
 vineger to drinke. 4. 17. 25
 29. Let them be vviped out of the
 booke of the liuing, and let them not
 be vvritten amongst the iust. 2. 10
 18. & 3. 24. 9
 71. 2. For thy righteousness sake rescue
 me, and deliuer me. 3. 11. 12
 72. 8. He shall rule from sea to sea, and
 from the fluddes vnto the endes of
 the earth. 2. 11. 1
 11. And all kings shall vvorship him,
 and all natiōs shall serue him. 4. 5. 17
 73. 2. It vvanted but a little but my
 feete vvere readie to fall, my steppes
 had almost slidden. 2. 10. 16. & 3. 9. 6
 17. Vntill I entred the secrete places
 of God, and I vnderstoode vvhat
 should become of them at the latt. 2
 10. 16. & 3. 9. 6
 26. My fleshe and hart is cōsumed, but
 God is the rocke of my hart, and my
 portion for euer 2. 11. 2
 74. 2. Be mindfull of thy flocke vvwhich
 thou diddest purchase long agone: &
 of thine allotted inheritance vvwhich
 thou hast redeemed: the mount Sion
 in vvwhich thou vvast vvont to dvvell.
 3. 20. 14
 9. VVe

The Table.

9. VVe see not our signes, there is not one Prophet more, nor any vvith vs that knovveth how long. 2.15.1
- 75.7. For neither from the East, nor from the VVest, nor from the South doth preferment come. 1.16.6
- 77.10. VVhether or not hath God forgotten to be mercifull? vvill he shut vp his mercies in displeasure? 3.2.17
11. At last I thought, this is my infirmie, the right hand vvill chaunge the course of the most high. 3.2.31
- 78.8. And let them not be as their fathers, a disobedient and rebellious nation, a generatiō that set not their hartes aright, and vvwhose spirities neuer beleued God truly. 2.5.11
36. They flattered him vvith their countenances, but they lied vnto him vvith their tounge. 3.3.25
37. Their hart vvvas not right toward him, neither vvvere they faithfull in his couenaunt. 3.3.25
49. He cast vpon them the fiercenesse of his anger, violence, indignation, and vexation, by the sending out of euill spirities 1.14.17
60. That he might leaue the Tabernacle Silo, the Tabernacle vvhere he dwelt amongst men. 2.6.2
67. And he put avvay the Tabernacle of Ioseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim. 2.6.2 & 3.21.6
70. And he chose Dauid his seruaunt, from the foldes of sheepe tooke he him. 2.6.2
- 79.9. Helpe vs, O God of our saluatiō, for the glory of thy name, & deliuer vs, and be mercifull vnto our finnes for thy names sake. 3.20.14
13. And vve thy people and sheepe of thy pasture shall praise thee for euer: and from generation to generation vvill set forth thy praile. 3.7.10
- 80.2. Thou vvwhich sittest betveene the Cherubins shevve thy brightnesse. 1.13.24 & 2.8.15 & 4.1.5
4. Turne vs againe O God, and cause thy face to shine that vve may be sauēd. 3.2.28
5. O Lorde God of hostes, howe long vvilt thou be angry against the praier of the people? 3.20.16
18. Let thy hande be vvith the man of thy right hand, vvith the sonne of man, vvhom thou hast made stronge for thy selfe. 2.6.2
- 81.11. I am the lorde thy God vvwhich haue brought thee out of the land of Egypt. 3.2.31
- 82.1. God standeth in the assembly of God, he playeth the iudge in the midst of gods. 4.20.4 & 4.20.6 & 4.20.29
3. Reuenge the poore & fatherlesse, let loose the miserable & afflicted. 4.20.9
4. Deliuer the feeble and needy, from the handes of the vvicked. 4.20.9
6. I haue said, you are gods, and you are all sonnes of the most high. 1.14.5 & 4.20.4
- 84.2. O Lord of hostes, howe amiable are thy Tabernacles. 4.1.5
3. My soule longeth & fainteth for the courtes of the lord, my hart & fleshe crie vnto the liuing God. 2.11.2
8. They shall goe from strength to strength, eche of them shall appeare before God in Sion. 4.17.21
- 86.2. Keepe my life because I am one that doth good to other: O God keepe thou thy seruaunt. 3.20.10
5. For thou O lorde, art good & mercifull, of great kindnesse vnto all that call vpon thee. 3.2.29
11. Direct me O lorde in thy vvayes, then shall I vvalk in thy truth: cōstraine my hart that it may feare thy name. 2.2.27 & 2.3.9
- 88.17. Thy furies hath passed ouer me, & thy terrors haue destroyed me. 3.4.34
- 89.4. I haue made a couenaunt vvith my chosen, I haue svvorne to Dauid my seruaunt. 4.1.17
5. Thy seede I vvill establish for euer, and vvill set vp thy throne from generation to generation 4.1.17
31. If his children forsake my lawe, and vvalk not in my iudgements. 3.4.32 & 4.1.27
32. If they breake my statutes, & keepe not my commandements. 3.4.32

The Table.

33. I will visite their transgressions
vwith the rodde, and their iniquities
vwith vvhippes. 3.4.32. & 4.1.27
34. And my louing kindnesse vvill I not
take from him, neither vvill I falsifie
my truth. 3.4.32. & 4.1.27
36. I haue once svorne by my holinesse,
I vvill not faile Dauid. 2.15.3
37. His seeede shall be for euer: and his
throne shall be before me as the sunne.
2.15.3
38. It shall abide sure as the Moone,
vvhich is a sure vvitness in heauen.
2.15.3
- 90.4. A thousand yeares is before thee
as yester day & vvhich is past, yea as a
vvatch in the night. 3.2.42
7. For vve are consumed by thine anger,
and by thy vvraeth are vve troubled.
3.4.34
9. For all our dayes vvere spent, thou
being angry vve ended our yeares
sooner then a thought. 3.25.12
11. VVho knoweth the pover of thine
anger? as euery man feareth thee, so
is the indignatiō of thy anger scarce
towards them. 3.25.12
- 91.1. The man sitting in the secrete of
the most high, shall abide vnder the
shadovve of the almightie. 1.17.6 &
2.8.42
3. For he vvill deliuer thee from the
snare of the hunter, and from the
noisome pestilence. 1.17.11.
11. For he vvill commaund his Angels
for thy sake, that they keepe thee in
all thy vvayes. 1.14.6. & 2.8.42. &
3.20.23
15. He vvill call vpon me, therefore
I vvill heare him, I vvill be present
vvith him in affliction, I vvill deliuer
him, and vvill make him glorious.
3.20.14
- 92.6. How great are thy vvorkes O
lorde, vvonderfull profound be thy
counsels. 2.10.17
7. A duller doth not knowe this,
neither doth a foole vnderstand it. 5.9
13. The iust shall florish as the Palme,
and shall growe as a Cedar in Liba-
nus. 2.10.17
14. Those that be planted in the house
of the lorde, shall florish in the
courtes of our God. 2.10.17
- 93.1. The lorde is king, and is clothed
vvith maiestie, he hath, I say, put on
strength, & hath girded himselfe, the
vvorld also shall be so established
that it can not be moued. 1.6.3
5. Holinesse becommeth thy house, O
lorde, for euer. 1.6.4
- 94.11. The lorde knoweth that the
thoughtes of man are vaine. 2.2.25
& 3.14.1
12. Happie is the man O lorde, vvhom
thou hast chastened, & vvhom thou
hast instructed in thy lawe. 3.4.34
19. In the passions of many thoughtes,
vvithin me thy confortes recreated
my soule. 3.20.7
- 95.7. If to day you shall heare his
voice. 3.2.6
8. Harden not your hartes as in Me-
ribah, and in the day of Massa in the
vvildernesse. 2.5.11
- 96.10. Say amongst the nations, the
lorde raigneth, & the vvorld shall be
stablished that it shall shake not, & c. 1.6.3
- 97.1. The lord raigneth: let the earth
reioice: and let the multitude of the
Isles be glad. 1.6.3
7. VVorship him all ye gods. 1.13.11
10. The lord keepeth the soules of his
Saintes, he vvill deliuer them out of
the handes of the vvicked. 2.10.16
11. Light is sowne for the righteous,
and gladnesse for them that be of an
vpright hart. 2.10.16
- 99.1. The lord raigneth, let the people
tremble: he sitteth betwene the Che-
rubins, let the earth be moued. 1.6.3
& 2.8.15
5. Exalt the lorde God and fall downe
before his footestool: for he is holy.
1.11.15. & 4.1.5
9. Exalt the lorde our God and fall
downe before his holy mountaine:
for our lorde God is holy. 1.11.15
- 100.3. Knowe ye that the lord is God:
he made vs and not vve our selues:
vve be his people and the sheepe of
his pasture. 2.3.6. & 3.21.3
101.3. 1

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- 101.3. I vill set no vicked thing before mine eyes, I hate them that fall away, they shall neuer cleue vnto me. 4.20.9
8. Betime vill I destroy all the vicked of the lande, that all vicked doers, may be cut of from the citie. 4.20.10
- 102.14. Thou wilt arise, that thou mayest haue mercie on Sion. 1.13.11
16. And all natiōs shall feare the name of the lorde, and all the Kings of the earth thy glory. 1.13.11
18. And he shall haue consideration of the prayer of the humble, and not despise their prayer. 3.20.28
19. The vvhich shalbe written for generations to come: and the people that shall be created, shall praise the lorde. 3.20.28
22. That men may celebrate the name of the lorde in Sion, and his praise in Ierusalem. 3.20.28
26. For first, thou laydest the foundations of the earth: and the heauens be the worke of thy handes. 1.13.11 & 2.10.15
27. The vvhich shall perishe, but thou doest abide, and all things shall waxe olde as a garment, &c. 2.10.15
28. But thou art the same for euer, & there shalbe no ende of thy yeares. 2.10.15
- 103.8. The lorde is full of compassion and mercy, slowe to anger, and of much mercie. 3.2.29
17. But the louing kindenes of the lorde, endureth for euer and euer, towards the that feare him. 2.10.15
30. Sheve forth the lorde, ye his Angels vvhich excell in pouer, execute his vill in obeying the voice of his vvordes. 1.14.5. & 3.20.43
- 104.2. He is clothed vvith light, as vvith a garment. 1.5.3
4. VVhich maketh his spirites his embassadors, and his ministers a flame of fier. 1.16.7
15. And vvine that maketh the heart of man glad, and oile that maketh his face shine. 3.10.2
17. All things depende vpon thee, that thou maiste giue them their meate in due time. 1.16.1
28. And thou geuing, they do gather: and thou opening thy hande, they be filled vvith good things. 1.16.1
29. But if thou hide thy face, they are troubled: & if thou take their Spirit from them, they die, & they be tournd into dust. 1.16.1
30. Againe, liuing things be created if thou send forth thy Spirit, & thou doest reneue the face of the earth. 1.16.1
- 105.4. Seeke alwayes his face. 4.1.5
6. O ye seede of Abraham vvhich loue him, ye sonnes of Iacob vvhich be his elect. 3.21.5
25. He tourned their harts to hate his people, that they might deale craftely vvith his seruants. 1.18.2. & 2.4.4
- 106.3. O blessed vvhich kepe Iudgement, and vvhich do alwayes that vvhich is right. 3.17.10
4. Remembre me o lorde, vvith the fauour vvherevvith thou faourest thy people, and haue regard of me, vvith thy sauing health, that I may see the happines that is prepared for the elect, and that I may reioise the ioyes of thy people. 4.1.4
13. But incontinent they forgot him, neither folloved they his counsell. 3.20.15
31. And it vvas imputed vnto him for righteousnesse for euer. 3.17.7,8
37. For they killed their sonnes and daughters, for sacrifices to deuils. 4.13.17
46. And made them be fauoured of all them that ledde them captiues. 2.4.6
47. Saue vs o lorde our God, and gather vs from among the nations, that wee may confesse thy holy name, and celebrate thy prayers. 3.20.28
- 107.4. VVhich vvandred in the desertes, in the solitarie place thorov paths, vvho found not a citie to dwell in. 1.5.7
6. They cried vnto the lorde in their perills, vvho deliuered them out of their anguishes. 3.20.15

The Table.

13. Then thy cried vnto the lorde in their trouble, and he deliuered them from their dittres 3.20.15
16. For he hath broken the gates of brasfe, & burst the barres of iron. 2.16.9
19. And they cried also vnto the lord, &c. 3.20.15
25. VVho by his commaundement, doth sturre vp the stormy vvindes, vvwhich doth lift vp on hy, the vvauces thereof. 1.16.7
29. And the storme being still, he maketh the sea calme, so that the vvauces ceasse, &c. 1.16.7
40. For God poureth contempt vppon Princes, and maketh them to erre in desert places out of the vvay. 1.18.2 & 2.2.17. & 2.4.4
43. VVhosoever therfore is vvise, vvill remembre these things, and he vvill consider the louing kindnes of the lorde. 1.15.7
- 110.1. The lorde said vnto my lorde, sit thou on my right hande, vntill I make thy enemies thy foote stole. 2.15.3. & 2.16.16
4. The lorde sware, neither repenteth he him, that thou arte an everlasting priest according to the order of Melchisedek. 2.11.4. & 2.5.6. & 4.18.2 & 4.19.28
6. Messias shall iudge among the nations, and all shall be full of dead bodies, vvhe he shall smite the heads ouer many nations. 2.15.5
- 111.1. I vvill praise the lorde vvith my vvhole heart, in the assemblie and congregation of the Iust. 4.14.8
2. Great are the vvorkes of the lorde, vvwhich are inquired out of all them vvwhich be delighted thervvith. 1.17.3
10. The beginning of vvisedome is the feare of the lorde. 2.3.4. & 3.2.26
- 112.1. The man is bleste that feareth the lord, and is greatly delighted vvith his commaundements. 3.17.10
6. The memory of the righteous shall remaine vntill. 2.10.16
9. His righteousness remaineth for euer, and his horne shalbe exalted vvith glorie. 2.10.16
10. The vvicked shall not attaine that that they desire. 2.10.16
- 113.6. And he doth abase himselfe, to beholde things in heaue and in earth. 1.16.5
7. VVho raiseth vp the feable out of the dust, and lifeth the poore out of the durte. 1.15.7
9. VVhich maketh the barren vvomē to dwell vvith a familie, and a iouful mother of children. 1.16.7
- 115.3. And our God is in heauen, vvho doth vvhat he vvill. 1.16.3. & 1.18.1 & 1.18.3. & 3.24.15
4. Their Images be siluer and gold, a vvorke that vvvas vvrought out by the vvorke of man. 1.11.4
8. To vvhom they be like that make them, & so is he, vvholoeuer trusteth in them. 1.11.4
- 116.1. I loue the lorde because he hath heard my prayer 3.20.28
7. Retourne o my soule vnto thy quiet place, because the lorde hath bene beneficiall vnto thee. 3.2.17
12. VVhat shall I repay the lorde for all his benefites bestowed on me? 3.20.28
13. The cup being taken, vvhervvithall thanks being geuen, I vvill call vpon the name of the lorde, for receiued saluation. 3.20.28
14. And I vvill pay my vvoves novve vnto the lorde before all his people. 4.13.4
15. For pretious in the sight of the lorde, is the death of his Sainctes. 2.10.14. & 2.10.18
18. I vvill pay my vvoves novv before all the people. 4.13.4
- 117.2. For his louing kindnes doth excell toward vs, & the truth of the lorde shall continue for euer. 3.2.7
- 118.6. The lorde standing vvith me, I vvill not feare vvhat soeuer man doth endeour to bring against me. 1.17.11
18. The lorde hath chastened me sore, but he hath not suffered me that I should dy. 3.4.32
25. Ah lord, saue I pray thee: Ah lorde giue

The Table.

giue I pray thee prosperous successe.

2.6.2

26. VVe vvishe vnto him all good things, that commeth in the name of the lord & vve haue vvished vnto you good things out of the house of the lord.

2.6.2

119.1. Obleſſed be they vvvhich in their life vvalkinge do keepe the ſtraight vvay, accordinge to the lawe of the lord.

3.17.10

10. VVhen I do ſeek thee vvith all my heart, lette me not ſtray from thy commaundementes.

2.2.25. & 4.14.8

14. I am delighted in the vvay of thy teſtimonies, more then in all riches.

2.15

18. Pull the vale from my eyes, that I may ſee the vvonderful vvifdom that is hid in thy law.

2.2.21

34. Teach me that I may hold thy law, and that I may keepe it vvith all my heart.

2.2.25

36. Incline my hart vnto thy teſtimonies, and not to couetouſneſſe.

2.3.9 & 2.5.11

41. And let thy louing kindenes come vnto me, & thy ſaluation, accordinge to thy vvorde.

3.2.31

43. And take not altogether out of my mouth the vvorde of trueth, for I looke for thy Iudgementes.

3.2.17

71. It vvvas good vnto me that thou dideſt hūble me, that I might learne thy righteouſnes.

3.4.32

76. I pray thee that thy louing kindeneſſe may happen vnto me, that it may comforte me, accordinge to thy vvorde, that hath giuen hope vnto thy ſeruaunt.

3.3.4. & 3.20.14

80. Lette my heart be holie in thy ſtatutes, that I be not aſhamed.

2.2.27

89. Thy vvorde, O lord, abideth euerlaſting in heauen.

4.8.6

103. Howve ſweete is thy vvorde vnto my taſt, truely vnto my mouth it is more ſweeter then honie.

3.2

105. Thy vvord is a lanterne vnto my feete, & a light vnto my vvayes.

2.8. & 2.7.12. & 4.8.6

111. Thy teſtimonies haue bin vnto me as an euerlaſtinge heritage, for they be the ioy of my hart.

3.2.15

112. I haue ſette my minde vppon thy decrees that I might keepe them vnto the ende, and that for euer

2.5.11

127. VVherefore I haue loued thy preceptes more then golde.

3.2.15

133. Frame my ſteps accordinge to thy vvord, and let no vanity haue rule ouer me.

2.3.9

121.4. Beholde, he neither ſlumbreth nor ſleepeth that keepeth Iſrael.

20.3

130.1. From the depth of euills I haue called vppon thee, O lord.

3.20.4

3. If thou O lorde vvilt marke iniquities, O lord vvho ſhal ſtād vnder it?

3.12.1. & 3.17.14

4. But vvith thee is mercy, & therfore thou art feared.

3.3.2. & 3.16.3

131.2. It vvvere euill vvith me, if I haue not compared and iudged my ſoule, like vnto a vveaned childe vvith his mother, and my ſoule in me is like vnto a vveaned childe.

3.7.9

132.2. Be thou mindefull, O lorde, of all thinges vvith the vvvhich David hath bin afflicted.

3.20.25

7. Let vs go vnto his tabernacle and vvorſhip before the footeſtoole of his feete.

4.1.5

11. Of the frute of thy body vvill I ſet vp thy throne.

2.13.3

13. The lorde hath choſen Sion, and hath taken it vnto him for a ſeate.

4.1.17

14. This is my reſt for euer, here vvill I dvvell becauſe I haue choſen here.

1.5

133.3. Becauſe the lord hath cōmaunded that there ſhalbe their bleſſinge and life euerlaſting.

2.11.2

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The Table.

- 135.15. The Idols of the Gentiles be
siluer & gold, a vvorke brought forth
by the handes of men. 1.11.4
- 138.1. I vil confesse thee vvith all my
vvhole heart, and before the iudges
vvill I praise thee, 4.14.8
2. I vvill confesse thy name for thy lo-
uing kindenesse, and for thy trueth. 3.2.7
3. Forsake not the vvorks of thy hāds 3.24.6
- 140.14 Surely the righteous vvill
praise thy name, & the vertuous vvill
abide in thy sight. 2.10.16
- 141.2. Let my prayer be esteemed as
insence before thee, and the listinge
vp of my hands as the euening sacri-
fices. 3.20.14 & 4.18.17
- 142.6. Therefore O lorde I call vnto
thee, & say: thou art my hope & por-
tion in the land of the liuing. 2.11.2
8. And I vvill be vnto the iust as a
crowne, because thou hast bin bene-
ficiall vnto me. 3.20.26
- 143.2. Deale not vvith thy seruant O
lord according to the law, for there
is none liuinge iust before thee. 2.7
5. & 3.12.2 & 3.14.16 & 3.17.14
& 3.20.8
- 5 Yet I remēber the times past, I me-
ditate of all thy vvorkes. 3.2.31
- 144.15. Blessed be the people that liue
so, yea blessed be the people vvwhose
God is the lorde. 2.10.8. & 3.2.28
- 145.3 Great is the lord & most vvor-
thy to be praised, vvwhose greatnes is
vnsearchable. 1.5.8
5. I vvill talke of the comelines of the
maiesty of thy glory, and of thy ad-
mirable vvorkes. 1.5.8
8. The lord is gracious and mercifull,
patient and of great goodnes. 1.10.2
& 3.20.9
9. The lorde is good vnto all, and
his mercie excelleth all his vvorkes. 1.5.5
13. Thy kingedome is an euerlastinge
kingdom, & thy dominiō doth raine
throw out all ages. 1.13.24
18. The lorde is neere to all that call
vppon him, yea to all that call vpon

- him in trueth. 3.20.3 & 3.20.7. & 3.20.14
19. He doth vvhatsooner they vvoulde
that feare him, and he heareth their
cries and saueth them. 3.20.5. & 3.20.13
- 147.9. VVhich giueth to beast their
foode, & to yong rauens that call v-
pon him. 1.16.5
10. He doth not allow of the strength
of a horse, & is not delighted vvith
the legges of man. 2.2.10
20. He hath not dealt thus vvith all na-
tions, neither hath he declared vnto
them his iudgementes. 3.21.6
- PROVERBES.
- 1.7. **T**He feare of the lorde is the be-
ginninge of knowvledge. 3.2.26
- 2.21. The righteous shall inhabit the
earth, and the vvpright shall liue long
therein. 2.11.2
22. But the vvicked shalbe cut frō the
earth, and the transgressor shall be
vterly taken therfrom. 3.11.2
- 3.11. Beware thou be not against the
chastisement of the lord, my sonne,
neither do thou lothe at his corre-
ctions. 3.4.31 & 3.8.6
12. For vvhome the lorde loueth, he
doth chastice, and he is delited vvith
him as a father vvith his childe. 3.8.6
- 8.15. By me, Princes raigne, & kinges
decree Iustice. 4.20.4, 7
22. The lorde possessed me in the be-
ginninge of his vvayes, I vvvas then
before his vvorkes. 1.13.7
23. I vvvas ordayned from euerlasting,
and from the beginninge before the
earth. 1.13.7
24. As yet the depthes vvvas not vvhe
I vvvas formed, as yet the fountaines
did not abound vvith vvaters. 1.13.7
& 2.14.8
- 9.10. The beginninge of vvvisdom is the
feare of the lord. 3.2.26
- 10.7. The memory of the Iust is lavv-
dable, but the memory of the vvick-
ed is filthy. 2.10.18. & 3.17.15
12. Harred doth breede occasion of
cōtention, but loue couereth all tre-
spasses.

The Table.

- 12.14. It shalbe giuen to euery man,
 accordinge to his vvorke. 3.18.1
 28. In the path of righteousnes is life,
 & the same doth not lead vnto death
 3.17.15
 13.13. He that feareth the commaun-
 dement, shalbe reuwarded. 3.18.1
 24.21. He that contemneth his neigh-
 bour, sinneth: but he that dealeth
 kindly vvith the afflicted, is bles-
 sed. 3.17.10
 26. In the feare of the lorde is an assu-
 red strength, and it shalbe a defence
 also for his children. 3.14.19
 15.3. In euery place the eyes of the
 lord doth beholde the good and the
 euill. 4.17.23
 8. The lord doth abhorre the sacrifice
 of the vicked, but the prayer of the
 righteous is most acceptable vnto
 him. 3.14.8
 16.1. Manne may dispose his hart, but
 she aunsvvere of the tonge is of the
 Lord. 1.16.6
 2. To man all his vvayes do seeme to
 be cleane in his ovvne eyes, but the
 lorde doth dispose the spirite. 3.12
 5
 4. The lorde doth vvorke all things
 for his ovvne sake, ye the vvick-
 ed also against the day of euill. 3.23
 6
 6. By mercy and trueth iniquity shal-
 be forgiuen, and by the feare of the
 lord they depart from euill. 3.4.31
 & 3.4.36
 9. The hart of man doth deliberate of
 his vvay, but the lord doth dire& his
 steppes. 1.17.4
 12. To commit vvickednes ought to
 be abominable to kinges: for the
 throne ought to be established by
 Iustice. 4.20.10
 14. The anger of the kinge is the mes-
 senger of death, but the vvise manne
 can pacifie it. 4.20.32
 33. The lots are cast into the lap, but
 the vvhole disposing of the is of the
 lord. 1.16.6
 17.1. A seditious person seeketh one-

- ly strife, vnto this person a cruell
 messenger shalbe sent against him. 4
 20.10
 15. The lorde doth alike hate as vvell
 him that doth cleare the vicked, as
 him that doth condemne the inno-
 cent. 4.20.10
 18.10. The name of the lord is a strong
 towre, the righteous runneth thi-
 ther and is vvithout the castinge of
 earth. 1.13.13. & 3.20.14
 19.17. He doth let out vnto the lord,
 vvho soeuer doth good vnto the
 poore: & it shalbe requited him, ac-
 cording to his good deede. 3.18.6
 20.7. The iust doth vvalke in his vp-
 rightnes, his children be blessed af-
 ter him. 2.8.21
 8. A king sitting in the throne of iudge-
 ment, doth chase avvay all euill vvith
 his eyes. 4.20.10
 9. VVho vvill say, my heart is cleane,
 I am pure from sinne? 3.13.3
 12. The hearing of the eare, & the sight
 of the eye, both these the lord made.
 2.4.7
 20. He that curseth his father or mo-
 ther, his light shalbe put out in ob-
 scure darkenes. 2.8.36
 24. The steps of the mighty are ruled
 by the lord, howe then can a manne
 knowv his ovvne vvayes? 1.16.6
 26. A vvise kinge scattereth the vvick-
 ed, & causeth the vvheele to turne
 ouer them. 4.20.10
 21.1. The heart of the kinge is in the
 hand of the lord, as the riuers of vvater:
 vvwhether soeuer he vvill he tur-
 neth it. 1.18.2. & 2.4.7. & 4.20.9
 2. Euery mannes vvayes seemeth right
 vnto himselfe. 3.12.5
 24.21. Feare the lord my sonne & the
 king. 4.20.22
 24. He that sayeth vnto the vicked,
 thou art righteous: him the people
 vvill curse, and the nations shall de-
 test him. 4.20.10
 25.2. The glory of the lord is to con-
 seale a thing secrete, but the kinges
 honor is to search out a thing. 3.21.3
 4. Take the drosse from the siluer, and

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there shall proceede a vessel for the
finer: let the vicked be taken from
the sight of the kinge, and then his
throne shalbe sure throwe righte-
ousnes. 4.20.10

21. If he hunger that doth hate thee,
fede him: if he thirst, giue him drinke.
2.8.56

27. As it is not good to eate much
hunney, so he vvhich doth search out
glorie shalbe oppressed thereof 3.21

26.10. The excellent that formed all
things, both reuwardeth the foole, &
the transgressors. 3.23.4

28.2. For the transgressions of them
that inhabite the lande, it cometh to
passe oftentimes that others rule. 4.20

14. Blessed is the man that feareth al-
waies, but he that hardneth his hart
shall fall into euill. 2.2.23

29.13. The poore and the vsurer mete
together, and the lorde lighteneth
both their eyes. 1.16.6

30.4. VVhat is his name, & his sonnes
name if thou do knowe? 2.14.7

5. Euery vvorde of God is pure, and a
shield vnto the that leane vnto him.
3.2.15

6. And not vnto his vvordes, least he
reproue thee, and thou be founde a
lyer. 4.10.17

ECCLESIASTES.

2.11. **A**Nd I turned my selfe vnto all
the vvorks that my hnds had
vvrought, & to the labour that I had
done, & beholde all vvas vanity and
griefe of minde. 2.2.12

3.19. The selfe same things are vvont
to happē vnto me & beastes: & what
maner of death one hath, the same
hath the other, and the selfe same
spirit is in all: neither hath man any
thinge more excellent then beastes:
for vvhy all thing is vanity. 3.2.38

21. VVho knoweth vvwhether the spi-
rite of man do ascende vpvvarde, or
the spirit of beast descend dovvn-
vvard into the earth? 3.25.5

7.30. God made manne righteous: but

they being made haue folovved ma-
ny vaine thoughtes. 2.1.10. & 2.5.18

9.1. No man knoweth other loue or
hatred of all thinges that is before
them. 3.2.38. & 3.13.4

21. All thinges come a like vnto all, both
to the iust and vicked, &c. 1.16.

4. A liue dogge is better than a deade
Lyon. 3.25.5

5. They vvhich liue, knowv they shall
dye, but the dead knowv nothinge at
all. 3.20.24

6. Both their loue, hatred, and enuy, is
nowve abolished, neither haue they
longer portion in the vvorld, of all
that is vnder the sunne. 3.10.24

12.7. And the spirite doth returne to
God, vvhich gaue it. 1.15.2. & 1.15

The song of Salomon.

1.14. **S**HOVE me thy countenance,
speake vnto me, for thy voice
vvill be vnto me svvete, & thy coun-
tenance louely. 1.11.14

5.3. I haue put of my cote, and hovve
shall I put it on againe? and I haue
vvashed my feete, hovve shall I de-
file them againe? 1.16.4

ESAI.

1.5. **T**O vvhat purpose should you be
smitten any more? for ye fall
avvay more and more, euery heade is
ficke, & euery hart is heauy. 3.4.33

10. Heare the vvord of the lord ye ty-
rantes of Sodom, and thou people of
Gomorrah heare the lavv of the lord.
4.1.18

12. VVho requireth that at your
handes? 3.14.15

13. Bring no more oblations in vaine,
infence is an abomination vnto me:
I can not suffer your nevve Moones
or Sabaothes, &c. 2.8.34. & 3.14.8

14. My soule hateth your nev v Moones
and appointed feastes: they make me
vveary. 4.2.10

15. And vvhen you stretch forth your
handes, I vvill hide my eies from you,
& although you multiply your prai-
er I vvill not heare, for your handes be
full

The Table.

- full of blood. 3.20.7
16. Take away all naughtines. 3.3.8
17. Learne to doe vvell, seeke iudgement, releue the oppressed, iudge the fatherlesse, and defend the vvidow. 8.5.2. & 3.3.8
18. If your sinnes were as crimson, they shalbe made vvhiter then snovve: and though they were as redde as scarlet, they should be made as vvoll. 3.4.29
19. If you consent and obey, you shall enioy the good thinges of the earth. 2.5.10
20. But if ye refuse and be rebellious, you shall be deuoured vvith the svword, because the mouth of the lord hath spoken it. 2.5.10
21. Their land vvas full of idols, they vvorshipped the vvorkes of their ovne handes, and that vvich their fingers made. 1.11.4
22. Behold the gouernour the lord of hostes vvill take from Ierusalem and Iuda the valiaunt and mightie: euen all the strength of bread and vvater. 1.16.7
23. And I vvill make children their princes, and effeminate persons shall rule them. 4.20.25
24. Onely lette vs be called by thy name, and take away our reproche. 3.20.25
25. VVoe be to them that ioine house to house, and field to field, continuing till there be none left, &c. 1.18.1 & 2.4.4
26. And he shall raise vp a signe to the people that be a farre of, and vvill hisse vnto them from the endes of the earth, &c. 3.19.9
27. I salue the lorde sit vppon a high throne and lifted vp, and his louer partes did fill the, &c. 1.13.11. & 13.23
28. The Seraphins stode vppon it, e-uery one had six vvings. 1.11.3. & 14.8
29. VVo vnto me, for I am brought to silence, because I am a manne hauing polluted lips. 4.8.3
30. Then flue one of the Seraphins to me, hauinge in his hande a burninge coale, taken from the altar vvith the tonges. 1.11.3
31. He sayd, go and say vnto this people, in hearing yeshall heare and not vnderstande, &c. 1.13.15. & 3.23.13 & 3.24.13
32. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their eares dull, and shut their eyes, least they see vvith their eyes, &c. 2.4.3
33. Take hede, be still, feare not, neither be faint harted, for the vvwo taitles of these smoking firebrandes, &c. 1.17.11. & 3.2.17
34. Beholde, a virgine shall conceaue and beare a sonne and thou shalt call him Immanuel. 2.6.3. & 21.1
35. It shal come to passe in that time, that the Lorde shall hisse for the flies that be at the vtermolt parte of the riuer of Egypt, and for the Beo that is in the lande of the Assirians. 2.4.4
36. He shalbe as a sanctuary: but a stone of offence and a rocke of ruine to the vvwo houses of Israel. 1.13.11, 23
37. Binde vp the testimony: seale vp the lavve amonge my disciples. 3.22 10
38. I vvill looke for the lorde vvho hath hid his face from the house of Iacob, and I vvill looke for him. 3.2 42
39. Behold, I and the children vvhom the lord hath giuen me, &c. 3.22.10
40. A boy is borne vnto vs, a sonne is giuen vnto vs, vvwhose gouernment is vppon his shoulder, and his name shall be called VVonderfull, Counseller, God, the mightie lord, the euerlastinge father, the prince of peace. 1.13.9. & 2.15.1. & 3.17.6. & 313.4
41. But his hande as yet is stretched out. 4.17.23
42. VVo vnto them that decree vvicked decrees. 4.20.29

The Table.

3. O the rod of my fury, and the staffe
in their hands is my indignation 1.18
1.& 4.20.23
6. I will sende him to a dissemblinge
nation, & against a people that hath
deserued my vwrath will I com-
maunde him, that he take the spoile
and pray, and to treade them vnder
feete like the mire in the streete. 1.18
2
12. It will come to passe when the
lorde will make perfect his vvhole
worke in Sion and in Ierusalem, &c.
1.18.1
15. Shall the axe boast himselfe against
him that hevveth therewith? or
shall the sawve exalt it selfe against
him that moueth it? as if the rodde
shoulde lift vppe it selfe against him
that carieth it, or the staffe shoulde
exalt it selfe as though it were no
vvod. 3.4.4
- 11.2. And the spirite of the lorde
shall rest quietly vpon him; the
spirite of vvisedome and vnderstan-
dinge, the spirite of counsell and
strength, the spirite of knowvledge
and godlinesse. 2.15.5 & 4.19
22
3. And he shall make him prudent in
the feare of the lord, for he shall not
iudge after the sight of his eyes, nei-
ther reprove by the hearings of his
eares 2.3.4
4. VVith the spirit of his lips, shall he
kill the vvicked. 1.13.15
9. They shal not hurt nor vvaist through
out all my holy hil, &c. 4.20.10
10. And at that day the roote of Iesse
shall stande vp for a signe vnto the
people, the nations shall seeke vnto
it. 1.13.13
- 12.1. I vil praise thee O lord, because
thou art angry vvith me, thy vwrath
is turned avay, & thou comfortest
me. 3.4.32
- 14.1. The lorde shall haue compassion
on Iacob, and vil yet chose Israell.
3.21.5
27. The lorde of host determininge it,
vvho shal disanul it? & vvhen he hath
stretched out his hande, vvho shall
turne it avay? 1.17.14
- 19.18. In that day, there shall be fine
Cities in the contrey of Egypt, spea-
king the language of the Cananites,
& shall svveare by the lord of hostes,
&c. 2.8.23
19. In that day, the altar of the lorde
shalbe in the midst of the lande of
Egypt. 4.18.4
21. The lord shalbe knowen of the E-
gyptians, and the Egyptians shall
knowv the lorde in that day & do sa-
crifice and oblations, and shall vove
vovves vnto the lord, and performe
them. 4.13.4
25. VVhome the lorde of host hath
blessed, sayinge: blessed be my people
of Egypt & Ass hur, the vvorks of my
handes. 1.18.1
- 35.1. Thou hast done vvoderful things,
accordinge to thy counsell of olde,
vvith a stable trueth. 3.24.4
8. He will destroy death for euer, &
the lord will vvipe teares frō euery
face, &c. 3.9.6
9. Loe this is our God, vve haue vvay-
ted for him, and he will saue vs. 1.13
10. & 1.13.24
- 26.1. VVe haue a stronge Citie, salua-
tion shal God set for vvalles & bul-
vvarkes. 1.17.6
19. The dead shall liue, and as my bo-
dy shall they rise: avwake, and sing ye
that dwell in dust, &c. 3.10.21. & 3
25.4
21. Behold, the lord commeth out of
his place, to visite the iniquities of
the inhabitants of the earth, and
the earth shall shevve foorth their
blood, and shall no more hide her
slaine. 3.25.8
- 28.16. He vvhich beleueth shall not
make hast. 1.13.13
- 39.13. Because this people come neere
me vvith their mouth, and do honor
me vvith their lips, but their hart is
farre from me, and their feare to-
vvardes me vvas taught by the pre-
ceptes of men, &c. 3.20.7. 31. & 4.10
15, 16, 23
14. There-

The Table.

14. Therefore beholde, I will also adde thereto, that I may vvorke maruellously vvith this people, euen maruell and vvonders: that is, the vvise-dome of their vvise men shall perish, & the vnderstanding of their prudent men shall hide it selfe. 4.10.6.
- 30.1. VVoe vnto the rebellious children, saith the Lord, vvhich dare take counsell but not of me, &c. 3.20.28.
25. In being quiet and keeping silence shall be your strength. 3.2.37.
33. Tophet is prepared moreouer log agone: this is also prepared for the king: O how deepe & vvide he hath made it, his invuarde parte is fire and much vvodde, the breth of the Lorde like a riuer of brimstone doth kindle it. 3.25.12.
- 31.1. VVoe vnto them that go down to Egypt for aide, & staye on horses, & haue trust in chariots, bicause, they be many. 3.20.28.
7. For in that day euery man shall cast avay his images of siluer, and his images of golde, vvhich your vvicked hand did make vnto you. 1.11.4.
- 33.14. The sinners in Sion shall be affraide, feare shall possesse the hypocrites, they shall saye, vvhiche of vs shall abide vvith the consuming fire? vvho amongst vs shall dwell vvith the euerlasting burning? 3.12.1. & 3.17.6
23. The Lorde is our iudge, the Lord is our lawv geuer, the Lotd is our king, he shall saue vs. 2.10.8. & 2.15.5
24. The people that dwell therein shall haue their iniquitie forgiven them. 4.1.20
- 35.8. And there shall be a path, and a vvay, and it shall be called the holy vvay, & the polluted shall not passe thereby. 2.6.2. & 4.1.17.
- 37.4. Thou therefore shalt lift vp thy prayer for theremnaüt that are left. 3.20.5.
16. O Lorde of hostes, God of Israel, vvhich dwellest betwene the Cherubins, thou art onely God ouer all the kingdomes of the earth. 2.8.15.
32. Bicause a remanaüt shall goe forth of Ierusalem, and the saued out of mount Sion. 4.1.4.
35. For I vvill defende this citie, that I maye saue it for mine ovvne sake, & for my seruauent Dauids sake. 2.17.5.
36. VVherefore the Angell of the Lord vvient out, and (mote in the campe of the Assirians one hundreth foure score and fise thousand. 1.14.6.
- 38.1. Thus saith the Lorde, put thy house in a readinesse, for thou shalt die and not liue. 1.17.12. & 3.3.4.
3. O my Lord, remember I pray thee that I vvalked before thee in faith, & vvith an vpright harte, & that I haue done those thinges that please thee. 3.20.10.
5. Beholde, I do adde vnto thy daies. 15. yeares. 1.17.12.
8. Beholde, I vvill bring againe the shadowe the degrees vvhereby it is gone downe in the Diall of Achaz. 4.14.18.
20. The Lorde vvvas ready to saue me, and vve vvill celebrate my song all the daies of our life in the house of the Lorde. 3.20.28.
- 39.6. Beholde, the daies come that all that is in thy house, & vvhich thy fathers haue laid vp in store vntill this day shall be carried to Babilō, nothig shall be left, saith the Lorde. 1.8.7.
7. And of thy sonnes that shall proceede out of thee, and vvhich thou shalt beget, shall be caried avay, & they shal be Eunuches in the place of the knig of Babilon. 2.8.19.
- 40.3. The voice of a crier in the vvilder nesse, prepare ye the vvay of the lord make straight in the desert a pathe for our God. 3.3.2.
6. A voice did say, Crye: & I said, vvhat shall I crye? &c. 2.9.5. & 2.10.7.
11. He shall feede his flocke as a shepherde. 4.19.34.
12. VVho hath measured the vvaters vvith his sitte, and counted heauen vvith his spanne, and comprehended the dulse of the earth vvith his three fingers? 3.2.35.

The Table.

13. VVho hath instructed the spirit of the Lorde? or vvho vvvas of his counsell and hath taught him? 4. 18. 19. & 4. 19. 2.
17. All people before him be as nothing and, they are counted to him lesse then nothing and vanitie. 3. 2. 25.
18. To vvho therefore vvill you make God like? or vvhat image vvill you set vs like him? 1. 11. 2. 12.
21. Hath not this bene shewed you frō the beginning of thinges? haue you not bene taught hy the foundations of the earth? 1. 11. 4. & 1. 14. 1.
22. VVho sitteth vpon the circle of the earth, &c. 1. 5. 5.
29. He geueth rather strength to the vverie, and vnto him that might faileth, he doth encrease povver. 2. 10.
41. 7. So the vvorkemā comforted the founde, and he that smote vvith the hāmer him that smote by cōurse saying, It is ready for the sodering: & he fastened this image vvith nailes that it shoulde not be moued out of his place. 1. 11. 2.
9. I haue chosē thee and not cast thee away. 3. 21. 5.
29. Behold, they are all vaine, & their vvorkes be nothing, their images are vvinde and confusio. 1. 11. 2.
42. 1. Behold, my seruauēt: I vvill stāy vpon him, &c. 2. 14. 2.
8. I vvill not geue my glory to an other nor my prayers to carued images. 1. 13. 9.
9. Behold, the former thinges haue come to passe, and I shew nevv thinges, the vvchich I declared vnto you before they happened. 1. 8. 7.
10. Sing vnto the Lorde a newe song, sing forth his praise euen vnto the outmost partes of the earth. 3. 20. 28.
13. The Lord shall go forth as a Giant he shall stirre vp his courage like a man of vvwarre. 4. 19. 34.
43. 1. Feare not, for I haue redeemed thee: I haue called thee by thy name, thou art mine. 3. 2. 37.
10. You are my vvittneses, saith the lord & my seruauēt, vvhom, I haue chosē therefore ye shall know and beleue me, and ye shall vnderstande that I am before me there vvvas no God formed, neither shall there be after me. 1. 7. 5.
11. I, I say I am the Lorde, & besides me there is no sauior. 3. 4. 15.
25. I, I my selfe am euen he vvchich do blot out thy transgressions, and that for mine ovpn sake, and I vvill not be mindfull of thy sinnes. 1. 13. 12. & 3. 4. 15. 25. & 3. 20. 45.
44. 3. I vvill poure out vvaters vpon the thirstie, & fluddes vpon the drye ground, that is, I vvill poure out my spirite vpon thy seede, & my blessing vpon thy buddes. 2. 2. 10. & 3. 1. 3. & 3. 2. 39.
6. I am the first & I am the last, & besides me there is no God. 1. 13. 23. 24.
12. The smith taketh an instrument & vvorketh in the coales, & fashioneth it vvith hammers, and vvorketh it vvith the strength of his arme: but he hungereth in the meane time, so that his strength faileth, neither drinketh he vvater, so that he falleth dovvne vverie. 1. 11. 4.
22. I haue put away thy trasgressions as mistes, and thy sinnes as a cloud, returne therefore vnto me, because I haue redeemed thee. 3. 4. 29.
45. 1. Thus saith the Lorde God vnto Cyrus his annointed, vvwhose right hād I haue holdē, that I might subdue nations before him: Therefore vvill I vveaken the loynes of kings, and open the doores before him, and the gates shall not be shut. 1. 8. 7.
7. Making light and creating darknes making peace & creating euill: It he Lord doe all these. 1. 17. 8. & 1. 18. 3.
9. VVoe be to him that striueth vvith his maker, the potsherde vvith the potshardes of the earth: shall the clay saye vnto him that fashioneth it, vvhat makest thou? or thy vvorke, it hath no handes? 1. 11. 2.
23. Euery knee shall bowe vnto me, and euery tounge shall svveare by my name

The Table.

- name. 1. 13. 11. & 1. 13. 23. & 3. 5. 8. & 3. 25. 7.
25. The vvhole seede of Israel shall be iustified and glorified in the Lord. 1. 13. 2. & 3. 14. 16
46. 5. To vvhome vvill you make me like or equall me, or cōpare me, that I shoulde bee like vnto him? 1. 11. 2.
47. 6. I truely vvvas angrie vvith my people, that I did profane my inheritance. 3. 4. 32.
48. 10. Beholde, I haue fined thee, but not as silver: I haue cholen thee approved in the fornace of affliction. 3. 4. 32
16. The Lorde God and his spirite sent me. 1. 13. 14.
49. 15. Doth the mother forgette her infante, that she shoulde not haue cōpassiō on the sonne of her vvōbe? &c. 1. 17. 6. & 3. 20. 36.
23. And kinges shall be thy nurse father, and Queenes thy nurses, &c. 4. 30. 5.
51. 6. The heauens shall vanish avvaye like smoke, & the earth shall vvaxe olde like a garmēt, & they that dvvel therein shall in like manncr perishe, but my saluation shall continue for euer, and my righteousnesse shall not faile. 2. 10. 15
52. 1. Arise: arise: put on thy strength O Sion: put on the garment of comelinessse O Ierusalem, the holy Citie: for henceforth there shall not come into thee the vncircuncised and vncleane. 4. 1. 17. & 4. 5. 17.
3. You vvvere sold for nought, & therefore you shall be redeemed vvithout money. 3. 4. 25.
7. Ohovv beautifull vpon the mountaines be the feete of them that declare and publish peace. 4. 3. 3.
53. 1. VVho hath beleued our preaching? & the arme of the Lord vnto vvhom hath it bene reveled? 1. 7. 5. & 3. 22. 10.
4. VVhere as notvvithstāding he bore our infirmities, & carried our griefes but vve esteemed him plagued vvith the striking of God, and afflicted. 2. 13
4. & 3. 4. 37. & 4. 17. 17
5. But he vvvas vvounded for our transgressions, & vvvas broken for our iniquities, the paine of our correction vvvas put vpō him, & by his vvoundes health is vnto vs. 2. 13. 4. & 2. 16. 5. & 2. 16. 9. & 2. 17. 4. & 3. 4. 30.
6. All vve like sheepe haue strayed, euery one hath folloved his ovvne vvayes, and the Lorde hath laide vp-pon him the iniquitie of vs all. 2. 16. 6. & 3. 4. 27. & 3. 12. 5. & 3. 24. 11.
7. He vvvas punished and afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth he vvvas led as a sheepe vnto the slaughter, & he vvvas still, as a Lambe before the sherers, and opened not his mouth. 2. 16. 5.
8. VVithout delaye & vvithout iudgement vvvas he taken, & vvho shall shewe his generation? for he vvvas cutte out of the lande of the liuing, &c. 2. 15. 3.
10. Yet the Lorde vvould breake him in vvakening him, that vvhen he shoulde make his soule an offering for sinne, he might see his seede, &c. 2. 7. 2.
11. For he shal beare their iniquities, 2. 16. 5. & 3. 13. 8.
12. And he vvvas reckened among the transgressors. 2. 16. 5.
54. 13. And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and much peace shall be to thy children. 1. 7. 5. & 2. 2. 20. & 3. 20. 10. & 3. 24. 14.
55. 1. O, all you that thirst, come to the vvaters, & you that haue no money come, bye meate and eate, &c. 2. 2. 10. & 3. 1. 3. & 3. 15. 4.
2. VVherefore do you lay out your money, & not for that vvhiche is meate and your labour for that that doth not satisfie? 3. 14. 15. & 4. 10. 15.
3. Encline your eares and come vnto me, harken and your soule shall liue, & I vvill strike an euerlasting cōcnaunt vvith you, euen the sure mercies of Dauid. 2. 6. 3. & 3. 2. 6.
4. Beholde, I gaue him for a vvittnesse to the people, for a prince & maister

The Table.

- vnto the people. 2.6.3.& 2.15.1.
6. Seeke the Lord vvhilest he may be
foud, call ye vpon him vvhilest he is
neere. 3.3.20.
- 56.1. keepe Iudgement and do Iustice
for my saluation is at hand to come,
& my righteousness to be reueled. 3.
3.20
2. Blessed is the man that doth this, &
the sonne of man that layeth holde
of it, that is to say, keping the Sab-
bath that he pollute it not, &c. 2.8.
29.
7. Those vwill I bring to my holy
mountaine, and make them ioyfull in
my house of prayer, there sacrifice
and burnt offerings shall be acce-
ptable on my altar, bicause my house
shalbe called the house of prayer for
all people. 3.10.29.
10. Their vwatchmen are all blinde,
they haue no knowvledge, they be
dumme dogges, &c. 4.9.3.
- 57.15. Thus saith the hie and excellent
he that inhabiteth the eternitie, &
vhose name is holy, &c. 3.12.6.
- 58.5. Is it such a fast that I haue cho-
sen, that a mā should afflikt his soule
for a day, or that he shoulde bow his
head? &c. 4.12.19.
6. And doe not I choose rather
this fast, to lose the bandes of iniqui-
tie? &c. 3.3.6.
7. And hide not thy selfe from thine
ovvne flesh. 3.7.6.
9. Then thou shalt call, and the Lorde
shall heare: thou shalt crie, and he
shall say, here I am. 3.20.14
13. If thou turne avway thy foote frō
the Sabbath, so that thou do not thy
ovvn vwill on my holy day, &c. 2.8.
31.& 2.8.34.
- 59.1. Beholde, the Lordes hand is not
shortned, that he can not saue, nei-
ther is his eare heauie that it can not
heare. 3.11.21.
9. But your iniquities haue seperated
betvene you and your God, & your
sinnes hath hid his face frō you, that
he will not heare 2.12.1.& 3.11.21.
7. Their feete do runne to euill, and
they make haste to shed innocene
bloud: the thoughtes of them are
vaine thoughtes, desolation and de-
struction is in their pathes. 2.3.2.
16. And vwhen the Lorde did see (and
that being abashed and vvondred)
that there vvas none, that there vvas
none I saye, that vvoulde offer him
selfe, he made his arme the sauegarde
thereof, and his righteousness did
sustaine it. 3.14.6.
17. He put on righteousness for a brest-
plate, and the helmet of saluation on
his head, &c. 3.11.12.
20. And the redemptor shall come to
Sion, and vnto them that turne from
their wickednes in Iacob. 3.3.20.21.
21. My spirite vvhich is vpon thee, &
my vvorde vvhich I haue put in thy
mouth, shall neuer depart out of thy
mouth, neither out of the mouth of
thy seede, &c. 1.7.4 & 1.9.1. & 4.1.5
- 60.2. Beholde, darknesse shall couer
the earth, and a mist the people, but
the Lorde shall rise vpon thee, and
his glory shall appeare vpon thee.
2.3.1
6. All they of Saba shal come, bringing
golde & incense, & they shall shevv
forth the praises of God. 4.5.17.
7. All the shepe of Ceder shall be ga-
thered vnto thee. 4.5.17.
19. The Sunne shall serue thee no more
for daye light, and the brightnesse of
the Moone shall not shevv to thee,
&c. 3.2.10.
- 61.1. The spirite of the Lorde God is
vpon me, for because the Lorde an-
nointed me, & sent me that I should
shevv glad thinges vnto the vveake,
&c. 2.15.2. & 3.3.20. & 3.4.3. & 3.12.7.
3. And they shall be called trees of
righteousnesse, and the planting of
the Lord, that he might be glorified.
3.14.16.
63. 10 But they did rebell and vexed
his holy spirite. 1.13.15.
16. For thou art our father, though
Abraham be ignoraunt of vs, and Is-
raell knowveth vs not, thou Lord art
our father, our redemer. 3.20.25. & 6.
17.

The Table.

17. O lorde, why hast thou made vs
to erre from thy wayes? why hast
thou hardened our heartes that vve
shoulde not feare thee? 2.4.4.& 3.3

64.5. Beholde thou art angry because
vve haue sinned. 3.20.8

6. VVe haue bin al as an vnclene thing,
& all our righteousnes is as a filthy
cloth, & vve all do fade like a leafe,
&c. 3.2.25

65.1. I haue bin sought of them that
asked not: I vvas found of them that
sought me not, &c. 3.24.2

3. I haue stretched out my handes
all the day to a rebellious people
vvhich go not in a good vway. 3.24

16. He that vwill blesse himselfe in the
earth, shall blesse himselfe in the
true God: and he that vwill sweare,
shall sweare by the true God, &c. 2

24. It shall come to passe, that before
they call, I vwill ansvvere: and as yet
they speaking, I vwill heare. 3.20.14

25. They shall no more hurt nor de-
stroy in my holy mountaine, &c. 4

66.1. Heauen is my throne, and the
earth is my footstool: where is that
house therfore that you build for me?
and vwhere is that place of my rest? 3

2. But to vvhō shal I haue regard, but
vnto him that is humble & of a bro-
ken spirite, & vvhō doth tremble at
my vvord. 3.12.6

22. For as the newe heauen and the
newe earth that I vwill make shal re-
mayne before me, sayth the lorde, so
shall your seede and name continue. 2.10.22

23. And there shalbe continuall newe
Moones and continuall Sabaothes,
and all fleshe shall come that it may
vvorship before me. 2.8.30

24. Their vvormes shall not die, and
their fire shal not be put out, & they
shall be lothsome vnto all flesh. 3.25

12

IEREMY.

1.6 O Lord God, beholde, I cannot
speake, for I am a childe. 4.8

9. Behold, I haue put my vvorde into
thy mouth. 4.8.3

10. Beholde this day haue I set thee o-
uer the nations and ouer kingdoms,
to plucke vp and to roote out, & to
destroy and scatter, that thou maist
build and plant. 4.8.3

2.13. For my people haue committed
tvo euils, they haue forsaken me
the fountaine of liuinge vvaters, to
digge the pits, euen broken pits that
can holde no vvaters. 3.20.14

3.1. They say, if a manne put avay his
vvife, and she go from him, and be-
come an other mans, &c. 2.8.18.& 4

2. Lift vp thy eies vnto the high pla-
ces, & beholde vvhere thou hast not
payd the harlot. &c. 2.8.18

12. Go and crie these vvords tovvards
the North, & say: thou disobedient
Israel, returne saith the lord, & I vvil
not let my vvraith fall vpon you: for
I am mercifull, &c. 4.1.25

4.1. O Israel, if thou returne, returne
vnto me, saith the lorde: and if thou
put avay thine abominations out
of my sight, then shalt thou not re-
moue. 2.5.10.& 3.3.6

4. Breake vp your fellovv grounne, &
sovv not among the thornes: be cir-
cumcised to the lord, and take avay
the foreskinnes of your hartes, ye
men of Iudah, and inhabitants of
Ierusalem, &c. 2.5.8.& 3.3.6,7.& 4

9. And in that day, sayth the lord, the
heart of the king shall perishe, and
the hart of the princes, & the priest
shal be astonished, and the prophers
shall vvonder. 4.9.6

11. At that time shal it be sayd to this
people, and to Ierusalem, a drie vvind
in the hie places of the vvildenes,
cometh tovvard the daughter of my
people, &c. 1.16.7

14. O Ierusalem, vvash thine hart frō

V V V V

The Table.

- vickednesse, &c. 2.5.8
- 5.3. Olorde, are not thy eyes vpon the trueth? thou hast stricken them, but they haue not forroved: thou hast consumed them, but they haue refused to receiue correction: they haue made their faces harder then a stone, and haue refused to turne. 3.4 35. & 3.14.8
7. Howve should I spare thee for this? thy children haue forsaken me, and shvorne by them that are no gods, &c. 2.8.23
14. Because ye spake such vvords, beholde, I vvill put my vvord into thy mouth, like a fire, and this people shall be as vvod, and it shal deuoure them. 3.24.13
- 6.13. For from the least of them, euen to the greatest of them, euery one is giuen to couetousnes: and from the Prophet euen to the Priest, they shal deale falsely. 4.2.3
- 7.4. Trust not in lying vvords, saying, the Temple of the lorde, the Temple of the lord: this is the Temple of the lord. 4.2.3
5. For if you amend and redresse your vvayes, and your vvorkes, if you execute iudgement betvvene a man and his neighbour, &c. 3.17.1
13. Therefore novve, because ye haue done all these vvorks, saith the lord, & I rose vp early and spake vnto you: but vvhen I spake you vvoulde not heare me, neither vvhen I called vvould ye ansvvere. 2.5.11
14. I vvill do vnto this house, vvheruppon my name is called, &c. as I haue done vnto Shilo. 2.5.11
22. For I spake not vnto your fathers, nor commaunded them, vvhen I brought them out of the lande of Egypt, concerning burnt offrings and sacrifices. 4.10.15
23. But this thing commaunded I the, sayinge, obey my voyce, so I vvill be your God, &c. 4.10.15, 17
27. Therefore shalt thou speake all these vvordes vnto them, but they vvill not heare thee: thou shalt also
- crie vnto them, but they vvill not ansvvere thee. 2.5.11
28. This is a nation that heareth not the voice of the lorde their God, nor receiueeth discipline. 2.5.11
- 9.23. Let not the vvise mā glory in his vvifdom, nor the strong manne glory in his strength, neither the rich man glory in his riches. 3.13.1
24. But let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he vnderstandeth and knowveth me, for I am the lorde vvich shewveth mercie, and iudgement, and righteoufnesse in the earth, &c. 1.10.2
- 10.2. Be not astraide for the signes of heauen, though the heathē be afraid of such. 2.16.3
8. But altogether they dote and are foolishhe, for the stocke is a doctrine of vanity. 1.11.5
11. The gods that haue not made the heauens and the earth, shall perishe from the earth, and from vnder these heauens. 1.13.23
23. Olorde, I knowv that the vvay of man is not in himselfe, neither is it in manne to vvake and to direct his steps. 2.16.6
24. Olorde correct me, but vvith iudgement, not in thine anger, least thou bring me to nothinge. 3.4.32
- 11.7. For I haue protested vnto your fathers, vvhen I brought them vp, out of the lande of Egypt, vnto this day, rising early, & protesting, saying: obey my voyce. 3.20.7. & 4.10.17
8. Neuertheless they vvoulde not obey, nor encline their care, &c. therefore I vvill bring vpon them all the vvordes of this couenant, vvich I commaunde them to do, &c. 3.20 7
11. Beholde, I vvill bringe a plague amonge them, vvich they shall not be able to escape, and though they crie vnto me, I vvill not heare them. 3.20.7
19. Let vs destroy the tree vvith the frute thereof, and cut him out of the land of the liuing, &c. 4.17.15 12.16. And

The Table.

- 12.16. And if they vwill learne the vvaies of my people, to svveare by my name, thelorde liueth, as they taught my people to svveare by Baal,&c. 2.8.23
- 14.7. Olorde, thoughour iniquities teltife against vs, deale vvith vs according to thy name:for our rebellions are many:vve sinned against thee 3.20.8
14. The Prophetes prophecy lyes in my name, I haue not sent them, neither did I cōmaund them,&c. 4.9.3
- 15.1. Though Moses & Samuel stonde before me,yet mine affection coulede not be toward this people: cast thē out of my sight,and let them depart. 3.20.23
- 17.1. The sinne of Iudah is vvrytten vvith a pen of irō, & vvith the point of a Diamonde,and grauen vpon the table of your hart , and vpon the hornes of your altars. 3.4.29
5. Thus sayth the lorde,cursed be the man that trusteth in manne, and maketh flesh his arme,and vvithdraweth his hart from the lorde. 2.2.10
9. The hart is deceitfull and wicked aboute all things, vvho can knowv it? 2.3.2
21. Take hede to your soules,& beare no burden on the Sabbath day, nor bringe it in by the gates of Ierusalem. 2.8.29
22. Neither cary forth burdens out of your houses on the Sabbath day:neither do you any vvorke,but sanctifie the Sabbath,&c. 3.8.29
27. But if you vvill not heare me to sanctifie the Sabbath day,and not to beare a burden, nor to go through the gates,&c. 2.8.29
- 18.8. But if this nation,against vvhom I haue pronounced,turne from their vvickednesse, I vvill repent of the plague that I thought to bring vpon them. 1.17.12
18. Come and let vs imagine some deuise against Ieremias : for the lawe shall not perish from the Priest, nor counsel from the vvife,nor the vvord from the prophet. 4.9.5
- 20.2. Thē Phassur (more Ieremiah the Prophet,and put him in the stockes, that vvere in the hie gate of Beniamin,vvvhich vvvas by the house of the lord. 4.9.6
- 21.12. Execute iudgement in the morninge,and deliuer the oppressed out of the hande of the oppressour,&c. 4.20.9
- 22.3. Execute ye iudgement and righteousness,and deliuer the oppressed from the hande of the oppressor,&c. 4.20.9
- 23.1. VVoe be vnto the pastors that destroy and scatter the sheepe of my pasture,sayth the lorde. 4.9.3
5. Beholde, the dayes come,sayth the lorde, that I vvill raise vnto Dauid a righteous braunche,and a king shall raigne and prosper, and shall execute iudgement and iustice in the earth. 2.6.3
6. And this is the name vvhereby they shall call him,the lorde our righteousness. 1.13.9.& 3.11.8
16. Heare not the vvordes of the prophetes that prophecie vnto you and teach you vanity,&c. 4.9.2
24. Do not I fill heauen & earth,sayth the lord? 4.1.5
28. The prophet that hath a dreame, lette him tell a dreame, and he that hath my vvorde,lette him speake my vvord faithfully. 4.8.3
- 24.7. And I vvill giue them an hart to knowve me,that I am the lorde, and they shall be my people, and I vvill be their God, for they shall retorne vnto me vvith their vvhole hart. 2.10
- 25.11. And this vvhole lande shall be desolate, and astonished, and these nations shall serue the king of Babel seventy yeares. 1.8.7
12. And vvhen the seventy yeares are accomplished, I vvill visite the king of Babel,and that nation, sayth the lord,for their iniquity,&c. 1.8.7
29. For loe, I beginne to plague the city,vvhere my name is called vpon, VVVV ij

The Table.

- and should you go free? &c. 3.4.34
27. 5. I haue made the earth, the man,
& the beast that are vpon the ground,
&c. 4.20.27
6. But now I haue giue all these lands
vnto the han ie of Nabuchadonozor
the king of Babylon my seruant, &c.
4.20.27, 28
7. And all nations shall serue him, and
his sonne, & his sonnes sonne, vntill
the very time of his land come also,
&c. 4.20.27
8. And the nation & kingdom vvhich
vwill not serue the same Nabuchado-
nazor kinge of Babell, and that vwill
not put their neck vnder the yoke of
the king of Babell, &c. 4.20.27
9. Therefore heare not your prophets,
nor your soothsayers, nor your drea-
mers, nor your inchaunters, nor your
forerers vvhich say vnto you thus,
ye shall not serue the king of Babell,
&c 4.9.3
14. Therefore heare not the vvords of
the prophetes that speake vnto you,
sayinge, ye shall not serue the king of
Babell, &c. 4.9.3
17. Heare them not, but serue the king
of Babell, that ye may liue, &c. 4.20
28
29. 7. And seeke the prosperity of the
Citie, vvwhether I haue caused you
to be caried avway captiues, and
pray vnto the lorde for it, for, &c. 4
20.28
31. 19. I haue heard Ephraim lameting
thus, thou hast corrected me, and I
vvas chastised as an vntamed calfe:
conuert thou me and I shall be con-
uerted: for thou art the lord my God
2.3.5. & 2.5.8. & 3.2.4.15
- 19 Surely after that I couerted, I re-
pentted, and after that I vvas instru-
cted, I smote vppon my thigh, &c. 2.5
8
31. Beholde, the daies come, saith the
lord, that I vvill make a newe co-
uenant vvith the house of Israell, &
vvith the house of Iudah. 2.11.7. & 3
4.29
32. Not according to the couenaunt
that I made vvith their fathers, vvhe
I tooke them by the hande, to bring
them out of the lande of Egypt, the
vvhich my couenant they brake, &c.
2.5.9. & 2.11.7
33. After those daies saith the lorde, I
vvill put my lawe in their invvarde
partes, and vvrite it in their hartes, &
vvill be their God, & they shalbe my
people. 2.8.14 & 3.20.45
34. For I vvill forgieue their iniquity,
and vvill remember their sinnes no
more. 3.4.29. & 3.20.45
35. Thus saith the lord, vvwhich gueth
the Sunne for a light to the day, and
the courtes of the Moone and of the
Starres, for a light to the night, &c.
4.17.17
32. 16. Now vvhen I hadde deliuered
the booke of the profession vnto Ba-
ruch, the sonne of Neriah, I prayed
vnto the lord, saying. 3.20.15
18. Thou shevest mercy vnto thou-
sandnes, and recompencest the ini-
quity of the fathers into the bosome
of their children after the, &c. 2.8.19
23. But they obeyed not thy voice,
neither vvalked in thy law: all that
thou commaundest them to do, they
haue not done, therefore thou hast
caused this vvhole plague to come v-
pon them, &c. 2.5.11
- 39 And I vvill geue them one hart &
one vvay, that they may feare me for
euer, for the vveth of thee, and of
their children after them, &c. 2.3.8
33. 8. And I vvill clense them from all
their iniquity, vvhereby they haue
sinned against me: yea, I vvill pardon
all their iniquities, vvherby they haue
sinned against me, &c. 3.20.45. & 4.1
20
16. And in those dayes shall Iuda be
saued, & Ierusalem shal dwell safely,
& he that shall call her, is the lorde
our righteousnes, &c. 1.13.9
42. 2. Heare our prayer, vve beseeche
thee, and pray for vs vnto the lorde
thy God, &c. 3.20.14
9. Thus sayth the lord God of Israell,
vnto vvhome ye sent me to present
your

The Table.

- your prayers before him , &c. 3.20
14
- 48.10. Cursed be he that doth the
vvorke of the lord negligently, &c.4
20.6
- 50.20. In those daies, & at that time,
sayth the lord, the iniquity of Israel,
shalbe sought for , and there shalbe
none : and the sinnes of Iuda, & they
shall not be founde, &c. 3.4.29
23. Howve is the hammer of the vvhole
vworld, destroyed & broken? howv is
Babell become desolate amonge the
nations, &c. 2.4.4
- 25 The lord hath opened his treasure,
& hath brought the vveapons of his
vvrath, for this is the vvorke of the
lord God of holtes, in the lād of the
Chaldeans, &c. 1.18.1
- LAMENTATIONS.
- 3.8. **A**lfo vvhē I crie and shout, he
shutteth out my prayer, &c.
3 20.16
38. Out of the mouth of the most
high proceedeth not euill and good?
1.17.8
- 4.20. The breth of our nostrels, the
Annointed of the lord vvas taken in
their nets, of vvhome vve said, vnder
his shadowve vve shalbe preferued a-
liue among the heathen, &c. 2.6.2
- EZECHIEL.
- 1.20. **W**Hether their spirit led them,
they vvent, and thither did
the spirit of the vvhēles lead them, &
the vvhēles vvere lifted vp besides
them , for the spirite of the beastes,
&c. 4.19.22
- 2.3. Sonne of man, I sende thee to the
children of Israel, to a rebellious na-
tio that hath rebelled against me: for
they and their fathers haue rebelled
against me : euen vnto this very day.
3.24.13
4. They are impudent children , and
stiffe harted : I do sende thee vnto
them, &c. 3.24.13
- 3.17. Sonne of man, I haue made thee
a vvatchman vnto the house of Isra-
ell : therefore heare the vvord at my
mouth, & glue them vvarning from
- me &c. 4.8.3
18. The same vvicked man shal die in
his iniquitie : but his blood vvill I
require at thine hand, &c. 4.2.5. & 4
3.6
- 7.26. Calamitie shall come vppon ca-
lamity, and rumor shalbe vppon ru-
mor: then shall they seeke a vision of
the prophet : but the lawe shall pe-
rish frō the priest, and counsell from
the auncient, &c. 1.18.2. & 4.9.6
- 10.4. Then the glory of the lord vvent
vp from the Cherub, and stode ouer
the dore of the house; &c. 4.2.3
5. And the sounde of the cherubins
vvinges vvas hearde into the outer
court, &c. 1.14.8
- 11.19. And I vvill giue them one hart,
and I vvill put a newve spirit vvithin
their bowvells: & I vvill take the stony
hart out of their bodies, & vvill giue
them an heart of fleshe, &c. 1.13.10
& 2.3.8. & 2.5.5. & 3.24.1
20. That they may vvalk in my sta-
tures and kepe my iudgementes, and
execute them : and they shalbe my
people, and I vvill be their God, &c.
2.5.5
- 12.2. They are a rebellious house, &c.
3.24.13
13. My net also vvill I spread vppon
him, and he shalbe taken in my net,
and I vvill bring him to Babel, to the
lande of the Chaldeans, yet shall he
not see it, though he shall die there,
&c. 2.4.4
- 13.9. They shall not be in the assem-
bly of my people, neither shall they
be vvrytten in the vvritinge of the
house of Israel, &c. 2.24.9 & 4.1.4
- 14.9. And if the prophet be deceiued
vvhen he hath spoken a thing, I the
lorde haue deceiued that prophet,
&c. 1.18.2
14. Though these three menne Noah,
Daniell, and Iob, vvēre among them,
they shoulde deliuer but their ovvne
soules by their righteousnesse, &c. 3
20.23
- 16.20. Moreover thou hast taken thy
sonnes and thy daughters, vvhome
VVVV iiij

The Table.

- thou hast borne vnto me, and these
hast thou sacrificed vnto them, to be
deuoured, &c. 2. 2. 11. & 4. 16. 24
17. 20. And I vwill spread my net vpon
him, & he shalbe taken in my net, & I
vvil bring him to Babell, and vvil en-
ter into iudgement vvith him, ther-
fore his trespas, that he hath com-
mitted against me, &c. 2. 4. 4
18. 4. The soule that sinneth shall die,
&c. 2. 8. 4. & 3. 4. 28
9. He that hath vvalked in my statutes,
and hath kept my iudgements to
deale truely, he is iust, he shal surely
liue, sayth the lord God, &c. 3. 17. 15
20. The same soule vvich sinneth
shal die: the sonne shal not beare the
iniquity of the father, neither shall
the father beare the iniquity of the
sonne, &c. 2. 8. 9. & 2. 8. 19. & 2. 8. 10
& 2. 8. 59 & 3. 3. 24
21. But if the vvicked vvil returne fro
all his sinnes, that he hath comitted,
and kepe all my statutes, and do that
vvich is lawfull and right, he shall
surely liue and not die. 3. 3. 24. & 3. 4
18. & 3. 17. 15
23. Haue I any desire that the vvicked
should die, sayth the lord God? or
shall he not liue, if he returne from
his vvayes? 4. 1. 25
24. But if the righteous returne from
his righteousness, & comit iniquity,
and do according to al the abhomi-
nations, that the vvicked man doth,
&c. 3. 4. 29. & 3. 14. 10
27. Againe, vvhe the vvicked turneth
avvay from his vvickednesse that he
hath committed, & doth that vvich
is lawfull and right, he shall saue his
soule aliuie, &c. 3. 4. 29
31. Cast avvay from you al your tras-
gressions, vvhereby you haue trans-
gressed, & make you a new hart, and
a new spirit, &c. 3. 3. 6
32. For I desire not the death of him
that dieth, sayth the lord God: cause
therefore one an other to returne, &
liue ye. 4. 1. 25
19. 12. And the east vvinde dried vp
her frute, &c. 1. 16. 7
20. 11. And I gaue them my statutes, &
declared my iudgements vnto the,
vvich if a manne do, he shall liue in
them, &c. 3. 17. 3
12. Moreouer I gaue the also my sab-
bathes, to be a signe betvvene me
& them, that they might know that
I am the lord that sanctifieth them,
&c. 2. 8. 29
42. And ye shall knowve that I am the
lord, vvhe I shall bring you into the
lande of Israell, into the lande, &c.
3. 13. 1
43. And there shal you remeber your
vvayes, and all your vvorkes vvherin
ye haue bin defiled, &c. 3. 13. 1
22. 8. Thou hast despised my holy
thinges, and hast polluted my Sab-
bathes. 2. 8. 29
25. There is a conspiracy of her Pro-
phetes in the middes thereof like
a roaringe Lyon, raueninge the pray:
they haue deuoured soules, &c. 4. 9. 3
26. Her Priestes haue broken my law:
and haue defiled mine holy thinges,
they haue put no differēce betvvene
the holy, and prophane, &c. 4. 9. 3
23. 37. And haue also caused their sons,
vvhome they bare vnto me, to passe
by the fire to be their meat. 4. 16. 24
38. They haue defiled my sanctuary in
the same day, & haue prophaned my
Sabbathes. 2. 8. 29
28. 10. Thou shalt die the death of the
vncircūcised, by the hands of straun-
gers: for I haue spoken it, sayth the
Lord God. 2. 10. 18
29. 4. But I vwill put hookes in thy
chawes, and I vwill cause the fishe of
thy riuers to sticke vnto thy scales,
&c. 1. 17. 11
19. Beholde, I vwill giue the lande of
Egypt vnto Nebuchadnezar the
king of Babell, and he shall take her
multitude, and spoyle her spoyle, &
take her pray, & it shall be the vva-
ges for his atmy. 4. 20. 26
20. I haue giuen him the land of Egypt
for his labour, that he serued agaynst
it, because they vvrought for me. 4
20. 26
31. 18. Thou

The Table.

- 31.18. Thou shalt slepe in the middett
of the vncircumcised, vvith them
that be slaine by the svord: this is
Pharao, and all his multitude, &c.
2.10.18
- 33.8. He shall dy for his iniquitie, but
his blood vvill I requier at thy hand,
&c. 4.12.5
11. I desire not the death of the vvic-
ked, but that the vvicked turne from
his vvay and liue, &c. 3.24.15
14. If he returne from his sinne, and do
that vvhich is lauvfull and right, &c.
3.17.15
- 34.4. But vvith crueltie and vvith ri-
gour haue ye ruled them, &c. 4.11.14
23. And I vvill set vpa sheperd ouer
them, and he shall feede them, euen
my seruauant Dauid. he shall feede
them, & he shalbe their sheperd. 2.6.3
- 36.21. But I fauoured mine holy name
vvhich the house of Israell had pol-
luted among the heathen vvwhether
they vvent, &c. 3.4.30
22. I do not this for your sakes, O
house of Israell, but for mine holy
names sake, vvhich ye polluted amog
the heathen, &c. 3.12.3. & 3.15.2
25. Then vvill I poure cleane vvater
vpon you, and ye shalbe cleane,
yea, from all your filthynes, and from
all your ydoles vvill I cleanse you,
&c. 3.1.3
26. A nerue hart vvill I geue you, and
a nerue spirit vvill I put vvithin
you, and I vvill take avway the stony
hart out of your body, and vvill giue
you a hart of fleshe. 2.3.6. & 2.5.8. &
3.24.1. & 3.24.15
27. And I vvill put my spirit vvith in
yours, and cause you to vvake in my
statutes, and ye shall kepe my iudge-
ments and do them. 1.3.10. & 2.3.6
32. Be it knowven vnto you, that I
do not this for your sakes, saith the
lorde God: therefore O ye house
of Israell, be ashamed and con-
founded for your ovne vvayes. 3.4.3
& 3.12.3. & 3.15.2
- 37.4. Againe he said vnto me, pro-
phecie vpon these bones and say vnto

- them, O ye dry bones, heare the
vvord of the lorde. 2.10.21
25. And my seruauant Dauid shalbe
their prince for euer. 2.6.3
26. Moreouer, I vvill make a coue-
naunt of peace vvith them: it shalbe
an euerlasting couenaunt vvith them,
&c. 2.6.3
- 48.21. And the residue shalbe for the
prince on the one side and on the
other of the oblation of the san-
ctuarie, and of the possession of the
cite, &c. 4.2.13
35. And the name of the cite from
that day shalbe, The lorde is there.
1.13.4

D A N I E L.

- 2.21. **H**E taketh avway kings: & setteth
vp kings, &c. 4.20.26
37. Thou art a king of all kings: for
the God of heauen hath geuen thee
kingdome, povver, and strength,
and glorie. 4.20.26
44. And in the dayes of these kings,
shall the God of heauen set vp a
kingdome, vvhich shall neuer be de-
stroyed: and this kingdome shall not
be geuen to an other people, but
shall breake and destroy all these
kingdomes, and it shall stand for
euer, &c. 2.15.3
- 4.24. VVherfore, O king, let my counsell
be acceptable vnto thee, and breake
of thy sinnes by righteousnesse, and
thine iniquities by mercie tovvards
the poore, &c. 3.4.31. & 3.4.36
- 5.18. The most high God gaue vnto
Nebuchadnezer thy Father a king-
dome, and maiestie, and honor, and
glory, &c. 4.20.26
- 6.22. And vnto thee, O king, I haue
done no hurt, &c. 4.20.32
- 7.4. The first vvvas as a Lion, and had
egles vvings: I beheld, till the
vvings therof vvvere plucked of, &c.
1.8.7
10. And ten thousand thousandes stode
before him: the iudgement vvvas set
and the bookes opened. 1.14.5. & 1.14
8. & 3.2.41
25. And shall speake vvordes against
VVVV iiiij

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the most highe, and shall consume the
saintes of the most highe, and thinke
that he may chaunge times , and
Lauves,&c. 4 7.25

9.5. VVe haue sinned , and haue com-
mitted iniquitie , and haue done
vickedly, yea vve haue rebelled, and
haue departed from thy preceptes,
and from thy iudgements. 3 4.9

7. O Lorde, righteousnesse belongeth
vnto thee , and vnto vs open shame,
&c. 4.20.29

10. For vve haue not obeyed the voice
of the lorde our God , to walke in
his vvayes, vvvhich he had leyd be-
fore vs , by the ministrie of his ser-
uants the Prophets. 2.5.11

18. For vve do not present our suppli-
cations before thee for our owne
righteousnesse, but for thy great tēdre
mercies. 3.20.8 & 3.20.14

24. Seuentie vvekes are determined
vpon thy people, and vpon thy holy
citie, to finish thy vickednes, and to
seale vp thy sinnes , and to reconcile
thy iniquitie, and to bring in euerla-
sting righteousnesse, &c. 2.7.2 & 2
15.1. & 2.15.6

27. And he shall confirme the coue-
nant vvith many for one vveke: and
in the middes of the vveke , he shall
cause the oblation and sacrifice to
cease : and for the ouer spreading of
the abominations , he shall leaue it
desolate, &c. 4.2.12

10.13. But the prince of the kingdom
of Persia vvithstode me, &c. 1.14.7

20. But nowve I vvill returne to fight
vvith the Prince, of Persia, &c. 1.14.7

12.1. And at that time shall Michaell
stand vp, the great Prince, vvvhich
standeth for the childre of the people,
and there shalbe a time of trouble,
&c. 1.14.7. & 1.14.8. & 2.10.11

2. And many of them that slepe in
the dust of the earth , shall awake,
some to euerlasting life , and some to
shame and perpetuall contempt. 3
25.7

3. And they that be vvise , shall shine
as the brightnes of the firmament:

and they that turne many to righte-
ousnesse , shall shine as the starres,
for euer and euer. 3.25.10

O S E A.

1.11. T H E N shall the childre of Iudah,
and the children of Israhell be
gathered together, & appoint them-
selues one head, and they shall come
vp out of the land, &c. 2.6.3

2.5. For their mother hath plaide the
harlot: she that deceaued them, hath
done shamefully. for she said, I vvill
go after my louers, &c. 2.8.18

18. And in that day I vvill make a
covenant for them, vvith the vvilde
beastes , and vvith the foules of the
heauē, and vvith them that creepeth
vpon the earth, &c. 4.1.20

19. And I vvill marry thee vnto me
for euer: yea I vvill marry thee vnto
me in righteousnesse , and in iudge-
ment, & in mercy, and in compassion.
3.14.6. & 4.1.20

23. And I vvill haue mercie vpon her,
that vvas not pitied, and I vvill say
to them vvvhich vv ere not my people,
thou art my people: and they shall
say, thou art my God. 3.14.6

8.5. Aftervvard shall the children of
Israhell conuert , and seeke the lorde
their God, and Dauid their king, and
shall feare the lord , & his goodnesse
in the latter daies. 2.6.3. & 3.2.23

5.11. Ephraim is oppressed, and broken
in iudgement , because he vvillingly
vwalked after the commandement.
4.20.32

15. I vvill go, and returne to my place,
till they acknowvledge their fault,
and seeke me, &c. 2.5.13

6.1. Come, & let vs returne to the lord:
for he hath spoiled, and he vvill heale
vs : he hath vvounded vs, and he vvill
binde vs vp. 3.3.2

7.8. Ephraim is as a cake on the hearth
not turned. 3.4.3.5

8.4. They haue set vp a king , but not
by me, &c. 1.18.4

9.8. The vvatchman of Ephraim, should
be in vvith my God: but that prophet
is the snare of a fouler in all his
vvayes,

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- vvayes, and hatred in the house of his God. 4.9.3
- 12.5. Yea, the lorde God of hostes, the lord himselfe is his memoriall. 1.13.10
- 13.11. I gaue thee a king in mine anger, and I tooke him avway in my vvrath. 1.13.4. & 4.20.25
13. The iniquitie of Ephraim is bound vp, and his sinne is hid. 3.4.29
14. I vwill redeeme the from the povver of the graue: I vwill deliuer them from death: O Death, I vwill be thy death: O graue, I vwill be thy destruction, &c. 3.25.10.
- 14.2. Take avway all iniquitie, and receaue vs graciously: so vwill vvereder the calues of our lippes. 3.4.30. & 3.20.28. & 4.18.17
3. As shur shall not saue vs, neither vwill vve ride vpon horses: neither vwill vve say any more to the vvorke of our handes, ye are our gods: for in thee, the fatherlesse findeth mercy. 1.11.4
4. I vwill heale their rebellion: I vwill loue them freely: for mine anger is turned avway from them. 3.14.6
- I O E L.
- 2.12. T Vrne you vnto me, vvith all your harte, & vvith fasting, and vvith weeping, and vvith mourning. 2.5.8. & 3.3.17
13. And rent your harte, and not your clothes, &c. 3.3.16. & 4.12.19
15. Blovve the trumpet in Zion, sanctifie a featt, call a solemne assemblie. 4.12.14 & 4.12.17
28. And after vvard, vwill I poure out my spirit vppon all fleshe: and your sonnes, and your daughters shall prophecie: your olde men shall dreame dreames, and your yonge men shall see visitions. 2.15.2. & 3.1.2. & 4.18.4
33. But vvhosocuer shall call vppon the name of the lorde, shalbe saued: for in mount Zion, and in Ierusalem shalbe deliuerance, &c. 1.13.3. & 1.13.20. & 3.20.2 & 3.20.14. & 4.1.3 & 4.1.4
- 3.17. Then shall Ierusalem bee holy, & there shall no strāgers go thorovv

her any more.

4.1.17

A M O S.

- 1.2. T He lorde shall roare from zion, and vtter his voice from Ierusalem. &c. 2.8.15
- 3.6. Or shall there be euill in a citie, and the lorde hath not done it? 1.17.8 & 1.18.3
- 4.7. And also I haue vvithboulden the raine from you, vvhen there vvere yet three monthes to the haruest, and I caused it to raine vppon one citie, and haue not caused it to raine vppon an other, &c. 3.22.10
- 5.14. Secke good and not euell, that ye may liue, &c. 2.5.10
- 6.1. VVo to them that are at ease in Zion, &c. 3.19.9
4. They lie vppon beddes of yuorie, and stretch themselues vppon their beddes, &c. 3.19.9
- 8.11. Beholde, the dayes come, sayeth the lorde God, that I vwill send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for vvater, but of hearing of the vvord of the lorde. 3.22.10
- 9.11. In that day vwill I raise vp the Tabernacle of Dauid. that is fallē dovv, and close vp the breaches thereof, & I vwill raise vp his ruines, and I vwill build it as in the dayes of olde. 2.6.3
- A B D I A S.
- B Vt vppon mount Zion, shalbe deliuerance, &c. 4.1.13
- I O N A S.
- 1.4. B Vt the lorde sent out a great vvinde into the sea, and there vvvas a mighty tempest in the sea, &c. 1.16.7
- 2.9. But I vwill sacrifice vnto thee, vvith the voice of thankes geuing, and vwill pay that I haue vvowed: saluation is of the lorde. 3.20.28
- 3.4. Yet forty dayes, and Niniueth shalbe ouerthrowen. 1.17.12
5. So the people of Niniueth beleued God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them, euen to the lest of them. 3.3.4 & 4.1.17

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10. And God saue their vworkes that they turned from their euill vvayes: and God repented of the euill that he had said, that he vvould do vnto them, and he did it not. 1.17.14

MICHEAS.

2.13. **T**He breaker vp shall come vp before the: they shall breake out and passe by the gate, and go out by it, and the lorde shalbe vpon their heades. 2.6.3

3.6. Therefore night shalbe vnto you for a vision, and darkenes shalbe vnto you for a diuination, and the sunne shall go dovvne ouer the prophets, and the day shalbe darke ouer them. 4.9.6

5.2. And thou Bethel Ephraim, art little to be among so many thousandes of Iudah, yet out of thee shall he come forth vnto me, that shalbe the ruler in Israell: vvwhose goings, &c. 2.14.7

13. Thine Idoles also vvill I cut of, and thy images out of the middes of thee: and thou shalt no more vvorshippe the vvorke of thine handes. 1.11.4

7.9. I vvill beare the vvrrath of the lorde, because I haue sinned against him, vntill he pleade my caule, &c. 3.4.32.

19. He vvill subdue our iniquities, and cast all their sinnes into the bottome of the sea. 3.4.29

HABACVC.

1.12. **A**Re not thou of oulde, o lorde my God mine holy one? vve shall not dy, o lorde, &c. 2.10.8

2.3. Though it tarry, vvait: for it shall surely come, & shall not stay. 3.2.42

4. But the iust shall liue by his faith. 3.14.11. & 3.18.5

18. VVhat profiteth the images, for the maker thereof hath made it an image? and a teacher of lies, though he that made it, trust therein, vvhen he maketh dūme idols. 1.5.12. & 1.11.5

20. But the lorde is in his holy Temple: let all the earth kepe silence before him. 1.5.12. & 1.10.3. & 2.8.15

3.2. In vvrrath remember mercie. 3.

4.32

3. God commeth from Teman, &c. 1.13.27

23. Thou vvntest forth for the saluation of thy people, euen for saluation vvith thine annoited, &c. 2.6.3

SOPHONIAS.

1.5. **A**nd them that vvorshipp the hoste of heauen vpon the house toppes, & them that vvorship and svveare by the lorde, and by Malcham, &c. 2.8.23

3.11. For then I vvill take avvay out of the middes of thee, the that reioice of thy pride, and thou shalt no more be proud of mine holy mountaine. 3.12.6

HAGGEVS.

2.12. **A**Ske novve the priests concerning the lavve, and say, if one beare holie fleshe in the skirt of his garment, &c. 3.14.7

ZACHARIAS.

1.3. **T**Urne ve vnto me, sayeth the lord of hostes, & I vvill turne vnto you, &c. 2.5.9. & 3.24.15

2.4. And an other angell vvnt out to meete him, and said vnto him: runne, speake to this yonge man, and say, Ierusalem shalbe inhabited vvithout vvalles, for the multitude of men & cattell that are therein. 1.13.10

8. For he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye. 1.13.10. & 1.17.6

11. And many nations shalbe ioined to the lorde in that day, and shalbe my people: and I vvill dvvell in the middes of thee, & thou shalt knowv that the lorde of hostes hath sent me vnto thee. 1.13.10

13. And the lorde shall inherit Iudah his portion in the holy lande, and shall chose Ierusalem againe. 3.21.5

3.10. In that day, sayeth the lorde of hostes, shall ye call euery man his neighbour vnder the vine, and vnder the fig tree. 3.13.4

7.17. Therefore it is come to passe, that as hee cried and they vvould not heare, so they cried, and I vvould not

nor

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- not heare, sayeth the lorde of hostes. 3. 3. 24
- 9.9. Reioice greatlie, o daughter Sion: shout for ioy, o daughter Ierusalem: beholde, thy king commeth vnto thee: he is iust and laued, poore, &c. 2. 6. 3. & 2. 17. 6
11. Thou also shalt be saued, through the blood of the couenaunt I haue loosed thy prisoners out of the pit vwherein vvas no vwater. 2. 16. 9
12. 4. In that day I vwill smite, saith the lorde, euery horse vwith stonishment, and his rider vwith madnesse, &c. 4. 9. 5
13. 9. They shall call on my name, and I vwill heare them: I vwill say, it is my people, and they shall say, the lorde is my God. 3. 20. 13
14. 9. And the lorde shalbe king ouer all the earth: in that day shalbe one lord, and his name shalbe one. 1. 12. 3
- MALACHI AS.
1. 2. VVAS not Esau Iacobs brother? saith the lorde, &c. 3. 21. 6
3. Yet I loued Iacob, and I hated Esau, &c. 3. 21. 6
6. A sonne honoreth his Father, and a seruaunt his maister. If then I be a father, vwhere is mine honor, and if I be a maister, vwhere is my feare, &c. 2. 8. 14. & 3. 2. 26 & 3. 6. 3
11. For from the rising of the Sonne, vnto the going downe of the same, my name is great among the gētiles. And in euery place infence shalbe offered vnto my name: and a pure offering, &c. 4. 18. 4 & 4. 18. 16
2. 4. And ye shall knowe, that I haue sent this commaundement vnto you, that my couenaunt, vvhich I made vwith Leui, might stand, saith the lorde of hostes. 4. 2. 3. & 4. 8. 2
5. My couenaunt vvas vwith him of life and peace, and I gaue him feare, and he feared me, and vvas a fraid before my name. 4. 2. 3
6. The lavv of truth vvas in his mouth: and there vvas no iniquitie found in his lippes. 4. 2. 3. & 4. 8. 2
7. For the Priests lippes should kepe

- knowvledge, and they should seke the lavve at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the lorde of hostes. 4. 8 2. & 4. 8. 6. & 4. 9. 2
8. But ye are gone out of the vway: ye haue caused many to fall by the lavv: ye haue broken the couenaunt of Leui, &c. 4. 7. 30
3. 1. And the lord vvhom ye seke, shall spedely come to his Temple: euen the messenger of the couenaunt vvhom ye desire, &c. 1. 13. 10. & 1. 14. 9
17. I vwill spare the, as a mā spareth his ovvn sonne that serueth him. 3. 19. 5
4. 1. For behould, the day cōmēth that shall burne as an ouen: and all the proude, yea, & all that do vvickedly, shall be as stubble, and the day that commeth shall burne them vp, &c. 3. 24. 12
2. But vnto you that feare my name, shall the sunne of righteousnesse, &c. 2. 6. 1. & 3. 24. 12
4. Remember the lavve of Moses my seruaunt, vvhich I commaunded vnto him in Horeb for all Israell, &c. 4. 8. 6
5. Behould, I vwill send you Eliah the prophet before the comming of the great and fearefull day of the lorde. 2. 9. 5
6. And he shall turne the harte of the fathers to their children, and the hart of the children to their Fathers, &c. 4. 1. 6

TOBIAS.

3. 25. A Nd Raphaell vvas sent to heale them both, &c. 1. 14. 8
- SAPIENTIA.
14. 16. T Hus by proesse of time this vvicked custome preuailed, and vvas kept as a lavve, and ydoles vvere vvorshipped by the cōmaundement of tyrants. 1. 11. 8
- ECCLESIASTICVS.
15. 14. G Od made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his counsell, and gaue him his commaundements and preceptes. 2. 15. 18
15. If thou vvilt, thou shalt obserue

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- the commandements , and testifie thy good will. 2.15.18
16. He hath set vwater and fier before thee, stretch out thy hād vnto vvhich thou wilt. 2.15.18
17. Before man is life and death: good and euell : vvhath him liketh shalbe geuen him. 2.15.8
- 16.14. He will geue place to all good deedes, & euery one shall find, according to his vworks, & after the vnder standing of his pilgrimage. 3.15.4

B A R V C H.

- 2.18. **B**Vt the soule that is vexed for the greatnes of sinne, and he that goeth cokedly, and vweake, and the eyes that fayle, and the hungry soule will geue thee praise & righteousness, &c. 3.20.8
19. For vve do not require mercy in thy sight, O lorde our God, for the righteousness of our Fathers, or of our kings. 3.20.8
20. But because thou hast sent out thy vvrath and indignation vpon vs, as thou hast spoken by thy seruants the prophets, &c. 3.20.8

1. M A C H A B E E S.

- 1.59. **A**Nd the Bookes of the lawe, vvhich they founde, they burnt in the fire, and cut in pieces. 1.8.9

11. M A C H A B E E S.

- 12.43. **A**Nd hauing made a gathering through the companie, sent to Ierusalem about tivo thousand drachmes of siluer, to offer a sinne offering, &c. 3.5.8
- 15.39. If I haue done vvell, and as the storie required, it is the thing that I desired: but if I haue spoken slenderly and barely, it is that I could. 3.5.8

M A T T H E V V E.

- 1.5. **A**Nd Salomon begate Booz of Rachab, and Booz begate Obed of Ruth, & Obed begate Iesse. 2.13.3
16. And Iacob begate Ioseph the husband of Marie, of vvhom vvas borne Iesus vvhich is called Christ. 2.13.3

21. And she shall bring forth a sonne, and thou shalt call his name Iesus: for he shall saue his people from their sinnes. 2.6.1
23. Beholde, a virgine shalbe vvith child, and shall beare a sonne, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, vvhich is by interpretation, God vvith vs. 2.12.1
- 2.6. And thou Bethlem in the land of Iuda, art not the least among the Princes of Iuda: for out of thee shall come the gouernour that shall feede my people Israell. 2.14.7
- 3.2. Iohn said, Repent: for the kingdom of heauen is at hand. 3.3.2.8 & 3.3.5. & 3.3.19
6. And they vvere baptized of him in Iordæn, confessing their sinnes. 3.4.6. & 4.15.6. & 4.16.24
11. In deede I baptize you vvith vwater to amendement of life, &c. 4.15.6. & 4.15.8 & 4.16.25
12. VVhich hath his fanne in his hand, and will make cleane his floore, and gether his vvheat into his garner, but will burne vp the chaffe vvith vnquencheable fire. 3.25.12. & 4.1.13 & 4.1.19
13. Then came Iesus from Galile to Iordan vnto Iohn, to be baptized of him. 4.15.6 & 4.16.27
15. Let be now: for thus it becometh vs to fulfill all righteousness. So he suffered him. 2.16.5
16. And Iohn saue the spirit of God descending like a doue, and lighting vpon him. 1.11.3. & 4.17.21. & 4.19.20
17. And lo, a voice came from heauen, saying: this is my beloued sonne, in vvhom I am vvell pleased. 2.16.11. & & 3.2.32. & 3.8.1.8 & 3.24.5
- 4.2. And vvhen he had fasted fortie dayes and fortie nights, he vvas afterward hungrie. 4.12.30
3. Then came to him the tempter, and said, if thou bee the sonne of God, comaunde that these stones be made bread. 3.20.46
4. Man shall not liue by bread onely, but

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- but by euerie vword that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. 3.20.44.
10. Then said Iesus vnto him, auoide sathan: for it is vvritten, thou shalt vvorship the Lorde thy God, and him onely shalt thou serue. 1.12.3.
11. Then the deuill lefte him: and behoulde, the angels came, and ministered vnto him. 1.14.6.
17. From that time Iesus began to preache, and to say, Amende your liues: for the kingdome of heauen is at hande. 2.9.2.& 3.3.2.& 3.3.19.
19. Followv me and I vvill make you fishers of men. 4.16.31.
53. Blessed are the poore in spirit, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. 3.17.10.
4. Blessed are they that mourne, for they shalbe comforted. 3.8.9.
8. Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God. 3.25.6.
10. Blessed are they vvvhich suffer persecutiō for righteousnes sake: for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. 3.8.7.
12. Reioice and be glad, for great is youre rewuarde in heauen, &c. 3.18.1.
13. Ye are the salt of the earth, &c. 4.3.3.& 4.5.14.& 4.8.4.
14. Ye are the light of the vvorld, &c. 4.3.3.& 4.5.14.& 4.8.4.
15. Neither doe men light a candell & put it vnder a bushell, but on a candellticke, & it geueth light vnto all that are in the house. 1.11.14.
16. Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good vvorkes and glorifie your father vvvhich is in heauen. 3.16.3.
17. Thinke not that I am come to destroy the lawe, or the prophets. I am not come to destroy them, but to fulfill them. 2.7.14.
19. Vvhosoever therfore shall breake one of these least commandements and teache men so, he shalbe called the least in the kingdome of heauen but vvhosoever shall obserue, &c. 2.8.59.
21. Ye haue heard, that it vvvas said vnto them of the olde time, thou shalt not kill: for vvhosoever killeth, shall be culpable of iudgement. 4.20.10.
22. But I say vnto you, vvhosoever is angrie vvith his brother vnadvisedlie shalbe culpable of iudgement, &c. 2.8.7.& 2.8.39.
25. Agree vvith thine aduersarie quicklie, vvvhiles thou art in the vvay vvith him left, &c. 3.5.7.
26. Verelie I say vnto thee, thou shalt not come out thence, till thou hast payed the vttermoste farthing. 3.5.7.& 3.25.6.
28. Vvhosoever loketh on a vvoman to lust after her, hathe committed adulterie vvith her allreadie in his harte. 2.8.7.
34. Swear not at all neither by heauē, &c. 2.8.26.& 4.13.12.
39. But I say vnto you, resist not euill: but vvhosoever shall smite the on the right cheke, turne to him the other also. 4.20.19.& 4.20.20.
44. Loue your enemies: blesse thē that curse you, &c. 2.8.57.& 3.7.6.& 4.13.12.
45. That ye may be the children of your father vvvhiche is in heauen: for he maketh his sunne to arise on the euill, and on the good, &c. 3.20.15.& 3.24.16.& 3.25.9.
46. For if you loue them vvvhiche loue you, vvhat rewuarde shall you haue? doe not the publicas euen the same. 2.8.57.
- 6.2. Therfore vvhen thou geuest thine almes, thou shalt not make a trumpet to be blowen before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues, & in the stretes, to be praised of men. Verelie I say vnto you, they haue their rewuarde. 3.7.2.
6. But vvhen thou praieest, enter into thy chamber: and vvhen thou hast shut the doore, pray to thy father vvvhich is in secrete, &c. 3.20.29.
7. Alto vvhen ye pray, vse no vaine repetitions as the hearthen, for they to be heard, for their much babling, thinke 3.20.29.
9. After this maner therfore pray ye:

The Table.

- Our father which art in heauen, ha-
loved be thy name, &c. 3. 20. 6. & 3.
20. 34
11. Geue vs this day our daylie bread
2. 5. 14.
12. And forgeue vs our detts, as vve al-
so forgeue our detters. 3. 4. 38. & 4. 1. 23
21. For vvhether your treasure is, there
vwill your heart be also. 3. 2. 25. & 3.
18 6. & 3. 25. 1
23. But if thine eye be vvvicked, then all
thy bodie shal be darke. VVherfor if
the light vvhich is in thee be darkened
hovv great is that darkened? 3. 2. 25.
7. 7. Aske, & it shal be geuen you: seeke
& ye shall finde: knocke, and it shall
be opened vnto you. 3. 20. 13.
11. If ye then vvhiche are euell, can
geue to your children good giftes,
hovv muche more shall your father
vvhich is in heauē, geue good things
to them that aske him? 3. 20. 36.
12. Therefore, vvhatsoeuer ye vvdōe
that men shoulde doe vnto you, euen
so doe ye to thē: For this is the law
and the prophetes. 2. 8. 53.
25. Beware of false prophets, vvhiche
come to you in shepes clothing, but
inwardlie they are raueninge vvolfes
4 9. 4.
8. 4. Then Iesus sayd vnto him, see thou
tell no man: but goe, and shew thy
selfe vnto the priest, and offer the gift
that Moses cōmaunded, for a vvitness
to them. 3. 4. 4.
10. And vvhē Iesus heard this, hee
meruayled, and sayd to them vvhiche
folloved him: verelie I say vnto you
I haue not found so great fayth euen
in Israel. 3. 2. 13
11. Manie shal come from the East and
from the VVest, and shall sitt downe
vvith Abraham, and Isaac and Iacob
in the kingdome of heauen. 2. 10. 23.
& 4. 16. 13.
12. And the children of the kingdome
shal be cast out into vtter darkened:
there shal be vveping and gnashing
of teeth. 3. 25. 12.
13. Thē Iesus sayd vnto the Cēturion,
go thy vvayes, & as thou hast beleued,
- so be it vnto thee. And his seruauent
vvas healed the same houre. 3. 20. 11.
25. Then his disciples came, & avvoked
him, saying: mayster, saue vs vve pe-
rishe. 3. 2. 21.
29. Iesus the sonne of God, vvhat haue
vve to doe vvith thee? art thou come
hether to tormēt vs before the time?
1. 14. 19.
9. 2. And loe, they brought to him a
man sicke of the palsey lying on a bed
and Iesus seeing their sayth, said to
the sicke of the palsey, sonne, bee of
good cōfort: thy sinnes are forgeuen
thee. 3. 2. 13. & 3. 4. 35. & 3. 20. 9.
3. Certaine of the scribes saide vvith
in thē selues, this man blasphemeth
1. 13. 12
- 4 But vvhē Iesus savv their thoughts.
&c. 1. 13. 12.
5. For vvether is it easier to say, Thy
sinnes are forgeuen thee, or to say, A-
rise and vvalke? 4. 19. 29.
6. And that ye may knowv that the
sonne of man hath authoritie to for-
geue sinnes in earth, (then said hee
to the sicke of the palsey, arise, take
vp thy bed & go to thy house. 1. 13. 12
12. The vvhole neede not a phisician,
but they that are sicke. 2. 12. 4.
13. For I am not come to call the righ-
teous, but the sinners to repentance.
3. 3. 20. & 3. 12. 7. & 3. 14. 5.
15. Can the children of the mariage
chamber mourne, as long as the
bridegrome, &c. 3. 3. 17. & 4. 12. 17.
29. Thē touched he their eyes, sayinge:
accordinge to your faith, be it vnto
you. 3. 2. 43. & 3. 4. 22. & 3. 20. 11. & 4.
19. 18.
34. But the Pharisees said, he casteth
out deuils, through the prince of de-
uils. 3. 3. 22.
35. And Iesus vvent about all cities,
and tovvnes, preaching in their sina-
gogues, and preaching the Gospel of
the kingdome, &c. 2. 9. 2
- 10 1. And hee called his tvvelue dis-
ciples vnto him, and gaue thē powver
against vnclēan spirits, &c. 4. 3. 5.
5. Goe not into the vvay of the gētiles
and into

The Table.

- & into the cities of the Samaritanes enter ye not. 2.11.12.
8. Heale the sicke: cleanse the lepers: raise vp the dead, cast out deuils, &c. 1.13.13.
18. And ye shalbe brought to the gouernors & kings for my sake, in vittnessinge to them and to the gentiles 3.4.4.
20. For it is not ye that speake, but the spirite of your father that speake, in you. 4.19.8.
28. And feare ye not them vvwhich kill the hodie, but are not able to kill the soule: but rather feare him, vvwhich is able to destroy both soule & bodie in hell. 1.15.2. & 3.25.7.
29. Are not tivo sparrovves sold for a farthing, and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your father? 1.16.1. & 1.16.5. & 1.17.6.
30. Yea, & all the heares of your head are nombred. 1.16.3.
31. Feare ye not therfore, ye are of more value them many sparrovves. 1.17.6.
33. But vvhosoeuer shall denie me before mē, him vvill I also denie before my father vvwhich is in heauē. 4.1.26
- 11.10. For this is he of vvhome it is vvrittē: behould, I sende my messenger before thy face, vvwhich shal prepare thy vway before thee. 3.3.19.
11. Among them vvwhich are begotten of vvomē, arose there not a greater then Ihon Baptiste: not vvithstanding hee that is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater then he. 2.9.5.
13. For all the Prophetes and the Law prophecied vnto Ihon. 2.11.5.10.
23. And thou Capernaum, vvwhich art lifted vp vnto heauē, shalt be brought down to hel: for if the great vvorks, vvwhich haue bin done in thee hadde beene done among them of Sodome they had remained to this day. 3.34.15
25. At that time Iesus answered, and said: I geue thee thanks, o father, Lorde of heauen and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the vvise, & men of vvnderstandinge, and hast opened them vnto babes. 3.2.34
27. Neither knowveth any man the father, but the sonne, & he to vvhome the sonne vvill reueale him. 4.8.5.
28. Come vnto me all ye that be vveary and laden, and I vvill ease you. 3.3.20. & 3.4.3. & 3.12.7. & 3.18.9.
29. Take my yoke on you, and learne of me that I am meeke and lowvlie in heart & ye shall finde reste vnto your soules. 3.18.9.
30. For my yoke is easie, and my burdē light. 4.19.3.
- 12.24. But vvhen the Pharises hard it, they said, This man casteth the deuils no othervvise out, but through Beelzebub the prince of deuils. 3.3.22
31. Euerie sinne & blasphemie shalbee forgeuē vnto men: but the blasphemie against the holie gholt shall not be forgeuē vnto men. 1.13.15. & 3.3.21. & 3.3.22.
32. And vvhosoeuer shall speake a vvorde againste the sonne of man, it shalbe forgeuen him: but vvhosoeuer shall speake againste the holie ghoste it shall not bee forgeuē him, neither in this vvorld, nor in the vvorld to come. 3.5.7.
41. The men of Ninive shall rise in iudgement, vvith this generation, & shall condemne it: for they repented at the preachinge of Ionas. &c. 3.24.15.
43. Novv vvhen the vncleane spirite is gone out of the man, he vvalketh throughout dry places, seeking rest, & findeth none. 1.14.14. & 1.14.19.
- 13.4. And as he sowed, some seedes fell by the vway side, & the foules came and deuoured them vp. 3.22.10. & 4.14.11. & 4.17.33.
5. And some fell vpon stonie grounde vvhere they had not muche earth, & anone they spronge vp, because they had no depth of earth. 4.17.33.
7. And some fell among thornes, & the thornes sprong vp, & choked them. 4.17.33.
9. He that hath ears to heare, let him heare. 3.23.13
11. Because it is geuen vnto you, to

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knowe the secretes of the kingedome
of heauen, but to them it is not geuen.

1.7.5.&3.24.13.

16. But blessed are your eyes, for they
see: & your eares, for they heare.

2.

17. For verelie I say vnto you, that many
prophetes and righteous men haue
desired to see those things vvhich
ye see and haue not seene them, &c.

2.11.6.

24. The kingedome of heauen is like
vnto a mā, vvhich sovveth good seed
in his fiede.

4.1.13.

29. But he said, nay: lest vvhile ye go
about to gather the tares, ye pluck
vp also vvvith them the vvhheat.

4.12.

31. The kingdome of heauen is like
vnto a graine of mustard seed, vvhich
a man taketh & sovveth in his fiede

4.19.34.

33. An other parable spake hee vnto
them, sayinge: the kingdom of heauē
is like vnto leauen, vvhich a vvoman
taketh and hideth in three peckes
of meale, till it be all leauened.

4.19.

39. And the enemie vvhich sovveth
them, is the deuill, &c.

1.14.15.

47. The kingdome of heauen is like
vnto a net, that vvas cast into the sea
and gathered of all kind.

4.1.13.&4.

14.25. And in the fourth vvatch of the
night, Iesus vvenc vnto them, wal-
king on the sea.

4.17.29.

15.3. VVhy do ye also transgresse the
commandement of God by your tra-
dition?

4.10.10.

4. For God hath cōmaunded, sayinge,
honor thy father and mother, and
he that curseth father and mother, let
him die the death.

2.8.36.

8. This people dravveth neere vnto
mee vvith their mouth, & honoreth
mee vvith their lippes, but their
hart is farre off from me.

3.20.31

9. But in vaine they vvorship mee,
teachinge for doctrines, mēs precepts

4.10.15.&4.10.23.

13. Euery plant vvhich mine heauēly
father hathe not planted, shall be
rooted vp.

2.3.9.&3.2.12.&3.23.1.&

3.24.6.

14. Let them alone: they bee the blinde
leaders of the blinde & if the blinde
leade the blinde, both shall fall in the
ditch.

3.19.11.&4.9.12

24 I am not sēt, but vnto the lost shepe
of the house of Israel.

2.11.12.

16.6. Take heede and bevvare of the
leauen of the Pharisees, & Saduces.

4.10.26.

12. Then vnderstode they that he had
not said that they should bevvare of
the leuē of breade, but of the do-
ctrine of the Pharisees, and Saduces.

4.10.26.

16. Thou art Christ the sonne of the
liuinge God.

4.6.6.

17. Blessed art thou Simon the sonne
of Ionas, for flesh & blood hath not
reveled it vnto thee, but my father
vvhich is in heauen.

2.2.19.&3.1.4.

&3.2.34

18. And I say also vnto thee that thou
art Peter, and vpon this rock I vvill
buylde my church.

4.6.3.&4.6.5.

19. And I vvill geue vnto thee, the keyes
of the kingdom of heauen: & vvhat-
soeuer thou shalt binde vpon earth,
shalbe bound in heauen: and vvhat-
soeuer thou shalt lose on the earth
shalbe losed in heauen.

3.4.12.&4.1.

22.&4.2.10.&4.6.4.&4.11.1.&4.

12.4

23. Get thee behinde me, Satan: thou
art an offence vnto me, &c.

4.7.28.

24. If anie man vvill follovv me, let
him forsake him selfe, & take vp his
crosse, and follovv me.

3.7.2.&3.8.1

27. For the sonne of man shall come
in the glorie of his father, vvith his
angels: and then shall he geue to eue-
ry man according to his deedes.

3.

18.1.

17.2. And vvas transfigured before
them: and his face did shine as the
sonne, & his clothes vvēre as vvHITE
as the light.

4.17.17.

5. VVhile he yet spake, behoulde, a
bright

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- bright cloude shadowved them: and behould, there came a voice out of the cloude, saying: this is my vvell-beloued sonne in vvhom I am vvell pleased, heare him. 2.15.2.& 3.2.32 & 3.8.1.& 3.10.48.& 4.8.1.& 4.8.7
- 18.10. For I say vnto you, that in heauē their angels alvvayes behoulde the face of my father vvvhich is in heauen. 1.14.7.& 1.14.9
11. For the sonne of man is come to saue that vvvhich vvas lost. 2.12.4
15. If thy brother trespasse against thee, go, and tell him his fault betweene thee and him alone: if he heare thee, thou hast vvonne thy brother. 4.12.3
17. And if he vvill not vouchefase to heare them, tell it vnto the Church: and if he refuse to heare the Church also, let him be vnto thee as an heathen man, and as a publicane. 4.8.15.& 4.11.2.& 4.12.3
18. Verely I say vnto you, vvhat soeuer ye bind on earth, shalbe bounde in heauen: and vvhatsoeuer ye lose on earth, shalbe losed in heauen. 3.4.12 & 3.4.20.& 4.1.22.& 4.2.10 & 4.8.4 & 4.12.4.& 4.12.9
19. Againe, verelic I say vnto you, that if tvvo of you shall agree in earth, vpon any thing vvhatsoeuer they shall desire, it shalbe geuen them of my father vvvhich is in heauen. 3.20.30
20. For vvhere tvvo or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the middes among them. 4.19.& 4.6.4 & 4.9.2
22. I say not to thee, vnto seuen times: but vnto seuentie times seuen times. 4.1.23
29. And his fellow therfore sel doune and besought him, saying, haue patience vvith me, and I vvill pay thee all. 4.1.23
- 19.6. VVherefore they are no more tvvain, but one fleshe: let not man therefore put a sunder that vvvhich God hath coupled together. 4.15.22
21. All men can not receaue this saying saue them to vvhom it is giuen. 2.8.42.& 4.13.17
12. For there are some chaste, vvvhich vere so borne of their mothers belly: and there be some chaste vvvhich be made chaste by men: and there be some chaste, vvvhich haue made themselues chaste for the kingdom of heauen, &c. 2.8.42
13. Then vvvere brought vnto him little children, that he should put his hande vpon them, and pray: and the disciples rebuked them. 4.16.7
14. Suffer little children to come vnto me, and forbidde them not: for of such is the kingdome of heauen. 4.16.7.& 4.16.17.& 4.16.26
15. And vvhen he had put his handes on them, he departed thence. 4.3.16
17. There is none good but one, euen God: but if thou vvilt enter into life, keepe the commandements. 1.13.13,24.& 3.18.9
16. Thou shalt not kill: thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not steale, &c. 2.8.35,36,37,38,39,&c. to the ende of the capter.
19. Honor thy father and thy mother, &c. 2.8.12,35
21. If thou vvilt be perfect, go, sell that thou hast, & geue to the poore, & thou shalt haue treasure in heauē, &c. 4.13.13
25. And vvhen his disciples heard it, they vvvere exceedingly amased, saying, vvho then can bee saued? 2.7.5
26. And Iesus behelde them, and said vnto them: vvith men this is vnpossible, but vvith God all things are possible. 2.7.5
28. And Iesus said vnto them, verelic I say to you: that vvhen the sonne of man shall sitte in the throne of his maiesty, ye vvvhich folloved me in the regeneration, shall sit also vpon tvvelue thrones, and iudge the tvvelue tribes of Israell. 2.16.18.& 3.25.10.
29. And vvho soeuer shall forsake houses, or bretherne, or sisters, or

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- Father, or mother, or vvife, or children, or landes, for my names sake, he shall receaue an hundreth fouldre more, and shall inherite life euerlasting. 3.25.10
- 20.1. For the kingdome of heauens like vnto a certaine householder, vvhich vvente out at the dawninge of the day, to hier laborers into his vineyarde. 3.18.3
25. Ye knowe that the lordes of the Gentiles haue dominatiō ouer them, and they that are great, exercise authoritie ouer them. 4.11.8. & 4.11.9
26. But it shall not be so among you: but vvhosoeuer vvill be great among you, let him be your seruaunt. 4.11.8
28. Euen as the sonne of man came not to be serued, but to serue, and to geue his life for the raunsome of many. 2.16.5
- 21.9. Moreover, the people that went before, and they also that folloved, cried, saying: Hosanna the sonne of Dauid: blessed be he that commeth in the name of the lorde, &c. 2.6.4
22. VVhatsoeuer ye shall aske in prayer: if ye beleue, ye shall receaue it. 3.20.11.
25. The baptisme of Iohn vvence vvvas it? from heauē, or of men? then they reasoned among themselues saying, if vve shall say from heauen, he vvill say vnto vs, vvhy did ye not then beleue him. 4.19.5
31. VVwhether of them tvvaine did the vvill of the father? they said vnto him, the first. Iesus said vnto them, verely I say vnto you, that the Publicans and the harlots shall go before you into the kingdome of God. 2.8.14. & 3.7.2
- 22.2. The kingdome of heauen is like vnto a certaine king, vvhich married his sonne. 3.24.8
12. Frende, how camest thou in hither, and hadde not on a vvedding garmēt. 4.17.45
13. Binde him hand & foote, take him away, and cast him into vtter darke- nesse: there shalbe vweeping and gnashing of teeth. 3.25.12
14. For manie are called, but fewe are chosen. 3.24.6
23. The same day the Sadduces came to him, vvhich say that there is no resurrection. 2.10.23
30. For in the resurrection, they neither marie vvives, nor vvives are bestowed in mariage, but are as the Angells of God in heauen. 1.14.9. & 1.15.3. & 2.12.6. & 3.25.11. & 4.1.4
32. I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Iacob: God is not the God of the dead, but of the liuing. 2.10.9 & 4.16.3
37. Thou shalt loue the lord thy God, vvith all thy heart, vvith all thy soule, and vvith all thy minde. 2.8.11 & 2.8.51. & 3.3.11
39. And the seconde is like vnto this, thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. 2.8.11
- 23.4. For they binde heauie burdenes, and greuous to be borne, and lay them on mens shoulders, but they themselues vvill not moue them vvith one of their fingers. 4.10.1. & 4.10.26
8. But be not ye called, Rabbi: for one is your doctour, to vvhit, Christ, and all ye are bretherne. 4.8.8
9. And call no man your father vppon the earth: for their is but one, your father vvhich is in heauen. 3.20.38
23. And ye leaue the vvichtier matters of the lawe, as iudgement, and mercie, and fidelitie, these ought ye haue done, and not to haue leste the other. 2.8.52
25. VVo vnto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: for ye make cleane the outer side of the cup, and of the platter: but vvithin they are full of briberie and excesse. 3.4.36
37. Ierusalem, Ierusalem, vvhich killest the Prophets, & stonest them vvhich are sent to thee, howe often vvould I haue gathered thy children together, &c. 3.24.16
- 24.11. And many false Prophets shall arise

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- arise and shall deceaue manie. 4.9.4
24. And this Gospell of the kingdome shalbe preached through the vvhole vworld, for a vvitness vnto all nations: and then shall the ende come. 3.4.4
24. For there shall arise falsē Christs, and falsē Prophets, and shall shew great signes and vvonders: so that if it were possible, they should deceaue the verie elect. 4.9.4
30. And then shall appeare the signe of the sonne of man in heauen, and then shall all the kindredes of the earth mourne, and they shall see the sonne of man come in the cloudes of heauen vvith povvre and great glorie. 2.16.17
36. But of that daye and houre knoweth no man, no not the Angels of heauen, but my father onely. 1.14.9
45. VVho then is a faithfull seruant, and vvise, vvhom his maister hath made ruler ouer his houshold, to giue them meate in season? 4.16.31
- 25.3. The foolishhe toke their lampes, but toke no oile vvith them. 3.5.7
21. Then his master said vnto him, it is vvell done good seruant and faithfull: thou hast bene faithfull in little, I vvill make thee ruler ouer much: enter into thy maisters ioy. 2.3.11
23. It is vvell done good seruant and faithfull, thou hast bene faithfull in little, &c. 2.3.11
29. For vnto euery man that hath, it shalbe geuen, and hee shall haue abundaunce: and from him that hath not, euen that he hath, shalbe taken away. 2.3.11. & 3.15.4
31. And vvhen the sonne of man cometh in his glorie, and all the holie Angels vvith him, then shall hee sit vpon the throne of his glorie. 2.16.17
32. And before him shall be gathered all nations, and hee shall separate one from another, as a shepherde seperateth the shepe frō the goates. 2.16.17. & 3.25.9
34. Come ye blessed of my father, inherite the kingdome prepared for you from the foundations of the vworld, 3.18.1. & 3.18.2. & 3.18.3. & 3.24.16
35. For I vvvas an hungred, and ye gaue me meate: I thirsted, and ye gaue me drinke, &c. 3.18.1
40. Verelie I say vnto you, in as much as ye haue done it vnto one of the least of these my brethren, ye haue done it to me. 3.18.6
41. Departe from me ye cursed, into euerlasting fire, vvwhich is prepared for the deuill and his Angels. 1.14.14 & 1.14.19. & 3.25.5
46. And these shall go into euerlasting paine, and the righteous into life eternall. 3.25.5
- 26.10. VVhy trouble ye the vvoman? for she hath vvrought a good vvorke vpon me. 3.25.8
11. For ye haue the poore alvaies vvith you, but me shall ye noth haue vvith you alvaies. 4.3.1. & 4.17.26 & 4.17.28
12. For in that she povvred this oyntment vpon my body, she did it to bury me. 3.25.8
15. And he said to them, vvhat vvill ye geue me, and I vvill deliuer him vnto you? and they appointed vnto him thirty pieces of siluer. 4.18.14
26. And as they did eate, Iesus toke the bread: and vvhen he had geuen thanks he brake it, and gaue it to the disciples, and said, take, eate: this is my body. 4.14.20 & 4.16.30. & 4.17.1. & 4.17.20. & 4.19.23
27. Also he toke the cup, and vvhen he had geuen thāks, he gaue it to them, saying, drinke ye all of it. 4.9.14
38. Then said Iesus vnto them my soule is very heavy euen vnto the death: tarie ye here, and vvatch vvith me. 2.16.12. & 3.8.9
39. So he vvwent a litle further, and fell on his face, and praied, saying: O my Father, if it be possible let this cup passe from me, neuertheles not as I vvill, but as thou vvilt. 2.16.23

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53. Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he will geue me more then twelue legions of Angels? 1.14.8
74. Then began he to curse himselfe, and to sweare, saying, I knowe not the man. 4.1.26
75. Then Peter remembred the words of Iesus, which said vnto him, Before the cocke crowe, thou shalt deny mee thrise. So hee went out, and wept bitterly. 3.3.4
- 27.4. I haue sinned betraying the innocent blood, but they said, vwhat is that rovs? see thou to it. 3.3.4
12. And when he was accused of the chiefe Priests and Elders, he answered nothing. 2.16.5
14. But he answered him not to one word, in so much that the gouernour marueiled greatly. 2.16.5
23. Then said the gouernour, but what euell hath he done? then they cried the more, saying, let him be crucified. 2.16.5
24. VVhen Pilate sawe that he auailed nothing, but that more tumulte was made, he toke water and washed his handes before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this iust man: loke you to it. 2.16.5
46. And about the ninth houre Iesus cried with a loude voice, saying, Eli, Eli, Lamafaba thani? that is, my God, my God, vvhy hast thou forsaken me? 2.16.11
50. Then Iesus cried againe with a loude voice, & yelded vp the Ghost. 4.19.23
52. And the graues did open themselves, and many bodies of the Saintes which slept, arose, 2.10.23 & 3.25.7
53. And came out of the graues after his resurrectiō, & went into the holy citie, and appeared to many. 2.10.23
66. And they went and made the sepulchre sure with the vvatch, and sealed the stone. 3.25.3
- 28.5. But the Angel answered, & said to the vvomē, feare ye not, & c. 1.14.6
6. He his not here, for he is risen, as he said, & c. 4.17.29
7. Tell his Disciples, that he is risen from the dead, & c. 1.14.6
11. Nowe when they were gone, behold, some of the vvatch came into the citie, and shewed vnto the hy Priests all the things that were done. 3.25.3
12. And they gathered themselues together with the Elders, and toke counsell, and gaue large money to the souldiers. 3.25.3
13. Saying, Say, his disciples came by night and stole him away while we slept. 3.25.5
18. All povver is geuen vnto me in heauen and in earth. 3.15.5
19. Go therefore, and teach all natiōs, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. 1.13.16. & 4.3.6. & 4.8.4. & 4.14.20. & 4.15.6. 18, 20, 22, & 4.16.27 & 4.19.28
20. I am with you alwayes, vntill the ende of the vvorld. 2.16.14. & 4.8.8. & 4.8.11. & 4.17.26. & 4.17.28 & 4.17.30
- M A R K E.
1. The beginning of the Gospell of Iesus Christ the sonne of God. 2.9.2
4. Iohn did baptize in the vvildernesse, and preached the baptizme of amendement of life for remission of sinnes. 3.3.19. & 4.19.17
15. And saying, the time is fulfilled, & the kingdom of God is at hand, repēt and beleeue the Gospell. 3.3.19
- 3.15. And that they might haue povver to heale sickeneses, and to cast out deuils. 1.13.13
28. Verely, I say vnto you, all sinnes shall be forgeuen vnto the children of men, and blasphemies, vvherevvith they blaspheme. 3.5.7
29. but he that blasphemeth against the holy Ghost, shall neuer be forgeuen, but is culpable of eternall damnation. 1.13.15. & 3.3.23
- 6.7. And

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- 6.7. And gaue them powver ouer vn-
cleane spirits. 1.13.13
13. And they cast out many deuils, and
they annointed many that vvere sicke,
vwith oile, and healed them. 4.19.18
& 4.19.21
- 7.33. Then he toke him aside from the
multitude, and put his fingers in his
eares, and did spitte, and touched his
tonge. 4.19.23
- 8.38. For vvhosoever shalbe ashamed
of me, and of my vvordes among this
adulterous and sinfull generation, of
him shall the sonne of man be asha-
med also, &c. 4.1.26
- 9.24. Lorde, I beleue: helpe my vn-
beliefe. 4.14.7
43. To go into hell, into the fier that
neuer shall be quenched. 3.25.12
44. VVhere their vvorme dieth not,
and the fier neuer goeth out. 3.25.12
- 10.9. Therefore, vvhath God hath coupled
together, let no man separate. 4.1.1
30. But he shall receaue a hundred fold
nowe at this present: houses, and
bretheren, and sisters, and mothers,
and children, and landes vwith perse-
cutions: and in the vvorld to come
eternall life. 3.18.3
- 11.24. VVhatsoever ye desire vvhen
ye pray, beleue that thou shalt haue
it, & it shalbe done vnto you. 3.20.11
- 12.18. Then came the Sadduces vnto
him (vvhich say, that there is no re-
surrection) & they asked him, saying.
3.25.5
- 13.32. But of that day and houre
knoweth no man, no, not the Angels
vvhich are in heauen, neither the
sonne himselfe, saue onely the Fa-
ther. 2.14.2
- 14.22. And as they did eate, Iesus toke
the bread, and vvhen he had geuen
thanks, he brake it and gaue it to
them, and said, take, eate: this is my
body. 4.17.1. & 4.17.20
33. And he toke vwith him Peter, and
James, and Iohn, and he began to be
afrayed, and in greate heauinesse.
3.8.9
34. And said vnto them, my soule is
very heuie, euen vnto the death: tary
here and vvatch. 2.16.12
- 15.28. Thus the Scripture vvas ful-
filled, vvhich saith, And he vvas cou-
ted among the vvicked. 2.16.5
- 16.9. He appeared first to Marie Magda-
lene, out of vvhom he had cast seuen
deuils. 1.14.14
15. Go ye into all the vvorld, and
preache the Gospell to euery crea-
ture. 4.3.4. & 4.3.13. & 4.16.27. &
4.19.28
16. He that shall beleue & be baptized,
shall be saued. 4.15.1. & 4.16.27
19. So after the lorde had spoken vnto
them, he vvas receaued into heauen,
and sat at the right hand of God. 2.14
3. & 4.17.27

L V K E.

- 1.6. B Oth vvere iustified before God,
and vvalked in all the com-
maundements and ordinaunces of
the lorde, vvithout reproofe. 3.17.7
15. And he shall be filled vwith the
holy Ghost, euen from his mothers
vvombe. 4.16.17
17. For he shall go before him in the
spirit and powver of Elias: to turne
the hartes of the fathers to their
children, and the disobedient to the
vvisedome of the iust men, to make
ready a people prepared for the lord.
4.1.6
31. For loe, thou shalt conceaue in
thy vvombe, and beare a sonne, and
shalt call his name Iesus. 2.16.1
32. He shall be great, & shall be
called the sonne of the most high,
and the lorde shall geue vnto him
the throne of his father Dauid. 2.14.
4.7
33. And he shall reigne ouer the house
of Iacob for euer, and of his king-
dome shall be none ende. 2.14.3. &
2.15.3
34. Then said Mary vnto the Angell,
howe shall this be, seing I knowe
no man? 4.17.25
35. And the Angell aunswered, and
said vnto her, the holy Ghost shall
come vppon thee, and the powver of
XXXX ij

The Table.

- the most high shall overshadowe thee : therefore also, that holy thing which shall be borne of thee, shall be called the sonne of God. 2.14.5
43. And whence cometh this to me, that the mother of my lorde should come to me? 2.14.4
54. He hath vpholden Israell his seruaut, being mindfull of his mercy. 2.10.4
72. That he wvould shewe mercy towarde our fathers, and remeber his holy couenaunt. 2.10.4
73. And the oth which he sware to our father Abraham. 2.10.4
74. That we being deliuered out of the handes of our enemies, should serue him wvithout feare. 3.16.2
77. And to geue knowledg of saluation vnto his people, by the remission of their finnes. 3.11.22
79. To geue light to them that sit in darknesse, and in the shadowe of death, and to guide our feete into the vvay of peace. 2.12.4
- 2.11. That is, that vnto you is borne this day in the Citie of Dauid, a Sauior, which is Christ the lorde. 2.15.5
13. And straight vvay there vvvas vvith the Angell a multitude of heavenly foldiers, praising God, &c. 1.14.5
37. And she vvvas a vvidthout about fourescore and fowver yeares, and vvvent not out of the temple, and serued God vvith fastings, and prayers, night and day 4.12.16
52. And Iesus encreased in vvvisedome, and stature, and in fauour vvith God and men. 2.14.2
3. And he came into all the coastes about Iordā, preaching the baptisme of repentaunce for the remission of finnes. 3.3.19. & 4.15.7. & 4.19.17
8. Bring forth therefore frutes vvorthy amendement of life, and begin not to say vvith your selues, we haue Abraham to our father : for I say vnto you, that God is able of these stones to raise vp children vnto Abraham. 3.3.5
14. The souldiers likewise demaunded of him, saying, and vvhat shall we do? and he said vnto them, do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content vvith your vvages. 4.10.12
16. Iohn answered, and said to them all, in deede I baptize you vvith vvater, but one stronger then I, cometh, vvwhose shoos latchet I am not vvorthy to vnloose : he vvill baptize you vvith the holy Ghost, and vvith fire. 3.1.3,4. & 4.15.6,7
22. And the holy Ghost came downe in a bodily shape like a Dove, vpon him, and there vvvas a voice from heauen, saying, thou art my beloued sonne : in thee I am vvell pleased. 4.17.21
23. And Iesus himselfe began to be about thirtie yeares of age, being as men supposed the sonne of Ioseph, vvwhich vvvas the sonne of Eli. 4.16.27,29
38. VVhich vvvas the sonne of Enos, vvwhich vvvas the sonne of Serh, vvwhich vvvas the sonne of Adam, vvwhich vvvas the sonne of God. 2.12.7 & 2.13.3
- 4.17. And there vvvas deliuered vnto him the booke of the Prophet Esaias : and vvhen he had opened the booke, he found the place vvhere it vvvas vvritten. 4.19.23
18. The spirit of the lorde is vpon me, because he hath annointed me, that I should preach the Gospell to the poore : he hath sent me, that I should heale the broken in hart. 2.15.2. & 3.3.20. & 3.4.3
- 5.13. And touched him, saying, I vvill, be thou cleane. And immediatly the leprosie departed from him :
14. And he commaunded him that he should tell it to no man : but go, saith he, and shewe thy selfe to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, as Moses hath comaunded, for a vvittnesse vnto thee. 3.4.4
34. Can ye make the children of the vvvedding chamber to faste, as long as the

The Table.

- as the bridegrome is vvith them? 4
12.17
- 6.13. And vvhen it vvas day, he called his disciples, and of them he chose twelue, vvhich also he called Apostles. 4.3.5
23. Reioyce ye in that day, & be glad: for beholde, your reppard is great in heauen,&c. 3.18.1
24. But vvoe be to you that are rich, for you haue receiued your consolation. 3.19.9
36. Be ye mercifull therefore, as your father also is mercifull. 3.7.6
- 7.29. Then all the people that heard, and the Publicanes iustified God, beinge baptised vvith the baptisme of Iohn. 3.11.3
35. But vvifedom is iustified of all her children. 3.11.3
36. And one of the Pharisees desired him that he vvoulde eate vvith him: & he vvēt into the Pharisees house, and sat dovne at the table. 3.4.37
47. VVherefore I say vnto thee, many sinnes are forgiven her: for she loued much. To vvhom a litle is forgiven, he doth loue a litle. 3.4.31
- 8.2. And certaine vvomē, vvhich vv ere healed of euill spirites, and infirmities, as Mary vvhich vvas called Magdalene, out of vvho vvent seuen deuils. 1.14.14
7. And some fel among thornes, & the thornes sprunge vp vvith it, and choked it. 3.2.10
13. But they that are on the stones, are they vvhich vvhen they haue heard, receiue the vvord vvith ioy: but they haue no rootes, vvhich for a vv hile beleue, but in the time of tentation goe away. 3.2.10
15. But that vvhich fel on good ground, are they vvhich vvith an honest and good hart heare the vvord, and kepe it, & bringe foorth frute vvith patience. 4.14.11
- 9.1. If any man vvill come after me, let him deny himselfe, and take vpp his crosse daily and follove me. 3.15
26. For vvhofoeuer shall be ashamed of me, and of my vvords, of him shall the sonne of man be ashamed, vvhen he shall come in his glory, and in the glory of the father, and of the holy Angels. 1.14.9
55. But Iesus turned about, and rebuked them, and sayd, ye know not of vvhat spirite ye are. 3.2.15
- 10.1. After these thinges, the lord appointed other 70. also, & sent them two & two before him, &c. 4.3.4
6. And if the sonne of peace be there, your peace shall rest vppon him: if not, it shall returne to you againe. 3.23.14
16. He that heareth you, heareth me: and he that despiseth you, despiseth me. 4.3.3. & 4.8.4
18. I saw Sathan, like lighteninge, fall dovne from heauen. 1.14.18
10. Neuerthelesse, in this reioyce not, that the spirites are subdued vnto you: but rather reioice, because your names are vvritten in heauen. 3.24.9
21. The same houre reioyced Iesus in the spirite and sayd, I confesse vnto thee father, lorde of heauen and earth, that thou hast hid these thinges from the vvise and learned, and hast reuealed them to babes: euen so, father, because it so pleased thee. 3.2.34
22. All things are giuen me of my father: and no man knoweth vvho the sonne is, but the father: neither vvho the father is, saue the sonne: & he to vvhom the sonne vvill reueale him. 3.2.1. & 4.18.20
23. Blessed are the eies, vvhich see that ye see. 2.9.1
24. For I tell you, that many Prophets and Kings haue desired to see these thinges, vvhich ye see, and haue not seene them, &c. 2.9.1. & 2.11.6
25. Maister, vvhat shall I do, to enherite eternall life? 4.13.13
27. And he aunswered, and said, thou shalt loue thy lorde God, vvith all thy hart, and vvith all thy soule, and

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- with all thy strength, and with all thy thought, & thy neighbour as thy selfe. 2.8.11
30. And a certaine man went downe from Ierusalem to Iericho, and fell among theeues. 2.5.19
36. VVhich now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour to him that fell among the theeues? 2.8.55
- 11.2. And he said vnto them, when ye pray, say, Our father which art in heauen. 3.20.6, 34
3. Our daily bread giue vs for the day. 2.5.14
21. VVhen a strong man armed, keepeth his place, the things that he possesseth are in peace. 1.14.13. & 14.18
22. But when a stronger then he cometh vpon him, and ouercommeth him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and deuileth his spoyle. 1.14.18
39. And the lord sayd vnto him, in deede ye Pharisees make clane the outside of the cup, & of the platter, but the inward parte is full of rauening and vickednes. 3.4.36
- 12.5. Feare him which after he hath killed, hath powver to cast into hell, &c. 1.15.2
10. And vvhosoever shall speake a vvord against the sonne of manne, it shall be forgiven him: but vnto him that shal blasphem the holy Ghost, it shall neuer be forgiven. 1.13.15. & 3.21.22. & 3.5.7
14. Manne, vvho made me a iudge, or a deuider ouer you? 4.11.9, 11
- 14.21. Go out quickly into the places and streetes of the City, & bring in hither the poore, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blinde. 4.16.31
- 15.7. I say vnto you, that likewise ioy shall be in heauen for one sinner that conuerteth, more then for ninety & nine iust men, vvich nede no amendment of life. 1.14.7
20. And vvhen he vvvas yet a great vvay of, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran & fell on his necke, and kissed him. 3.20.37
- 16.2. And he called him, & sayd vnto him, howe is it that I heare this of thee? giue an accept of thy stewardshippe, for thou maist be no longer steward. 3.10.5
9. And I say vnto you, make you friends vvith the riches of iniquitie, that vvhen you shall vvant, they may receiue you into euerlasting habita-tions. 3.18.6
15. Ye are they vvch iustifie your selues before men. but God knowveth your hartes. &c. 3.11.3. & 3.12.2
16. The Lawv and the Prophets endured vntill Iohn, and since that time the kingdome of God is preached, & euery man preasseth into it. 3.7.16
22. And it vvvas so, that the begger died, and vvvas caried by the Angels into Abrahams bosome, &c. 1.14.7 & 1.15.2. & 3.35.6
- 17.3. If thy brother trespassse against thee, rebuke him: and if he repent, forgive him. 3.7.6
5. And the Apostles sayd vnto the lord, increase our faith. 4.14.7
7. VVho is it also of you, that hauing a seruant plowing or feeding cattel, vvould say vnto him by and by, vvhen he vvvere come from the fildes, &c. 3.14.15
10. So likewise ye, vvhe ye haue done all those things vvch are comaunded you, say, vve are vnprofitable seruants, vve haue done that vvch vvvas our duty to do. 3.14.14. & 3.15.3
14. And vvhen he sawe them, he sayd vnto them, go, shew your selues to the Priesttes. And it came to passe, that as they vvvent, they vvvere cleansed. 3.4.4
20. And vvhen he vvvas demanded of the Pharisees, vvhen the kingdome of God shoulde come, he aunsvvered them, and sayd: the kingdome of God commeth not vvith obseruation. 2.15.4
- 18.1. And he spake also a parable vnto them, to this end, that they ought alvvayes to pray, and not to vvaxe faint

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- faint. 3.20.7
13. But the publicane standinge a far of, vould not lift vppe so much as his eyes to heauen, but smote his brest, saying: O God, be mercifull to me a sinner. 3.4.18. & 3.12.7
14. I tel you, this man departed to his house iustified, rather the other: for euery manne that exalteth himselfe, shal be brought low, & he that humbleth himselfe, shal be exalted. 3.4.35. & 3.11.3
42. And Iesus sayd vnto him: receaue thy sight, thy faith hath sauēd thee. 4.19.12.
- 19.17. And he sayd vnto him, vvell, good seruauant: because thou hast bin faithfull in a very litle thinge, take thou authority ouer ten cities. 2.3.11 & 3.15.4
26. Vnto all them that haue, it shall be giuen, & from him that hath not, euen that he hath shall be taken fro him. 2.3.11. & 3.15.4
- 20.27. Then came to him certaine of the Sadduces, vvhich deny that there is any resurrection, &c. 2.10.23. & 3.25.5
37. And that the dead shal rise again, euen Moses shevved it besides the bush, vvhē he sayd, the lorde is the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Iacob. 2.10.9
38. For he is not the God of the dead, but of them vvhich liue. 4.16.3
- 31.15. For I vvill giue you a mouth & vvifdom, vvhere against, all your aduersaries shall not be able to speake, or resist. 4.3.12
28. And vvhen these things begin to come to passe, then looke vp, and lift vp your heades, for your redemptiō dravveth neere. 3.9.5
- 22.17. And he tooke the cup, & gaue thanks, and said, take this, and part it amonge you. 4.17.20. & 4.17.43 & 4.18.8
19. And he tooke bread, and vvhen he had giuen thanks, he brake it, and gaue to the, saying, this is my body, vvhich is giuen for you: do this in the remembraunce of me. 4.3.6. & 4.15.20. & 4.16.30. & 4.17.1.20.37
20. Likev vile also after supper he tooke the cup, saying, this cup is the nev्व Testament in my blood, vvhich is shed for you. 2.11.4. & 2.17.4. & 4.17.6.20
25. The kinges of the Gentiles reigne ouer them, and they that beare rule ouer them, are called gracious lords. 4.11.8.9. & 4.20.7
26. But ye shall not be so: but let the greatest amonge you, be as the least: and the chiefest, as he that serueth. 4.11.8
32. But I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not, &c. 3.24.6. & 4.7.27.28
43. And there appeared an Angel vnto him from heauē, comforting him. 1.14.6. & 2.16.12
44. And his sweate vvas like dropes of blood, tricklinge dovvne to the ground. 2.16.12. & 3.8.9
61. Then the lorde turned backe, and looked vpon Peter: & Peter remembered the vvorde of the lorde, hovve he hadde sayd vnto him, Before the cocke crowe, thou shalt denie me thrise. 3.4.35
62. And Peter vvēnt foorth, & vvēpt bitterly. 3.3.4
- 23.42. And he said vnto Iesus, lord remember me, vvhen thou comest into thy kingdom. 3.24.1. & 4.16.31
43. Then Iesus sayd vnto him, verily I say vnto thee, to day shalt thou be vvith me in Paradise. 3.25.6
46. And Iesus cried vvith a loud voice, and sayd, Father, into thy handes I commende my spirite, &c. 1.15.2. & 3.25.6
- 24.5. They sayd vnto them, vvhy seeke ye him that liueth, among the dead? 1.14.6
6. He is not here, but is risen: remember hovve he spake vnto you, vvhen he vvas yet in Galilee. 3.25.3
11. But their vvords seemed vnto the a fained thing, neither beleued they them. 3.2.4

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13. Then arose Peter, and ranne vnto the sepulchre, and looked in, and saue the linen clothes layd by them selues: and departed, vvonderinge in himselfe at that vvhich vvas come to passe. 3.2.4
16. But their eyes vv ere holden, that they coule not knowve him. 4.17 29
26. Ought not Christ to haue suffered these things, & to enter into his glory? 2.17.6.& 3.18.7.& 4.17.32
27. And he beganne at Moses, and at all the Prophets, and interpreted vnto the in al the Scriptures the things that vv ere vvrytten of him. 1.5.3.& 3 2.34
31. But he vvas take out of their sight. 4.17.29
39. Beholde mine hands and my feete: for it is my selfe: handle me and see: for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me haue. 2.14.2.& 3.25.3 & 4.17.29
44. All must be fulfilled vv hich are vvrytten of me in the iavv of Moses, & in the Prophets, & in the Psalmes. 2.5.8
45. Then opened he their vvnderstanding, that they might vvnderstand the Scriptures. 3.2.34
46. Thus it is vvritten, and thus it behoued Christ to suffer, and to rise againe frō the dead the third day. 2.12 4.& 3.3.19
47. And that repentance, & remission of sinnes, should be preached in his name amonge all nations, beginninge at Ierusalem. 2.12.4.& 3.3.1 & 3.3.19
49. But tary ye in the city of Ierusalem, vntill ye be indued vvith pover from on hie. 4.3.12
51. And it came to passe, that as he blessed the, he departed from them, and vvas caried vp into heauen. 4.17 27
- IOHN.
- 1.1. **I**N the beginning vvas the vvord, and the vvord vvas vvith God, and that vvord vvas God. 1.13.6.& 1 13.11.& 1.13.22
3. All things vv ere made by it, &c. 1.13 7.& 1.13.17
4. In it vvas life, and the life vvas the light of men. 1.13.13.& 1.15.4.& 2.2 19.& 2.6.1.& 4.17.8
5. And the light shineth in the darkenes, & the darkenes comprehended it not. 2.2.12
9. That vvas the true light vv hich lighteth euery manne that commeth into the vvorld. 2.12.4
10. He vvas in the vvorld, and the vvorld vvas made by him, and the vvorld knew him not. 2.12.4
12. But as many as receiue him, to the he gaue pover to be the sonnes of God, euen to them that beleue in his name. 2.6.1.& 3.1.4.& 3.20.36 & 3.22.10
13. VVhich are borne not of blood, nor of the vvill of the fleshe, nor of the vvill of man, but of God. 2.2.19 & 2.13.2.& 3.1.4
14. And the vvorde vvas made fleshe, and dwelt among vs, & vve saw the glory therof, as the glory of the only begotten sonne of the Father, full of grace and trueth. 1.13.11.& 2.12.4 & 2.14.1.& 2.14.8
16. And of his fulnes haue all vve receiued, and grace for grace. 2.13.1 & 2.15.5.& 3.11.9.& 3.20.1
17. For the lavv vvas giuen by Moses, but grace and trueth came by Iesus Christ. 2.7.16
18. No manne hath seene God at any time: the only begottē sonne, vv hich is in the bosome of the Father, he hath declared him. 1.13.17.& 2.2.20 & 2.9.1.& 4.17.30
23. I am the voyce of him that crieth in the vvildernes, make straight the vvay of the lord, as sayd the Prophet Esaias. 2.9.5
29. Beholde the lambe of God, vv hich taketh avvay the sinnes of the vvorld. 2.14.3.& 2.16.5.& 2.17.4.& 3.4.16. & 4.15.7
32. So Iohn bare vvitness, sayinge, I saw the spirite come downe from heauen

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- heauen, like a doue, and it abode vpon him. 2.15.5. & 4.19.20
33. And I knevve him not: but he that sent me to baptise vvith vvater, he sayd vnto me, vppon vvhome thou shalt see the spirite come downe, and tary still on him, that is he vvich baptiseth vvith the holie Ghost. 2.15.5
36. Behold the lambe of God. 2.9.5
40. Andrevve, Simon Peters brother, vvas one of the tyyo vvich had hard it of Iohn, and that folloved him. 4.6.5
42. And he brought him to Iesus, &c. 4.6.5
51. Hereafter shall ye see heauen open, & the angels of God ascending, and descending vppon the sonne of man. 1.14.12. & 2.9.2
- 2.2. And Iesus vvas called also, and his disciples vnto the mariage. 4.13.3
9. Novv vvhen the gouernour of the feast had tasted the vvater that vvas made vvine, &c. 4.13.3
15. Then he made a scourge of small cordes, & draue them all out of the temple, vvith the sheepe and oxen, & poured out the chaungers money, and ouerthrevv the tables. 4.19.23
19. Iesus answered and sayd vnto the, destroy this temple, and in three dayes I vvill raise it vp againe. 2.14.4 & 3.25.7
21. But he spake of the temple of his body. 2.14.4 & 3.25.7
23. Novv vvhen he vvas at Ierusalem, at the passeouer in the feast, many beleued in his name, vvhe they savv his miracles vvich he did. 4.2.5
24. But Iesus did not committe himselfe vnto them, because he knevve them all. 3.2.12
- 3.3. Verily, verily, I say vnto thee, except a man be borne againe, he can not see the kingdome of God. 2.3.1 & 4.16.17
5. Except that a man be borne of vvater & of the spirite, he can not enter into the kingdom of God, 4.16.25
6. That vvich is borne of the fleshe,
- is fleshe: and that vvich is borne of the spirit, is spirit. 2.1.6. & 2.3.1
13. For no man ascendeth vp to heauen, but he that hath descended from heauē, euen the sonne of man vvich is in heauen. 2.14.2 & 4.17.30
14. And as Moses lifted vp the serpent in the vvildernesse, so must the sonne of man be lift vp. 2.12.4. & 4.18.20
16. For God so loued the vvorld, that he gaue his onely begotten sonne, that vvhosoeuer beleueth in him, shoulde not perishe, but haue life euerlasting. 2.12.4. & 3.16.4. & 2.17.2 & 3.14.17. & 3.24.5 & 3.24.7
23. And Iohn also baptised in Enovve besides Salem, &c. 4.15.6
27. Man can receiue nothinge, except it be giuen him from heauen. 2.2.20
33. He that hath receiued his testimony, hath sealed that God is true. 3.23
34. For he vvhome God hath sent, speaketh the vvord of God: for God giueth him not the spirit by measure. 2.15.1. & 2.15.5
36. He that beleueth in the sonne, hath euerlasting life, and he that obeyeth not the sonne, shall not see life, but the vvyrath of God abyedeth on him. 4.16.31
- 4.1. Novv vvhen the lord knevv, that the Pharisees had hearde, that Iesus made and baptised more disciples then Iohn. 4.15.6
14. But vvhosoeuer drinketh of the vvater that I shall giue him, shal neuer be more a thiryt: but the vvater that I shall giue him, shalbe in him a vvell of vvater, springinge out into euerlasting life. 3.1.3
22. Ye vvorship that vvich ye knovv not: vve vvorshippe that vvich vve knovv: for saluation is of the Ievves. 1.5.12. & 1.6.4. & 2.6.1
23. But the houre commeth, & novve is, vvhen the true vvorshippers shall vvorshippe the father in spirit and trueth: &c. 3.20.30. & 4.10.14
24. God is a spirit, &c. 1.13.24
25. I knovv vvell that Messias shal come,

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- which is called Christ : vhen he is come, he vwill tell vs all rhings. 2.15
1.& 4.8.7
35. Beholde, I say vnto you, lift vppe your eyes, and looke on the regions. for they are vvhite already vnto haruest. 4.16.31
42. And they sayd vnto the vvoman, novv vve beleue not because of thy sayinge: for vve haue heard him our selues, and knovv that this is in dede the Christ, that sauiour of the vvorld. 3.2.5
53. Then the father knevv, that it vvas the same houre in the vvch Iesus had sayd vnto him, thy sonne liueth. And he beleued & all his household. 3.2.5
58. Iesus sayd vnto him, rise: take vp thy bed, and vvalke. 4.19.29
17. My father vvorketh hitherto, and I vvorke. 1.13.7.& 1.13.12.& 1.16.4
& 2.14.2
38. Therefore the Ievves sought the more to kil him: not only because he had broke the Sabbath: but said also that God vvas his father, and made himselfe equall vvith God. 1.13.3.12
31. For like as the father raiseth vp the deade, and quickeneth them, so the sonne quickeneth vvhom he vvil. 2.14.3
22. For the father iudgeth no manne, but hath committed all iudgement vnto the sonne. 2.14.3.& 2.16.18
23. Because that al men should honor the sonne, as they honor the father: he that honoreth not the sonne, the same honoreth not the father, vvch hath sent him. 2.6.2.& 2.14.3
24. He that heareth my vvorde, & beleueth in him that sent me, hath euerlasting life, and shal not come into condemnation, but hath passed from death to life. 2.9.3.& 3.15.6
& 3.24.5.& 3.25.1.& 4.16.26
25. The houre shall come, & novv is, vhen the dead shal heare the voyce of the sonne of God, and they that heare it, shall liue. 2.5.19.& 2.12.4
& 3.14.5
26. For as the father hath life in himselfe, so likevvise hath he giuen to the sonne, to haue life in himselfe. 4.17.9
28. Meruaile not at this: for the houre shall come in the vvch all that are in the graues, shall heare his voyce. 3.25.4.& 3.25.7
29. And they shall come forth, that haue done good vnto the resurrection of life: but they that haue done euill, vnto the resurrection of condemnation. 3.18.1
31. There is an other that beareth vvitness of me, &c. 1.13.17
35. He vvas a burninge, & a shininge candell: and ye vvoulde for a season haue reioyced in his light. 2.9.5
36. For the vvorke vvch the father hath giuen me to finishe, the same vvorkes that I doe, beare vvitness of me, that the father sent me. 1.13.13
44. Howe can you beleue, vvch receiue honor one of an other, & seeke not the honor that commeth of God alone? 3.11.9
46. For hadde ye beleued Moses, ye vvold haue beleued me: for he vvrote of me. 2.9.1
- 6.27. Labor not for the meate vvch perisheth, but for the meate that endureth vnto euerlastinge life, vvch the sonne of man shal giue vnto you, &c. 3.18.1.& 4.14.25
29. This is the vvorke of God, that ye beleue in him vvhom he hath sent. 3.19.10
35. I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that beleueth in me, shall neuer thurst. 3.24.5.& 4.17.4
37. All that the father giueth me, shall come to me, and him that cometh to me, I cast not avvay. 3.22.7
& 3.24.6
38. For I came dovne from heauen, not to doe mine ovvne vvill, but his vvill vvch sent me. 2.14.2
39. And this is the fathers vvil vvch hath sent me, that of all vvch he hath giuen me, I shoulde loose nothing

The Table.

- thing, but should raise it vp againe
at the last day. 3.22.7.& 3.22.10.&
3.24.6.& 3.24.7.& 3.25.8.
40. And this is the vill of him that
sent me, that euerie mā vvhiche seeth
the sonne, & beleueth in him, should
haue cuerlasting life, &c. 3.22.10.&
3.24.6.
44. No man can come to me, except
the father vvhiche sent me dravv him
and I vvill raise him vp at the last day
2.2.20.& 2.5.5.& 3.2.34.& 3.22.7.
& 3.24.1.
45. It is vvritten in the prophets, and
they shal be all taught of God. Euerie
man therfore that hath heard, & hath
learned of the father commeth vnto
me. 1.3.10.& 2.2.20.& 2.3.7.& 2.5.
5.& 3.2.34.& 3.24.1.& 3.24.14.
46. Not that any man hath seene the
father, saue hee vvhich is of God, he
hath seene the father. 3.2.34.& 3.
22.10.& 3.24.1.
47. He that beleueth in me, hath cuer-
lasting life. 1.13.13.
48. I am the bread of life. 3.11.9.& 4.
17.4.& 4.17.8.
49. Your fathers did eat Manna in the
vvildernes, and are dead. 2.10.6.
50. This is the bread vvhiche cōmeth
dovvne from heauen, that he vvhich
eateth of it, should not die. 3.10.6.&
4.17.34.
51. I am the liuinge bread, vvhiche
came dovvn from heauen: if any man
eat of this bread, he shall liue for
euer: and the bread that I vvill geue
is my flesh, vvhich I vvill geue for the
lite of the vvorld. 3.11.8.& 4.17.5.&
4.17.14.
53. Then Iesus sayd vnto them, verelie
verely I say vnto you, except ye eate
the flesh of the sonne of man, and
drinke his blood, ye haue no life in
you. 3.11.9.& 4.17.6.
54. Vvhofoeuer eateth my flesh and
drinketh my blood, hath eternall life
and I vvill raise him vp at the laste
day. 3.11.9.& 4.17.34.
55. For my flesh is meat indeed, and
my blood is drinke indeede. 2.17.5.
- & 4.17.8.
56. Hee that eateth my flesh, & drin-
keth my blood, dvvelleth in me, and
I in him. 4.17.33.
57. As the liuinge father hath sent
mee, so liue I by the father, and he
that eateth me, euen hee shall liue by
me. 2.17.5.
65. Therfore sayde I vnto you, that no
man can come vnto me except it be
geuen vnto him of my father. 3.23.
13.
70. Haue not I chosen you twelue, &
one of you is a diuell? 3.22.7.& 3.
24.9.
- 7.16. My doctrine not mine, but his
that sent mee. 2.8.26.& 4.8.4.
37. Nowe in the laste and great day
of the feaste, Iesus stode and cryed,
saying: If any mā thirst, let him come
vnto me, and drinke. 2.16.14.& 3.1.2.
& 3.1.3.& 4.19.6.
39. For the holie Ghost vvvas not yet
geuen, bicause that Iesus vvvas not yet
glorified. 4.17.22.
- 8.12. Then spake Iesus againe vnto
them, saying, I am the light of the
vvorlde: he that followeth me, shall
not vvalke in darkenes but shal haue
the light of life. 2.14.3.& 3.2.1.&
3.11.12.& 4.19.23.
16. For I am not alone, but I and the
father, &c. 1.13.17.
26. But he that sent me, is trewe: and
the thinges that I haue heard of him
those speake I to the vvorlde. 2.8.
26.
30. As hee spake these thinges, many
beleued in him. 3.2.5.
31. Then sayd Iesus to the Iewes
vvhiche beleued in him: if ye contri-
nevv in my vvorde, ye are verelie my
disciples. 3.2.12.
34. Verelie, verelie, I say vnto you, that
vvhofoeuer committeth sinne, is the
seruant of sinne. 3.2.37.
44. Ye are of your father the deuill, &c.
1.14.15. he hath been a murtherer
from the beginning, and abode not
in the trueth, bycause there is no
truth in him: vvhen he speaketh alie,

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- then speaketh he of his ovne: for he is a liar, and the father thereof. 1. 14. 16. & 1. 14. 18. & 1. 14. 19
47. He that is of God, heareth Gods vvordes: ye therefore heare them not bycause ye are not of God. 4. 2. 4.
50. And I seeke not mine ovne praise but there is one that seeketh it, and iudgeth. 2. 14. 2.
56. Your father Abraham reioyced to see my day: and he sawv it, and vvas gladde. 2. 9. 1. & 2. 10. 4.
58. Iesus said vnto them, verelie, verelie I say vnto you, before Abraham vvas, I am. 2. 14. 2.
9. 3. Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parentes: but that the vvorkes of God shold be shevved on him. 1. 17. 1
5. As longe as I am in the vvorld, I am the light of the vvorld. 2. 14. 3.
6. As sone as hee had thus spoken, hee spat on the grounde, and made clay of the spittle, and annointed the eyes of the blinde vvith the clay 4. 19. 18.
7. And said vnto him, go vvashe thee in the poole of Siloam (vvhi che is by interpretatiō, sent) he vvent his vvay therefore, and vvashed, and came againe feeyng. 4. 19. 19.
24. And said vnto him: geue glorie vnto God, &c. 2. 8. 24.
31. Novv vve knovv that God heareth not sinners: but if any mā be a vvorshipper of God, and doth his vvill, him heareth he. 3. 20. 7. & 3. 20. 10.
10. 3. To him the porter openeth, and the shepe heare his voyce, and he calleth his ovne shepe by name, and leadeth them out. 3. 24. 6.
4. And vvhen he hath sent forthe his ovne shepe, hee goeth before them and the shepe follovve him: for they knovv his voyce. 3. 22. 10. & 4. 2. 4.
5. And they vvill not follovv a stranger but they flee frō him: for they knovv not the voyce of strangers. 3. 22. 10.
7. Then said Iesus vnto them againe, verelie, verelie I say vnto you, I am the dore of the shepe. 4. 19. 23.
9. I am the dore: by me if any man enter in, hee shall be saued, and shall goe in & go out, & finde pasture. 2. 34. 3
11. I am the good shepheerde, the good shephearde geueth his life for his ihepe 2. 14. 3. & 4. 19. 14.
14. I am the good shepheerde, and knovve mine, &c. 4. 2. 4.
15. As the father knovveth me, so knovv I the father, and I lay dovvn my life for my shepe. 2. 16. 4.
16. Other shepe I have also, vvhi che are not of this folde: the also must I bring &c. 3. 24. 6.
17. Therefore dothe my father loue me, bycause I lay dovvn my life, that I might take it againe 2. 12. 4.
18. No man taketh it from mee, but I lay it dovvn of my self: I have povver to lay it dovvn, and I have povver to take it againe: this cōmaundement haue I receiued of my father. 2. 12. 4. & 2. 16. 5.
26. But ye beleue not: for ye are not of my shepe, &c. 3. 22. 10.
27. My sheepe heare my voyce, and I knovv them, &c. 3. 24. 6
28. And I geue vnto them eternall life and they shall neuer perishe, neither shall anie plucke the out of my hand. 3. 15. 5. & 3. 21. 1. & 3. 22. 7. & 3. 24. 6.
29. My father vvhi che gaue them me is greater then all, and none is able to take them out of my fathers hande. 3. 22. 10.
30. I and my father are one. 2. 8. 26.
34. Is it not vvrittē in your lavv, I said, ye are Gods? 4. 26. 31.
35. If he called them Gods, vnto vvhome the vvorde of God vvas geuen, and the Scripture cannot be broken. 4. 20. 4.
37. If I do not the vvorkes of my father beleue me not. 1. 13. 13.
11. 25. I am the resurrection, and the life: he that beleueth in me, though he vv ere dead, yet shall he liue. 1. 13. 13. & 2. 12. 4. & 3. 25. 9. & 4. 16. 17.
41. Father, I thanke thee, bycause thou hast hearde me. 1. 13. 13.
43. As he had spoke these things, he cryed vvith a loude voyce: Lazarus, come foorth. 4. 19. 29.
44. Then

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44. Then he that vvas deade, came forth bounde hand and foore vvith bandes, and his face vvas bounde vvith a napkin. Iesus said vnto them: loofe him, & let him goe. 3.4.5.
47. Then gathered the hie priestes, and the pharises a councell, and saide: vvhat shall vve doe? &c. 4.9.7.
- 12.27. Father, saue me frō this houre: but therfore came I vnto this houre. 2.12.4 & 2.16.12.
28. Father, glorifie thy name, &c. 2. 12.4.
31. Nowv is the iudgement of this vvorld: novve shall the prince of this vvorld be cast out. 1.14.13
32. And I, if I vvere lift vp from the earth, vvill dravve all mine vnto me. 3.25.6
39. Therefore coulede they not beleue by cause that Esaias sayeth againe. 3. 24.13.
41. These thinges saide Esaias, vvhen he savve his glorie and spake of him. 1.13.11. & 1.13.23.
43. For they loued the praise of men, more then the praise of God. 3.11.9.
49. For I haue not spoken of my selfe. &c. 4.8.13.
- 13.4. Heriseth from supper, and layeth aside his vpper garmentes, and toke a towel, and girde him selfe. 4.19.23
15. For I haue geuen you an exauple that ye shoulde doe, euen as I haue done to you. 3.16.2.
18. I speake not of you all: I knovv vvhome I haue chosē, &c. 3.22.7. & 3.24.9.
34. A nevv commaundemente geue I vnto you, that ye loue one another, as I haue loued you, that euen so ye loue one an other. 3.16.2.
- 14.1. Ye beleue in God, beleue also in mee. 1.13.13. & 2.6.4.
5. Thomas said vnto him: Lorde vve knovv not vvither thou goest: hovv can vve then knovve the vvay? 4.17. 23.
6. I am the vvay, and the trueth, and the life, &c. 1.13.17 & 2.6.1. & 3. 20.21. & 4.16.17.
8. And Philip saide vnto him: Lorde, shevve vs the father, and it fuffiseth vs. 4.17.23.
10. Beleuest thou not, that I am in the father, and the father in me? the vvordes vvliche I spake vnto you, I spake not of my selfe: but the father that dvvelleth in me, he doth the vvorkes. 2.14.2. & 4.8.13.
11. Beleue mee, that I am in the father and the father in me: at the least, beleue me, for the verie vvorkes sake. 1. 13.13
13. And vvhatsoeuer ye aske in my name, that vvill I doe, that the father may bee glorified in the sonne. 3.20.17.
16. And I vvill pray the father, and he he shall giue you an other comfort, &c. 1.13.17. & 4.8.11.
17. Euen the spirite of trueth, vvhom the vvorld can not receiue, by cause he seeth him not, neither knovveth him: but ye knovv him, for he dvvelleth vvith you, & shal be in you. 3.1. 4 & 3.239.
26. But the comforter, vvliche is the holie Ghoste vvhome the father vvill sende in my name, hee shall teache you all thinges, and bring all thinges to your remembraunce, vvich I haue tolde you. 2.21. & 3.1.4. & 4.8.8. & 4. 8.13.
28. For my father is greater then I. 1. 13.26.
30. Hereafter vvill I not speake many thinges vnto you: for the prince of this vvorld commeth, and he hath nought in me. 1.14.18.
- 15.1. I am the trevv vine, & my father is an husbandeman: euerie branche that beareth not frute in mee, he taketh avvay: and euerie one that beareth frute, hee purgeth it, that it may bringe forth the more. 2.3.9. & 2. 14.3. & 4.19.34.
3. Nowv are ye cleane through the vvorde, vvliche I haue spoken vnto you. 3.6.3.
5. I am the vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in mee, and I in him, the

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- same bringeth forth muche frute: for
vvithout me, &c. 2.2.8. & 2.3.9 & 2.
5.4. & 4.19.34.
10. If ye shall keepe my cōmaūdemēts
ye shall abide in my loue, euen as I
haue kept my fathers commaunde-
ments and abide in his loue. 3.16.2.
16. But I haue chosen you, and ordeī-
ned you, that ye go and bringe forth
frute, & that your frute remaine, &c.
3.22.3. & 3.23.8. & 4.1.6.
19. If ye were of the world, the vvorld
vvoulde loue his ovvne: but bycause
ye are not of the vvorld, but I haue
chosen you out of the vvorld, there-
fore the vvorld hateth you. 3.23.7
26. Euen the spirite of truth, vvhich
procedeth of the father, &c. 1.13.17.
- 16.1. They shall excommunicate you,
&c. 4.2.6.
7. It is expedient for you, that I goe
avvay, &c. 1.13.26. & 2.16.14. & 3.25
3. & 4.17.26.
11. Of iudgement, bycause the prince
of the vvorld is iudged. 1.14.13
12. I haue yet many thinges to say
vnto you, but ye cannot beare them
avvay. 3.21.2. & 4.8.14.
13. VVhen hee is come vvhiche is the
spirite of truthe, hee vvill leade you
into all truth: for he shall not speake
of him selfe, but vvhatsoeuer he shall
heare, that shall he speake, &c. 1.9.1.
& 3.3.34. & 4.8.8. & 4.8.13.
20. Verelie, verelie I say vnto you, that
ye shall vveepe and lamente, and the
vvorld shall reioyce: and ye shall
sorrovv, but your sorrovv shall be
turned to ioye. 3.8.9.
24. Hitherto haue ye asked nothinge
in my name: aske & ye shall receiue,
that your ioye maye be full. 3.20.17.
26. In that day shall ye aske in my
name, &c. 3.20.18.
28. I am come out from my father, and
came into the vvorld: againe, I leaue
the vvorld, and goe to my father.
4.17.26.
- 17.3. And this is life eternall, that they
knowe thee to be the onelic verie,
God, and vvhome thou hast sent Iesus
Christe. 1.13.26. & 2.6.1. & 3.2.3.
5. And novv glorifie mee, thou father
vvith thine ovvne selfe, vvith the
glorie vvhich I had vvith thee, be-
fore the vvorld vvas. 1.13.8 & 1.
13.22 & 2.14.2.
6. I haue declared thy name vnto the
men vvhiche thou gauest mee out of
the vvorld: when they were, & thou
gauest them me. 3.24.1 & 3.24.6.
9. I pray for them: I pray not for the
vvorld but for the vvhiche thou hast
geuen me, for they are thine. 3.22.7.
12. VVhile I vvas vvith them in the
vvorld, I kepte them in thy name:
those that thou gauest mee, I kepte,
& none of them is losse, but the childe
of perdition, that the Scripture might
be fulfilled. 3.22.7. & 3.24.6.7.9.
15. I pray not that thou shouldest take
the out of the vvorld: but that I goe
keepe them from euill. 2.5.11.
19. And for their sakes sanctifie I my
selfe, that they also may bee sancti-
fied through thy truthe. 2.13.1.4 &
2.15.6. & 2.17.6. & 3.11.12.
21. That they all may be one, as thou
father art in me, and I in thee, euen
that they may be also one in vs: that
the vvorld may beleue, that thou
hast sent mee. 3.2.24.
- 18.4. Then Iesus, knowvinge all thinges
that should come vnto him: vvent
forthe, and said vnto them: vvhome
seeke ye? 2.16.5.
36. Iesus answered: my kingdome is
not of this vvorld: if my kingdome
were of this vvorld, my seruantes
vvould surely fight, that I should not
be deliuered to the Iewes: but
novve is my kingdome not from
hence. 2.15.3.
37. Euerie one that is of truth, heareth
my voice. 4.2.4.
38. Pilate said vnto him, vvhat is
truth? & vvhen he had said that, he
vvent out againe vnto the Iewes, &
said vnto the, I finde in him no cause
at all. 2.16.5.
- 19.30. Novv vvhen Iesus had receiued
of the vinigre, he saide, it is finished,
&c. 4.18.3.13

The Table.

- &c. 4.18.3.13
 34. But one of the souldiers vvith a speare, pearced his side, and forth vvith came there out blood & vvater. 4.14.22.
 36. Not a bone of him shal be broken. 1.16.9
 20.8. Then vvēt in also the other disciple, vvwhich came first to the sepulchre, and he savve it, and beleued. 3.2.4
 17. Touchē me not: for I am not yet ascended to my father, &c. 2.12.2 & 4.17.29
 19. The same day thē at night, vvwhich vvvas the first day of the vveeke, and vvhen the doores vvvere shut vvhere the disciples vvvere assēbled for feare of the Ievves, came Iesus and stood in the middes, &c. 4.17.29
 22. And vvhen he hadde sayd that, he breathed on them, and sayd vnto them: receiue the holy Ghost. 4.19.7.29
 23. VVhofoeuers sinnes ye remit, they are remitted vnto them: and vvhofoeuers sinnes ye retaine, they are retained. 3.4.10. & 4.1.22. & 4.2.10 & 4.6.3. & 4.6.4. & 4.8.4. & 4.11.1 & 4.12.4
 28. Thou art my lordē, & my God. 1.13.11
 31. But these things are vvrytten, that ye might beleue, that Iesus is Christ the sonne of God, and that in beleuing, ye might haue life, &c. 3.2.6
 31.15. Simon sonne of Ioanna, louest thou me more thē these? he sayd vnto him, yea lord, thou knowvest that I loue thee: he said vnto him, fede my lambes. 4.6.3. & 4.11.1. & 4.19.28
 18. VVhen thou vvast yonge, thou guidedst thy selfe, & vvalkedst vvwhether thou vvouldest: but vvwhen thou shalt be olde, &c. 3.8.10

ACTES.

- 1.3. **T**O vvhom also he presented him selfe alieue after that he hadde suffered by many infallable tokens being teene of them by the space of forty dayes, and speakinge of those

- things vvwhich appertained to the kingdome of God. 2.16.14. & 3.25. & 4.17.17
 5. For Iohn in dedde baptised vvith vvater, but ye shalbe baptised vvith the holy Ghost, vvithin these fewe dayes. 4.13.11
 8. But ye shall receiue powver of the holy Ghost, vvhen he shall come vnto you: and ye shall be vvitnesses vnto me both in Ierusalem, and in Iudea, and in Samaria, and vnto the vttermost parte of the earth. 4.13.31 & 4.19.20
 9. And vvhen he hadde spoken these things vvwhile they behelde, he vvvas taken vp, for a cloude tooke him out of their sight. 2.16.14. & 3.25. & 4.17.17
 10. Behold tvvomen stood by the way in vvwhite apparell. 1.14.6
 11. This Iesus vvwhich is taken vp from you into heauen, shall so come, as ye haue seene him go into heauen. 1.14.6 & 2.16.17. & 4.17.24. & 7.26
 15. And in those dayes Peter stood vp in the middes of the disciples, and sayd (nowv the number of names shalbe vvvere in one place, vvvere about an hundredth and tvventy) 4.3.13
 23. And they presented tvvo, Ioseph called Barsabas, vvwhose surname was Iustus, and Matthias. 4.3.13. & 4.1.12
 26. Then they gaue forth their lottes: and the lot fell on Matthias, and he vvvas by a common consent counted vvwith the eleuen Apostles. 4.1.13
 23. And there appeared vnto them clouen tonges, like fire, and it fell vpon ech of them. 4.13.8
 4. And they vvvere all filled vvwith the holy Ghost, and beganne to speake vvwith other tonges. 4.19.8
 21. VVho so euer shall call on the name of the Lorde, shalbe saved. 1.3.20
 23. Him, I say, haue ye taken by the handes of the vvicked, beinge deliuered by the determinate councell and foreknowlledge of God, & haue

Y Y Y Y

The Table.

- crucified and slaine: 1.13.1.& 3.22.6
24. VVhom God hath raised vp, & loosed the sorrowes of death, because it vvas vnpossible, that he shoulde be holden of it. 2.16.11.& 2.16.12
33. Since then that he by the right hande of God hath bin exalted, and hath receiued of his father the promise of the holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this vvhich ye nowe see and heare. 2.16.15
37. Men, and brethren, vvhath shal we do? 3.3.4.& 4.16.23
38. Amende your liues, and be baptised euery one of you in the name of Iesus Christ, for the remission of sinnes: & ye shall receiue the gift of the holy Ghost. 4.15.7.& 4.16.33
39. For the promise is made vnto you, and your children, and to all that are a faire of, euen as many as the Lordc our God shall call. 4.16.15
41. Then they that gladly receiued his vvorde, vv ere baptised: and the same day, there vv ere added to the Church about three thousande soules. 4.15.7 & 4.17.6
43. And they continued in the Apostles doctrine, and felovvshippe, and brecking of bread, and prayers. 4.17 5.& 4.17.35.& 4.17.44
- 3.6. Then sayd Peter: Siluer and Golde haue I none, but such as I haue, that giue I thee: in the name of Iesus Christ of Nazareth, rise vp and vvalke. 1.13 13.& 4.19.18
15. And ye killed the Lorde of life, vvhome God hath raised from the deade, vvhereof vve are vv itnesse. 2 17.1
18. But those things vvhich God before had shevved by the mouth of all his Prophets, that Christ shoulde suffer, &c. 1.18.1
19. Amende your liues therefore, and turne, that your sinnes may be put away, &c. 3.3.20
21. VVhome the heauen must containe vntill the time that all thinges be restored, vvhich God hath spoken by the mouth of all his Prophetes, since the vvorld began. 2.16.15.& 4 17.29
25. Ye are the children of the Prophets, and of the couenaunt, vvhich God hath made vnto our fathers, &c. 2.10.23.& 4.16.15
26. First, vnto you God hath raised vppe his sonne Iesus, and him he hath sent to blesse you, in turninge euery one of you from your iniquities. 3.3.20
- 4.13. Neither is there saluation in any other: for amonge men there is geuen none other name vnder heauen, vvhereby vve must be saued. 2.16.1
28. To doe vvhatsoeuer thine hande and thy counsell hadde determined before to be done. 1.18.1.& 1 18.3
32. And the multitude of them that belueed, vv ere of one hart, & of one soule: &c. 4.1.3
- 5.4. Thou hast not lyed vnto men, but vnto God. 1.13.15
16. There came also a multitude out of the cities rounde about vnto Ierusalem, bringinge sicke folkes, and them vvhich vv ere vexed vvith vncleane spirites, vvho vv ere all healed. 4.19.18
29. VVe ought rather to obey God then men. 3.3.19
31. Him hath God lift vppe vvith his right hande, to be a prince and a fauour, to giue repentance to Israell, and forgiuenesse of sinnes. 3.3.19
41. So they departed from the counsell, reioycing that they vv ere counted vvorthy to suffer rebuke for his name. 3.8.7
- 6.1. And in those dayes, as the number of the Disciples grevve, there arose a murmuringe of the Grecians tovvardes the Hebrevv es, because that their vv iddovv es vv ere neglected in the daylie ministeringe. 3.2 6
2. Then the twelue called the multitude of the Disciples together, and sayd: It is not meete that vve should leaue the vvorde of God to serue the tables.

The Table.

- tables. 3.2.6.& 4.3.15.& 4.11.9
3. VVherefore brethren, looke you out amonge you seuen men of honest re-
porte,&c. 4.3.9
6. And they prayed, and layed their
handes on them. 4.3.16
7. And the vvorde of God increased,
and the number of the disciples vvvas
multiplied in Ierusalem greatly,&c. 3.2.6
10. But they vvvere not able to resist
the vvvisedom, and the spirite by the
vvvhich he spake. 3.3.22
- 7.5. And he gaue him none inheri-
rance in it, no, not the bredth of a
foote:&c. 1.10.13
28. VVilt thou kill me, as thou did-
dest the Egyptian yesterday? 4.10.
10
44. Our fathers hadde the tabernacle
of vvvitnesse in the vvvaldernesse, as
he hadde appointed, speakinge vnto
Moses, that he shoulde make it ac-
cordinge to the fashion that he had
seene. 2.7.1
48. The most high dwelleth not in tē-
ples made vvwith hands,&c. 3.20.30
& 4.1.5
53. VVhich haue receiued the law by
the ordinance of Angels, and haue
not kept it. 1.14.9
55. But he being ful of the holy Ghost,
looked stedfastly into heauen, and
saw the glory of God, & Iesus stan-
ding at the right hande of God, 3.25
3.& 4.17.17.& 4.17.29
56. And said: beholde, I see the heauē's
open, and the sonne of man standing
at the right hand of God. 2.16.15.& 4
17.29
59. And they stoned Steuen, vvwho
called on God, and sayd, Lorde Ie-
sus receiue,&c. 1.13.13.& 1.15.2.& 3
25.6
- 8.13. Then Simon himselfe beleued al-
so, and vvvas baptised, and continued
vvwith Philip, & vvondred vvwhen he
saw the signes,&c. 3.2.10
14. They sent vnto them Peter & Iohn.
4.6.7.& 4.15.8
15. VVhich vvwhen they vvvere come
dovvne, prayed for them, that they
might receiue the holy Ghost. 4.19.6
16. For as yet, he vvvas come dovvn
on none of thē, but they vvvere bap-
tised onely in the name of the Lorde
Iesus. 4.15.6.& 4.19.8
17. Then layed they their handes on
them, and they receiued the holie
Ghost. 4.15.8.& 4.16.31
18. And vvvhē Simon saw, that through
laying on of the Apostles handes, the
holy Ghost vvvas giuen, he offered
them money. 3.2.10
22. Repent therefore of this thy vvvic-
kednesse, and pray God, that if it be
possible, the thought of thine heart
may be forgiven thee. 4.1.26
27. And he arose, and vvvent on:& be-
holde, a certaine Eunuche of Ethio-
pia, Candaces Queene of the Ethio-
pians chiefe gouernor, vvwho had the
rule of all her treasure, and came to
Ierusalem to vvvorship. 3.2.31
31. And he sayd, howe can I, except I
had a guide?&c. 3.2.32
37. And Philip sayd vnto him, if thou
beleuest vvwith al thy hart, thou maist,
&c. 4.14.8.& 4.16.23
38. And they vvvent dovvn both of thē
into the vvwater. both Philip and the
Eunuche, & he baptised him. 4.16.22
& 4.16.31
- 9.1 And Saul yet breathing out threat-
nings and slaughter against the di-
sciples of the Lord,&c. 3.2.6
3. Nowe as he iourned, it came to
passe, that as he vvvas come neere to
Damascus, suddenlye there shined
rounde about him a light from hea-
uen. 4.17.17
4. And he fell to the earth, and hearde
a voyce, sayinge vnto him: Saul, Saul,
vvwhy persecutest thou me? 3.25.3.
& 4.17.29
6. Arise and go into the city, and it
shalbe tolde thee vvwhat thou shalt
do. 4.3.3
10. And there vvvas a certaine disciple
at Damascus named Ananias, and
to him layd the Lorde in a vision, A-
nanias, and he sayd, beholde, I am
YYYY ij

The Table.

- here, lord. 3.2.6
13. Lord, I haue heard by many of this manne, howe muche euyl he hath done to thy saintes at Ierusalem. 1.13.13.
14. Moreover here he hath authority of the high priestes, to binde all that call on thy name. 1.13.13.
- 15 He is a chofen vessell vnto me, &c. 4.3.5.
- 17 Then Ananias vvent his vvay, and entred into the house, and put his handes on hym, and sayde, brother Saul, the Lorde hath sent me (euen Iesus that appeared vnto thee in the vvay as thou camest) that thou mightest receiue thy sight, &c. 4.19.10
- 19 So vvvas Saule certaine dayes vvith the Disciples vvwhich vvvere at Damasus. 3.2.6
25. Then the disciples tooke him by night, & put him through the vvall, & let him dovne in a basket. 3.4.6
36. There vvvas also at Ioppa, a certain vvoman a Disciple named Tabitha, vvwhich by interpretation is called Dorcas: she vvvas full of good vvorks and almes vvwhich she did. 3.2.6
38. Novve forasmuch as Lidda vvvas nere to Ioppa, and the disciples had hearde that Peter vvvas there, they sent vnto him tvo men, &c. 3.2.6
40. But Peter put them all fourth, and kneled dovne, & prayed, &c. 4.19.2
- 10.2. A deuout man, and one that feared God vvith all his householde, vvwhich gaue much almes to the people, &c. 3.24.10
3. He savv in a vision evidently (about the ninthe houre of the day) an Angell of God comming in to him, &c. 4.3.3
35. And it came to passe as Peter came in, that Cornelius met him, and fell dovne at his feete, and vvorshipped him. 1.12.3
31. And said, Cornelius, thy prayer is heard, and thine almes are had in remembraunce in the sight of God. 3.2.32
34. Of a truth I perceiue, that God is no acceptor of persons. 3.17.4 & 3.23.10
42. And he commaunded vs to preach vnto the people, and to testifie, that it is he that is ordained of God a iudge of quicke and dead. 2.16.17
43. To him also giue all the Prophets vvittnesse, that through his name all that beleue in him shall receiue remission of sinnes. 3.4.25. & 3.5.2
44. VVhile Peter yet spake these vvords, the holy Ghost fell on all the vvwhich heard the vvord. 4.16.31
48. So he commaunded them to be baptised in the name of the lord, &c. 4.15.15
- 11.3. Thou vvventest in to men vncircumcised, and hast eaten vvith them. 4.6.7
4. Then Peter began, & expounded the thing in order to them. 4.6.7
16. Then I remembred the vvorde of the lord, howe he said: Iohn baptised vvith vvwater, but you shalbe baptised vvith the holy Ghost. 4.15.18
18. VVhen they hearde these thinges, they held their peace, and glorified God, sayinge: Then hath God also to the Gentiles, graunted repentaunce vnto life. 3.3.31
26. Insemuch, that the disciples vvvere first called Christians in Antiochia. 3.2.6 & 4.16.31
29. Then the disciples euery man accordinge to his ability, purposed to send succour, &c. 3.2.6
- 12.15. Then sayd they, it is his Angell. 1.14.7
- 13.2. Separate me Barnabas, & Saule, for the vvorke vvwhereunto I haue called them. 4.3.14
3. Then fasted they, and prayed, and laid their hands on them, & let them go. 4.3.15. & 4.12.14. & 4.12.16
36. Howbeit, Dauid after he had serued his time, by the councell of God he slept, and vvvas laid vvith his father, and savv corruption. 3.20.23
38. Be it knowven vnto you therefore, men & brethren, that through this manne is preached vnto you the forgiuences

The Table.

- forgiuenesse of finnes. 3. 11. 3. & 3. 11 22
39. And from all thinges, from vvhich ye coule not be iustified by the lawe of Moses, by him euerie one that beleueth, is iustified. 2. 17. 5. & 3 11. 3
43. VVhich spake to them, & exhorted them to cōtinue in the grace of God. 2. 5 8
48. And vvhē the Gentiles heard it, they vvēre glad, and glorified the vvord of the lorde: and as many as vvēre ordained vnto eternal life, beleued. 3. 2. 11. & 3. 24. 2. 13
52. And the disciples vvēre filled vvith ioy, and vvith the holy Ghost. 3. 2. 6
14. 15. VVho in times past suffered all the Gentiles to vvake in their ovvne vvayes. 1. 5. 13. & 2. 11. 11
20. Howvbeit, as the disciples stode rōunde about him, he arose vp, and came into the city, &c. 3. 2. 6
22. VVe must through many afflictions enter into the kingdome of God. 3. 8 1. & 3. 18. 7. & 3. 2. 8
23. And vvhen they hadde ordained them Elders by election in euerie Church, and prayed, and fasted, they cōmended thē to the lord, in vvhom they beleued. 4. 3. 7. 12. 15. & 4. 12 16
15. 7. And vvhen there hadde beene great disputation, Peter rose vp, and sayd vnto them: Ye menne and brethren, ye knovve that a good vvhile ago, amonge vs God chose out me, &c. 4. 6. 7
9. And he put not differēce betvvēne vs & them, after that by faith he had purged, &c. 3. 14. 8. & 4. 14. 4
10. Novv therefore vvhy tempt ye God, and lay a yoke on the disciples neckes? &c. 3. 2. 6
11. But vve beleue, through the grace of the lord Iesus Christ, to be saved, euen as they do. 3. 5. 4
20. But that vve vvryte vnto them, that they abstaine themselues from filthinesse of idols, and fornication, and that that is strangled, &c. 4. 10 17, 21
29. That is, that ye abstaine frō thinges offred to idols, &c. 4. 10. 17.
16. 1. Then came he to Derben and to Lytra: and beholde, a certaine disciple vvās there, named Timotheus, a vvomans son, vvhich vvās a Ievvesse, and beleued, &c. 3. 2. 6
3. Therefore Paule vvoulde that he shoulde go soorth vvith him, and he tooke and circumcised him, because of the Ievves vvhich vvēre in those quarters, &c. 3. 19. 12
14. And a certaine vvoman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of the Thyatiriās, vvhich vvorshipped God, &c. 3. 24 13
15. And vvhen she vvās baptised, and her household, &c. 4. 16. 8
33. And vvās baptised vvith all that belonged vnto him straight vvay 4 16. 8
37. Then sayd Paule vnto them, after that they haue beateen vs openly vncōdemned, vvhich are Romaines, they haue cast vs into prison: & novv vvould they put vs out priuily? nay verily: but let thē come and bring vs out. 4. 20. 19
17. 27. That they shoulde seeke the lord, if so be they might haue groped after him, and founde him, though doutlesse he be not farre from euerie one of vs. 1. 5. 3. 8, 13
28. For in him vve liue, and moue, and haue our beinge, as also certaine of your ovvne poets haue sayd, for vve are also his generation. 1. 15. 5. & 1 16. 1, 4
29. Forasmuch then as vve are the generatiō of God, vve ought not think, that the Godhead is like vnto golde, or siluer, or stone, grauen by art and the inuention of man. 1. 11. 3
30. And the time of this ignorance God regarded not, but novv he admonisheth all men eueri vvhere to repent. 3. 3. 7
32. Novv vvhen they heard of the resurrection from the dead, some mocked, &c. 3. 25. 7

The Table.

- 18.18. After that he hadde shorne his head in Cenchrea: for he had a vovve. 4.19.26
23. Strenthening al the disciples. 3.2.6
- 19.1. And found certaine disciples, & said vnto them, &c. 3.2.6
3. Vnto vvhath were ye baptised? and they said, vnto Iohns baptisme. 4.15. 8,18
4. Iohn verily baptised vwith the baptisme of repentance, saying vnto the people, that they shoulde beleue in in him which should come after him &c. 4.15.7
5. So vwhen they hearde it, they were baptised in the name of the Lord Iesus. 4.15.6,8,18
6. And Paul laid his handes vpon the, & the holy Ghost came vpon them, and they spake vwith tonges, & prophesied. 4.3.15
12. So that fro his body were brought vnto the sicke kerchifes or handkerchifes, & the diseases departed from them, and the euil spirites went out of them. 4.19.18
13. Then certaine of the vagabonde Ievves, exorcistes, tooke in hand to name ouer them vvhich had euil spirites, the name of the Lord Iesus, saying: vve adiure you by Iesus, vvhom Paule preacheth. 4.19.24
- 20.1. Now after the tumult vvas ceased, Paule called the disciples vnto him, and embraced them, &c. 3.2.6
10. But Paule went dovvne, and layd himselfe vppon him, and embraced him, saying: trouble not your selues, for his life is in him. 4.19.19
17. VVherefore from Miletum he sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the Church. 4.3.8
18. Ye know from the first day that I came to Asia, after vvhath manner I haue bin vwith you at al seasons. 4.3.7
20. And howe I kept backe nothinge that vvas profitable, but haue shevved you, & taught you openly, and throughout euery house 4.1.22. & 4.3.6 & 4.12.2
21. VVitnesing both to the Ievves & to the Grecians, the repentance to-ward God, and faith tovvardes our Lord Iesus Christ. 3.2.1. & 3.3.2,5
26. VVherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men. 4.4.3. & 4.17.2
28. Take heede therefore vnto your selues, and to all the flocke, vvhich of the holy Ghost hath made you ouerseers, to fede the church of God, vvhich he hath purchased vwith his owne blood. 2.14.2. & 3.5.2. & 3.11.8. & 3.13.11. & 4.3.8. & 4.5.8
29. For I knowe this, that after my departinge, shall greuous vvolfes enter in among you, not sparing the flocke. 4.9.4
30. Moreouer of your owne selues shal menne arise, speakinge peruerse things, to dravv disciples after them. 4.9.4
31. Therefore vvatche, and remember that by the space of three yeares I cessed not to vvarne euery one night and day vwith teares. 4.3.6
36. And vwhen he had thus spoken, he kneeled dovvne, & praied vwith them all. 4.19.2
- 21.4. And vwhen vve hadde found disciples, vve taried there seven daies. 3.2.6
- 22.1. Ye men, brethren, and fathers, heare my defence novve tovvardes you. 3.20.19
16. Arise, and be baptised, and vvashe avway thy finnes, in callinge on the name of the Lorde. 4.15.15
18. And I savve him, sayinge vnto me: make hast and gette thee quickly out of Ierusalem, for they vvill not receaue thy vvittnesse concerninge me. 4.17.17,29
25. And as they bounde him vwith thonges, Paule said vnto the Centurion that stode by, is it lawfull for you to scourge one that is a Romain, and not condemned? 4.20.19
- 23.1. And Paule beheld earnestly the counsell, and sayd: Men & brethren, I haue in all good conscience served God vntill this day. 3.17.14
8. For

The Table.

8. For the Sadduces say, that there is no resurrection, neither Angell, nor spirit, &c. 1. 14. 9. & 1. 15. 2. & 2. 10. 23 & 3. 25. 5
13. And vvhhen the day vvas come, certain of the Ievves made an assemblie, and bound themselues vwith an oath, saying, that they vwould neither eat nor drinke, till they had killed Paule. 4. 1. 3. 3
14. 12. And they neither found me in the temple disputing vwith anyman, neither making vprore among the people, neither in the sinagogues, nor in the Citie. 4. 20. 19
15. And haue hope tovvards God, that the resurrection of the dead vvhich they themselues looke for also, shall be both of iust and vniust. 3. 25. 9
16. And herein I endeavour my selfe to haue alvvay a clere conscience tovvardes God, and tovvardes men. 3. 19. 16. & 4. 10. 4
25. 10. Then said Paule: I stand at Cæsars iudgement seat, vvhether I ought to be iudged: To the Ievves I haue done no vvrong, as thou very vvell knowest. 4. 20. 19
11. For if I haue done vvrong, or committed any thing vvorthy of death, I refuse not to dy: but if there be none of these things vvhetherof they accuse me, no man can deliuer me vnto the: I appeale vnto Cæsar. 4. 20. 19
26. 17. Deliuering thee from the people, & from the Gentiles, vnto vvhom nowe I send thee. 3. 2. 1
18. To open their eyes, that they may turne from darkenesse to light, and from the povver of Satan vnto God, that they may receaue forgeuenesse of sinnes, and enheritaunce among them, vvvhich are sanctified by faith in me. 3. 2. 1
20. But shevved first vnto them of Damascus, and at Ierusalem, and through out all the coast of Iudea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent, and turne to God, and do vvorkes vvorthy amendmēt of life. 3. 3. 5

28. 15. And from thence, vvhhen the brethren heard of vs, they came to meete vs, &c. 4. 6. 17
16. So vvhhen vve came to Rome, the Centuriō deliuered the prisoners to the generall captaine, &c. 4. 6. 15
25. VVell spake the holy Ghost by Esaias the Prophet, vnto our fathers. 1. 13. 15

ROMANES.

1. 1. Paule a seruauit of Iesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, put apart to preach the Gospell of God. 2. 14. 6. & 4. 3. 10
2. VVhich he had promised before by his Prophets in the holy Scriptures. 2. 10. 3
3. Concerning his sonne Iesus Christ our lorde vvhich vvas made of the seede of Dauid according to the fleshe. 2. 13. 1. 3. & 2. 14. 6
4. And declared mightely to be the sonne of God, touching the spirit of sanctificatiō by the resurrection from the dead. 2. 16. 13. & 4. 19. 22
5. By vvhom vve haue receaued grace and Apostleship, that obediēce might be geuen vnto the faith in his name, among all the Gentiles. 3. 2. 6. & 3. 2. 8. & 3. 2. 29
7. Grace be vvith you, and peace from God our father, and from the lorde Iesus Christ. 1. 13. 13
9. For God is my vvittnesse, vvhom I serue in my spirit in the Gospell of his sonne, that vvithout ceassing I make mention of you. 2. 8. 27
16. For I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, for it is the povver of God vnto saluation to euery one that beleueth, to the Ievve first, and also to the Grecian. 2. 9. 4. & 2. 10. 3. & 3. 2. 29. & 4. 1. 5
17. For by it the righteousnes of God is reueiled, from faith to faith: as it is vvritten, the iust shall liue by faith. 3. 2. 29. 3. 2. & 3. 11. 19
19. Forasmuch as that, vvvhich may be knowen of God, is manifest in them: for God hath shevved it vnto them. 1. 5. 1. 13

The Table.

21. Because that vwhen they knevve God, they glorified him not as God, neither vvvere thankfull, but became vaine in their imaginatiōs, &c. 1. 5. 12
22. VVhen they professed themselues to be vvise, they became fooles. 1. 4. 1
23. For as they regarded not to knovv God, euen so God deliuered them vp vnto a reprobate minde, to do those things vvwhich are not conuenient. 1. 3. 2
24. VVho vvill rewarde every man according to his vvorkes, 3. 16. 3. & 3. 18. 1
25. For there is no respect of persons vvith God. 3. 23. 10
26. For as many as haue sinned vvithout the lavve, shal perishe also vvithout the lavve, and as many as haue sinned in the lavve, shall be iudged by the lavve. 2. 3. 2
27. For the hearers of the lavve are not righteous before God, but the doers of the lavve shall be iustified. 3. 11. 15. & 3. 17. 13
28. For vwhen the Gētiles vvwhich haue not the lavv, do by nature the things contained in the lavve, thy hauing not the lavve, &c. 2. 2. 2
29. VVhich shew the effect of the lavv vvritten in their hartes, their conscience also bearing them vvittnesse, and thoughts accusing one an other, &c. 3. 19. 15. & 4. 10. 3
30. If thou be a transgressor of the lavve, thy circumcision is made vncircumcision. 4. 14. 24
31. Yea, let God be true, and every man a liar, &c. 4. 15. 17
32. VVhat then? are vve more excellēt? no, in no vvise, for vve haue already proued, that all, both Iewes & Gentiles are vnder sinne. 3. 4. 6
33. As it is vvritten: there is none righteous, no not one. 2. 1. 9. & 2. 3. 2. & 2. 5. 3
34. There is none that doth good, no not one. 2. 3. 3
35. Their feete are swift to shed blood, &c. 2. 3. 3
36. Nowe vve knovv, that vvhatsoeuer the lavve saith, it saith it to them that be vnder the lavv: That euery mouth may be stopped, and all the vvorld be culpable before God. 2. 7. 8. & 2. 10. 3 & 3. 4. 6
37. Therefore by the vvorkes of the lavve, shall no fleshe be iustified in his sight: For by the lavve commeth the knowledg of sinne. 2. 5. 6 & 2. 7. 7. & 3. 11. 19
38. But nowe is the righteousness of God made manifeste vvithout the lavve, hauing vvittnesse of the lavve, and of the Prophetes. 2. 9. 4. & 2. 10. 3 & 3. 11. 18, 19
39. And are iustified freely by his grace; through the redemption that is in Christ Iesus. 2. 5. 3. & 2. 16. 5. & 2. 17. 5. & 3. 4. 30. & 3. 11. 4. 19. & 3. 15. 6. & 3. 20. 45
40. VVhom God hath set forth to be a reconciliation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness, by the forgiuenes of the sinnes that are passed through the pacience of God. 4. 15. 3
41. To shew at this time his righteousness, that he might be iust, and a iustifier of him vvwhich is of the faith of Iesus. 3. 11. 12. & 3. 13. 1. & 3. 13. 2. & 3. 14. 17
42. VVhere is then thy reioicing? It is excluded. By vvhat lavve? of vvorkes? nay: but by the lavve of faith. 3. 12. 13. & 3. 13. 2.
43. For if Abraham vvwere iustified by vvorkes, he hath vvherein to reioice, but not vvith God. 3. 11. 13. & 3. 11. 18
44. Abraham beleued God, and it vvas counted to him for righteousness. 3. 17. 8, 10
45. Nowe to him that vvorketh, the vvages is not counted by fauour, but by dette. 3. 11. 20
46. But to him that vvorketh not, but beleueth in him that iustificieth the vngodly, his faith is couēted for righteousness. 3. 11. 3, 6
47. Euen as Dauid declareth the blessednesse of the man, vnto vvhom God

The Table.

- God imputeth righteousness without works, saying. 2. 17. 5. & 3. 11. 4, 20, 22
7. Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. 3. 11. 11
10. How was it then imputed? when he was circumcised, or uncircumcised? &c. 4. 16. 3
11. After he received the sign of circumcision, as the seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had, when he was uncircumcised, &c. 4. 14. 5, 21, 23. & 4. 16. 20
12. And the father of circumcision, not unto the only which are of the circumcision, &c. 4. 16. 12
13. For the promise that he should be the heir of the world, was not given to Abraham, or to his seed, through the law, but through the righteousness of faith. 3. 14. 11
14. For if they which are of the law, be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise is made of none effect. 3. 11. 11. & 3. 13. 3
15. For the law causeth wrath: for where no law is, there is no transgression. 2. 7. 7. & 3. 11. 19
17. As it is written: I have made thee a father of many nations, even before God whom he believed, who quickeneth the dead, & calleth those things which be not, as though they were. 2. 10. 11. & 3. 2. 15. & 3. 14. 5
31. And being full certified that what he had promised he was able also to performe. 3. 2. 31
25. VVho was delivered to death for our sins, and is risen againe for our justification. 2. 16. 5. & 2. 16. 13 & 2. 17. 5
51. Then being justified by faith, we have peace toward God through our lord Iesus Christ. 3. 2. 16. & 3. 13. 5
3. Knowing that tribulation bringeth forth patience, &c. 3. 8. 3
5. And hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the holy Ghost, which is given unto us. 3. 1. 2. & 3. 2. 12
8. But God setteth out his love toward us, seeing that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. 2. 12. 4. & 2. 16. 4. & 3. 4. 25
9. Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him. 2. 16. 5
10. For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his sonne, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life. 2. 16. 2, 4, 5. & 2. 17. 3, 6. & 3. 11. 21 & 3. 14. 6
12. As by one man sinne entered into the world, and death by sinne, and so death went over all men, forasmuch as all men have sinned. 2. 1. 6, 8 & 2. 13. 4
15. But yet the gift is not so, as is the offence: for if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which by one man Iesus Christ, &c. 3. 5. 4
16. Neither is the gift so, as that which entered in by one that sinned: for the fault came of one offence unto condemnation, but the gift is of many offences to iustification. 2. 17. 3
19. For as by one mans disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many also be made righteous. 2. 1. 4. & 2. 16. 5. & 2. 17. 3. & 3. 11. 4, 9, 12, 23. & 4. 14. 21
20. Moreover, the law entered thereupon, that the offence should abound: neuertheless where sinne abounded, there grace abounded much more. 2. 5. 6. & 2. 7. 7
63. Know ye not, that all we which have bene baptized into Iesus Christ, have bene baptized into his death? 4. 15. 5
4. We are buried then with him in baptism into his death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the father, so we also should walke in newnesse of life. 2. 31. & 2. 16. 7, 13. & 3. 3. 5. & 4. 16. 16, 21. & 4. 19. 8

The Table.

6. Knowving this, that our olde man is crucified vwith him, that the body of sinne might be destroyed, that hence forth vve should not serue sinne. 3.3.9.11
12. Let not sinne therefore reigne in your mortall body, that ye should obey it in the lustes thereof. 3.3.13
24. For sinne shall not haue dominion ouer you: for ye are not vnder the lawe, but vnder grace. 3.19.6.& 4.15.12
18. Being then made free from sinne, ye are made the seruants of righteousness. 3.6.3.& 3.16.2
19. I speake after the maner of men, because of the infirmitie of your fleshe, for as ye haue geuen your members seruants to vncleanesse, and to iniquitie, to commit iniquitie, &c. 3.24.10.& 3.25.8
23. For the vvages of sinne is death: but the gift of God is eternall life through Iesus Christ our lorde. 2.8.58,59.& 3.4.28.& 3.14.21
- 7.1. Knowve ye not brethren, for I speake to them that know the lawe, that the lawe hath dominion ouer a man as long as he liueth? 4.15.12
7. VVhat shall vve say then? is the lawe sinne? God forbid. Nay I knowv not sinne but by the lawe: &c. 2.5.6& 2.7.6
11. VVherefore the lawe is holy, and the commaundemēt is holy, and iust, and good. 2.9.4
14. For vve knowve that the lawe is spirituall, &c. 2.8.6
15. For I allowve not that vvich I do: for vvhat I vvould that do I not, but vvhat I hate that do I. 2.2.27
18. For I knowve, that in me, that is, in my fleshe, dwelleth no good thing: for to vvill is present vwith me, &c. 2.1.9
19. For I do not the good thing, vvich I vvould, but the euill, vvich I vvould not, that do I. 2.2.27.& 3.3.11
20. Novve if I do that I vvould not, it is no more I that do it, bus the sinne that dwelleth in me. 2.2.27
23. But I see an other lawe in my members, rebelling against the lawe of my minde, & leading mee captiue into the lawe of sinne, vvich is in my members. 3.3.14
24. O vvretched man that I am, vvho shall deliuer me from the body of this death? 3.9.4.& 3.11.11.& 4.15.12
- 2.1. Novve then there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Iesus, vvich vvallke not after the fleshe, but after the spirit. 3.4.28.& 4.15.12
3. For that that vvvas impossible to the lawe, in as much as it vvvas vveake because of the fleshe, God sending his ovvn sonne, in the similitude of sinfull fleshe, and for sinne, condemned sinne in the fleshe. 2.7.5.& 2.12.4.& 2.13.1,4.& 2.16.6.& 3.2.3.2.& 3.4.27.& 3.11.13
6. For the vvisedome of the fleshe is death: but the vvisedome of the spirit is life and peace. 2.3.1
7. Because the vvisedome of the fleshe is enmitie against God: for it is not subiect to the lawe of God, neither in deede can be. 3.1.9.& 3.3.8.& 3.20.24
9. Novve ye are not in the fleshe but in the spirit, because the spirit of God dwelleth in you: but if any man hath not the spirit of Christ, the same is not his. 3.1.2.& 3.2.39.& 4.17.12
10. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sinne: but the spirit is life for righteousness sake. 2.1.6.& 3.1.3.& 3.7.24.& 3.25.3.& 4.17.12
11. But if the spirit of him that raised vp Iesus from the dead, dwell in you, he that raised vp Christ frō the dead, shall also quicken your mortall bodies, because that his spirit dwelleth in you. 1.13.18.& 3.1.2.& 3.2.39& 3.25.3,8.& 4.17.12
14. For as many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sonnes of God. 3.2.39
15. For ye haue not receaved the spirit of bondage, to feare againe: but ye haue receaved the spirit of adoption,

The Table.

- adoption, &c. 2.11.9. & 2.14.5. & 3.1
3. & 3.2.11. & 3.13.5. & 3.20.1. & 3.
24.1. & 4.19.22
16. The same spirit beareth witnesse
vvhich our spirit, that vve are the
children of God. 3.2.39
17. If vve be children, vve are also
heires, euen the heires of God, and
heires annexed vwith Christ, &c. 2.12.2
19. For the feruent desire of the crea-
ture, vvaitheth vwhen the sonnes of
God shall be reueiled. 3.9.5. & 3.25.2
20. Because the creature is subiect to
vanitie, not of it oovn vwill, &c. 2.1.5
22. For vve knowve that euery crea-
ture groneth vwith vs also, and tra-
uelleth in paine together vnto this
present. 2.1.5. & 3.25.2
23. And not onely the creature, but
vve also vvhich haue the first frutes
of the spirit, euen vve do sigh in
our selues, vvaithing for the adoptiō,
euen the redemption of our body.
3.18.3. & 3.25.11
24. For vve are saued by hope: but hope
that is seene, is no hope, &c. 2.9.3
25. But if vve hope for that vve see
not, vve do vwith patience abide for
it. 3.2.41.42. & 3.2.1
26. Likewise the spirit also helpeth
our infirmities: for vve knowve not
vvhath to pray as vve ought, &c. 3.20.5
27. But he that searcheth the hartes,
knowveth vvhath is the meaning of
the spirit, for he maketh request for
the saintes, &c. 3.20.5, 34
29. For those vvhich he knevve be-
fore, he also predestinate to be made
like to the image of his sonne, that he
might be the first borne among many
brethren. 2.13.2. & 3.1.1, 3. & 3.8.1
& 3.15.8. & 3.18.7. & 3.24.1
30. Moreouer, vvhom he did predesti-
nate, the also he called: And vvhom
he called them also he iustified: And
vvhom he iustified, &c. 2.5.2. & 3.14
21. & 3.18.4. & 3.24.6
32. VVho spared not his oovne sonne,
but gaue him for vs all to death,
howe shall he not vwith him geue
vs all things also? 2.14.7. & 2.17.6
- & 3.24.5
33. VVho shall lay anything to the
charge of Gods chosen? it is God
that iustificieth. 3.11.3, 6, 11
34. VVho shall condemne? it is Christ
that is dead, yea or rather vvhich is
risen againe, vvhich is also at the right
hand of God, &c. 2.16.13. & 2.16.16
& 2.16.18. & 3.20.20
35. VVho shall separate vs from the
loue of Christ? shall tribulation, or
anguishe, or persecution, or famine,
or nakednesse, or perill, or sword?
3.13.5. & 3.22.8
36. For thy sake are vve killed all the
day long: vve are counted as sheepe
for the slaughter. 3.9.6. & 3.25.3. &
3.14.19
38. For I am perswaded, that neither
death, nor life, nor Angells, nor prin-
cipalities, nor powvers, nor things
present, nor things to come. 3.2.16.
& 3.2.40. & 3.15.8. & 3.24.6
39. Nor height, nor depth, nor any
other creature shall be able to sepa-
rate vs from the loue of God, vvhich
is in Christ Iesus our lorde. 3.2.16,
28, 40
- 50.3. For I vvould vvise my selfe to
be seperated from Christ, for my
brethren, that are my kinsmen ac-
cording to the fleshe. 3.20.35
5. Of vvhom are the fathers, and of
vvhom concerning the fleshe, Christ
cam, vvhich is God ouer all blessed
for euer, amen. 1.13.11. & 2.13.1, 3.
& 2.14.6
6. For all they are not Israelites, vvhich
are of Israell. 3.22.4. & 4.2.3
7. Neither are they all children, be-
cause they are the seede of Abraham:
But in Isaac shall thy seede be called.
3.21.7. & 4.16.14
8. That is, they vvhich are the chil-
dren of the fleshe, are not the chil-
dren of God, but the children of the
promise are accounted for the seede.
3.21.7
11. For yer the children vv ere borne,
& vwhen they had done neither good
nor euill, that the purpose of God

The Table.

- might remaine according to electiō,
not by vvorkes, but by him that
calletli. 3.22.4
12. It vvvas said vnto her, the elder shall
serue the younger. 3.2.25
13. As it is vvrittē, I haue loued Iacob,
and haue hated Esau. 3.21.7. & 3.22.11
14. VVhat shall vve say then? is there
vnrighteousnesse vvith God? God
forbid. 3.22.8
15. I vvill haue mercy, on him to
vvhom I vvill shew mercy: & I vvill
haue compassion, on him to vvhom
I vvill haue compassion. 3.22.6
16. So then it is not in him that vvilletli,
nor in him that runneth, but in God
that sheweth mercy. 2.5.4, 17. &
3.24.1
17. For this same purpose haue I stirred
thee vp, that I might shew my
povver in thee, &c. 3.24.14
18. Therefore he hath mercy on vvhom
he vvill, & vvhom he vvill he hardeneth.
1.18.2. & 3.22.11
19. But, O man, vvho art thou that
pleadest against God? &c. 3.23.1, 4
& 3.24.16
21. Hath not the potter povver of the
clay to make of the same lump, &c.
3.17.5
22. VVhat and if God vvould, to
shew his vvrrath, and to make his
povver knowven, suffer vvith longe
pacience the vessels of vvrrath? &c.
1.14.18. & 3.23.1
24. Euen vs, vvhom he hath called, not
of the Iewes onely, but also of the
Gentiles. 3.24.16
32. For they haue stombled at the
stombling stone. 1.12.23
33. Beholde, I lay in Sion a stombling
stone, and a rocke of offence. 1.13.11
And vvhosoeuer beleueth on him,
shall not be confounded. 1.13.13
34. For they being ignoraunt of the
righteousnesse of God, and going
about to establish their ovvn righte-
ousnesse, &c. 3.11.13
4. For Christ is the ende of the lawe,
for righteousness vnto euery one
that beleueth. 1.6.2. & 2.6.4. & 2.7.
2. & 3.2.6. & 4.8.13
5. That the man that doth these things
shall liue thereby. 3.11.14, 17. & 3.17.3
6. But the righteousness of faith
speaketh on this vvise: Say not in thy
hart, vvho shall ascend into heauen?
&c. 1.17.2
7. Or, vvho shall descend into the
deepe? that is, to bring Christ againe
from the dead. 1.17.2
8. This is the vvord of faith vvchich
vve preach. 2.5.12. & 3.2.29, 30. &
4.14.14
9. For if thou shalt confesse vvith thy
mouth the Lorde Iesus, and shalt
beleue in, &c. 3.11.14
10. For vvith the hart man beleueth
vnto righteousness, and vvith the
mouth man confesseth to saluation.
3.2.2, 8
11. VVhosoeuer beleueth in him, shall
not be ashamed. 1.13.13
14. But howe shall they call on him,
in vvhom they haue not beleued? &c.
3.20.1, 11
17. Then faith is by hearing, & hearing,
&c. 3.20.27. & 4.1.5. & 4.6.31. & 4.8
& 4.16.19
- 11.2. God hath not cast avay his peo-
ple vvchich he knevve before, &c.
3.22.6
4. But vvhat saith the aunsvvere of
God to him? I haue reserved vnto
my selfe seuen thousand men, vvchich
haue not bowed the knee to Baal.
4.1.2
5. Euen so then at this present time, is
there a remnāt, through the election
of grace. 3.21.1
6. And if it be of grace, it is no more
of vvorkes: or els vvhere grace no
more grace, &c. 3.14.5
16. For if the first frutes be holy, so is
the vvhole lump: and if the roote
be holy, so are the branches. 4.1.6
15
17. And though some of the branches
be broken of, & thou being a vvilde
Olive tree, vvast graft in for them,
and made partaker of the roote, and
fatnesse of the Olive tree. 3.1.1
30. VVell,

The Table.

20. VVell, through vnbelefe they are broken of, and thou standest by sayth be not he minded, but feare. 2. 3. 22. & 3. 24. 6.
26. And so all Israell shall be saued, as it is vvritten : The deliuerer shall come out of Sion, and shall turne away the vngodlinesse from Iacob. 3. 21.
29. For the giftes and calling of God are vvithout repentaunce. 4. 16. 14.
32. For God hath shut vp all in vnbelefe, that he might haue mercy on all. 2. 7. 8. & 3. 23. 11. & 3. 24. 16.
33. O the depence of the riches both of the vvifedome and knowldge of God : how vnsearchable are his iudgements, and his vvayes passe finding out? 1. 17. 2. & 3. 23. 5.
34. For vvho hath knowen the minde of the Lorde? or vvho vvas his counseller? & c. 3. 2. 34. & 4. 18. 19. & 4. 19. 2
35. Or vvho hath geuen vnto him first and he shall be recompenced? 3. 14. 5. & 3. 23. 3. & 3. 23. 11.
35. For of him, and through him, and for him, are all things, & c. 2. 8. 13.
12. 1. I beseech you therfore brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye geue vp your bodies a liuing sacrifice, holy and acceptable vnto God, which is your reasonable seruing of God. 3. 7. 1. & 3. 16. 3. & 4. 18. 16.
2. And fashion not your selues like vnto this vvorlde, but be ye chaiged by the renuing of your minde, that ye maye proue vvhat is the vvill of God, good, and acceptable, and perfect. 2. 1. 9. & 4. 16. 4
3. As God hath dealt to euery man the measure of faith. 4. 1. 3. & 4. 16. 4. & 4. 17. 3. 2.
4. For as vve haue many members in one body, and all members haue not one office. 3. 16. 2
- VWhether vve haue prophecie, let vs prophecie according to the proportion of our sayth. 4. 16. 4. & 4. 17. 32.
7. Or an office, let vs vvaite on the office: or he that teacheth, on teaching. 4. 3. 8.
8. Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that distributeth let him do it vvith simplicities: he that ruleth vvith diligence: he that shepeth mercy, vvith cherefulnesse. 4. 3. 8. 9. & 4. 11. 1. & 4. 20. 4.
10. Be affectioned to loue one another vvith brotherly loue: Ingeuing honour, goe one before another. 3. 7. 4.
14. Blesse them that persecute you: blesse, I say, and curse not. 4. 20. 20.
19. Derely beloued, auenge not your selues, but geue place vnto vvraith: for it is vvritten: Vengeance is mine, I vvill repaye, sayth the Lorde. 4. 20. 19.
21. Be not overcome of euill, but overcome euill vvith goodnesse 4. 20. 20.
13. 1. Let euery soule be subiect vnto the higher powvers: for there is no power but of God: and the powvers that be, are ordained of God. 3. 19. 15. & 4. 10. 3. 5 & 4. 20. 4. 7. 23.
4. For he is the minister of God for thy vvealth: but if thou doe euill, feare: for he beareth not the svorde for nought, for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth euill. 4. 20. 10. & 4. 20. 17. & 4. 20. 19.
5. VVherfore ye must be subiect, not bicause of vvraith onely, but also for conscience sake. 3. 19. 15. & 4. 10. 3. & 4. 20. 23.
6. For, for this cause ye paye also tribute: for they are Gods ministers, applying the selues for the same thing. 4. 20. 13.
8. Owne nothing to any man, but to loue one another: for he that loueth another, hath fulfilled the lawe. 2. 8. 53.
9. For this, thou shalt not committe adulterie, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steale, thou shalt not beare false vvitness, thou shalt not couet: and if there be any other commaundement, it is breefly comprehended in this saying, namely: Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. 2. 8. 57.
14. But put ye on the Lord Iesus Christ,

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- and take no thought for the flesh, to fulfill the lustes of it. 3.1.1. & 3.10.3.
- 14.1. Him that is vveake in the sayth, receaue vnto you, but not for controuerfies of disputations. 3.19.11.
5. This man esteemeth one day aboue an other day, & an other man counteth euery day alike: let euery man be fully perswaded in his minde. 3.8. 33.
10. For vve shal all appeare before the iudgement seate of Christ. 1.13.11. & 3.5.8.
11. For it is vwritten I liue, sayth the Lorde: And euery knee shall bow to me, & all tounge shall confesse vnto God. 1.13.11.23. & 3.25.7.
13. Let vs not therefore iudge one another any more: but vse your iudgement rather in this, that no man put an occasiō to fal, or a stōbling blocke before his brother. 3.19.11.
14. I know, & am perswaded though the Lorde Iesus, that there is nothing vncleane of it self: but vnto him that iudgeth any thing to be vncleane, to him it is vncleane. 3.19.8
17. For the kingdome of God is not meate and drinke: but righteousness & peace, and ioye in the holy Ghost. 2.15.4.
22. Hast thou sayth? haue it vvith thy selfe before God: blessed is he that condemneth not him selfe in that thing vvich he alloweth. 3.19.8.
23. For he that doubteth, is cōdēned if he eate, bycause he eateth not of fayth: and vvhatsoeuer is not of fayth is sinne. 3.5.10. & 3.15.6. & 4.13.17. & 4.15.22.
- 15.1. VVe vvich are strong, ought to beare the infirmities of the vveake and not to please our selues. 3.19.11.
5. Nowv the God of patience & consolation, graunt that you be like minded one tovvards an other, according to Christ Iesus. 4.2.5.
6. That ye vvith one minde and vvith one mouth maye praise God, euen the father of our Lorde Iesus Christ. 3.20.29.31.
8. Nowv I saye, that Iesus Christ vv as a minister of the circumcision, for the truthe of God, to confirme the promesses made vnto the fathers. 3.2.32. & 4.16.15.
12. There shall be a roote of Iesse, and he that shall rise to reigne ouer the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles, trust. 1.13.13.
19. So that from Ierusalem, and round about vnto Illyricum, I haue caused to abound the gospell of Christ. 4.3.4
20. Yea, so I enforced my selfe to preach the Gospell, not vvhere Christ vv as named, &c. 4.3.4
25. But nowv goe I to Ierusalē, to minister vnto the Sainctes. 4.6.14.
30. Also brethren, I beseeche you for our Lorde Iesus Christes sake, and for the loue of the spirite that ye vvoulde strieve vvith me by prayers to God for me. 3.20.20.
- 16.1. Greete Priscilla and Aquila my fellowv helpers in Christ Iesus. 4.6.14
7. Salute Andronicus & Iunia my cousins and fellowv prisoners, vvich are notable among the Apostles & vv ere in Christ before me. 4.3.5.
20. The God of peace shall tread Satā vnder your feete shortly. 1.14.18. & 3.15.5.
25. By the reuelation of the mystery, vvich vv as kept secrete since the vvorld began. 2.9.4.
26. But nowv is opened, and published among all nations by the Scriptures of the Prophets, &c. 2.9.4.
1. CORINTHIANS.
- 1.1. Paule called to bee an Apostle of Iesus Christ, through the vvill of God, and our brother Sostenes. 4.3.10.
3. Grace be vvith you, and peace from God our father, and from the Lorde Iesus Christ. 1.13.13.
9. God is saythfull, by vvhom ye are called vnto the fellowvship of his sonne Iesus Christ, &c. 3.5.5.
11. For it hath bene declared vnto me, my brethren, of you by them that are of the house of Cloe, that there are contentions

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- contentions among you. 4.1.14.
12. Nowv this I saye, that euery one of you sayth, I am Paules, &c. 4.1.3.14.
13. Is Christ deuided? vvas Paule crucified for you? either vvere ye baptized into the name of Paule? 3.5.2.&c. 4.15.13.
20. VVhere is the vvise? vvhere is the scribe? vvhere is the disputer of this vvorld? &c. 2.2.20.
21. For seing the vvorld by vvisedome Knevvn not God in the vvisedome of God, it pleased God by the foolishnesse of preaching to saue them that beleue. 2.6.1.
23. But vve preach Christ crucified: vnto the Iewes, euen a stombling blocke, and vnto the Grecians, foolishnesse. 3.24.14.
26. For brethren, you see your calling howv that not many vvise men after the flesh, not many mightie, not many noble are called. 3.23.10.
30. But ye are of him in Christ Iesus vvho of God is made vnto vs, vvise-dome and righteousness, & sanctification, &c. 2.15.2.& 2.16.19 & 3.3.19.& 3.4.30.& 3.11.6.12.& 3.14.17.& 3.15.5.& 3.16.1.
- 2.2. For I esteemed not to knowv any thing among you, saue Iesus Christ, and him crucified. 1.13.13.& 2.12.4. 5.& 2.15.2.& 3.2.1.
4. Neither stode my vvorde and my preaching in the enticing speech of mans vvisedome, but in plaine evidence of the spirite. 1.8.1.& 4.1.6.&c. 4.14.11.
5. That your sayth shoulde not be in the vvisedome of men, but in the pover of God. 3.2.35.
8. VVhich none of the princes of this vvorld hath knowvn, for had they knowvn: &c. 1.5.12.& 2.14.2.& 4.17.30.
10. But God hath reueiled them vnto vs by the spirite: for the spirite searcheth al things, yea the deepe things of God. 1.13.14 & 3.2.14.
11. For vvhat mā knowveth the things of a man, saue the spirite of a man vvhich is in him? euen so the things of God knowveth no man, but the spirite of God. 3.2.34.
12. Nowv vve haue receaued not the spirite of the vvorld, but the spirite vvhich is of God, that vve might knowv the things that are geuen to vs of God, 3.2.39.& 4.8.11.
13. Comparing things spirituall vvith spirituall things. 4.16.31.
14. But the naturall man perceaueth not the things of the spirite of god: for they are foolishnesse vnto him: neither can he knowv them, bicause they are spirituall discerned. 2.2.20. & 3.2.34.
16. For vvho hath knowvn the minde of the Lorde, that he might instructe him? but vve haue the mind of Christ. 1.13.14.& 3.12.4.
- 3.3. I geue you milke to drinke, and not meate: for ye vvere not able to beare it: neither yet novv are ye able. 3.19.13.
3. For vvhere as there is among you enuying, and strife, and diuisions, are ye not carnall, and vvalke as men? 2.5.4.& 4.1.14.
4. For vvhen one sayth, I am Paules, an other, I am Appollos, are ye not carnall? 4.4.2.& 4.1.3.14.
6. I haue planted, Appollo vvatered, but God gaue the encrease. 4.14.11.
7. So then neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that vvatereth but God geueth the encrease. 2.5.4. & 3.23.14.& 4.1.6.
8. And euery man shall receaue his vvages according to his labour. 3.16.3 & 3.18.1.
9. For vve together are gods labourers ye are gods husbandry, and gods building. 2.5.17.& 4.1.6.
11. For other foundation can no man lay, then that vvhich is laide, vvhich is Iesus Christ. 3.15.5.& 4.6.6.
12. And if any man build on this foundation, golde, siluer, or precious stoness timber, haye, or stubble. 3.5.9.
13. Euery mā vvorke shal be made manifest: for the day shal declare it bicause

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- it shall bee reueiled by the fire, &c. 3.5.9.
14. If any mans vvorke that he hath built vpon, abide, he shall receaue vvages. 3.5.9.
15. If any mās vvorke burne, he shall lose, but he shall be safe him selfe: neuerthelesse yet as it vv ere by the fire 3.5.9.
16. knowv ye not what ye are the Temple of God, & that the spirite of God dwelleth in you. 1.3.15 & 3.6.3. & 3.16.2. & 3.25.7. & 4.3.1.
- 19 For the vv isedome of this vvorld is folishnesse vvith God: for it is vvrittē He catcheth the vvise in their ovvne craftinesse. 1.5.7. & 2.2.20.
31. Therefore let no man reioyce in men: for all thinges are yours. 4.19.1
- 4.1. Let a man so thinke of vs, as of the ministers of Christ, and disposers of the secretes of God. 4.3.6. & 4.8.1.
4. For I knowv nothing by my selfe: yet am I not thereby iustified: but he that iudgeth me, is the Lorde. 3.12.2. & 3.17.14.
5. Therefore iudge nothing before the time, vntill the Lorde come, vvho vvill lighten thinges that are hid in darknesse, and make the counsels of the heart manifest: &c. 3.12.4.
7. For vvho seperateth thee? & vvhat hast thou, that thou hast not receaued? if thou hast receaued it, vvhy reioycest thou, as though thou haddest not receaued it? 2.5.2 & 3.7.4. & 3.24.12.
- 1.5. For in Christ Iesus I haue begotten you through the Gospell. 4.1.6.
- 3.1. It is heard certainly that there is fornication amōg you, and such fornication as is not once named amōg the Gentiles: &c. 4.1.14.
3. And ye are puffed vp and haue not rather sorrowed, that he vv which hath done this deede, might bee put from among you. 4.1.15.
4. VVhen ye are gathered together, and my spirite, in the name of our Lorde Iesus Christ, that, such a one, I say, by the povver of our Lord Iesus Christ,
- Christ, 4.11.5. & 4.12.4
5. Be deliuered vnto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirite may be saued in the day of the Lord Iesus. 4.12.5.6.
6. knowv ye not that a litle leauen, leaueneth the vvhole lump? 4.12.5.
7. For Christ our passeouer is sacrificed for vs. 4.11.1.3. & 4.18.3
- 11 If any that is called a brother, bee a fornicator, or couetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, vvith such a one eate not. 4.1.15. & 4.12.5.
12. For vvhat haue I to doe, to iudge them also, vv which are vvithout? doe ye not iudge them that are vvithin? 4.11.5.
- 6.6. But a brother goeth to lauv vvith a brother, & that vvnder the infidels. 4.20.21.
7. Nowv therefore there is vvterly a fault among you, bicause ye go to lauv, one vvith an other. 4.1.14.
9. knowv ye not that the vnrighteous shall not inherite the kingdome of God? &c. 3.4.21. & 3.24.10.
10. Be not deceaued: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor vvantons, nor buggerers, nor theues, nor couetous, nor drunkardes nor railers, nor extortioners shal inherite the kingdom of God. 3.4.21.
11. But ye are iustified in the name of the Lorde Iesus, and by the spirite of our God. 1.1.3.14. & 3.1.1. & 3.6.3. & 3.14.6. & 3.24.10.
13. Meates are ordained for the belly, & the belly for the meates: but God shall destroy both it, and them, &c. 3.25.8. & 4.13.9. & 4.19.7.
15. knowv ye not, that your bodies are members of Christ? &c. 3.6.3. & 3.25.8. & 4.17.9.
19. knowv ye not, that your bodye is the temple of the holy Ghost, vv which is in you, vvhom you haue of God? &c. 1.1.3.15. & 3.3.9. & 3.25.7. & 3.25.8. & 4.3.1.
20. For ye are bought for a price: therefore glorifie God in your body, and in your

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- in your spirit: for they are Gods. 2.
17.5.& 3.25.7
- 7.2. Neuerthelesse, to auoide fornication, let euery man haue his vwife, and let euery vvoman haue her ovvn husband. 2.8.43
3. Let the husband geue vnto the vvife due beneuolence, and likevvise also the vvife vnto the husband. 4.12.16
5. Defraude not one an other, except it be vvith consent for a time, that ye may geue your selues ro fasting, and praier: and againe come together that Satan tempt you not for your incontinenzie. 4.12.16
7. I vvould that all men vv ere euen as I my selfe am: but euery man hath his proper gift of God, one after this maner, and an other after that. 2.
8.42
9. But if they can not abstaine, let them marry: for it is better to marry then to burne. 2.8.43.& 4.13.17
14. For the vnbeleuing husband is sanctified by the vvife, and the vnbeleuing vvife is sanctified by the husband, els vv ere your children vncleane: but novve are they holy. 2.1
7.& 4.16.6.& 4.16.15.& 4.16.31
19. Circumcision is nothing, and vncircumcision is nothing: but the keeping of the commaundements of God. 4.14.24
21. Art thou called being a seruaunt? care not for it: but if yet thou maiest be free, vse it rather. 4.20.1
23. Ye are bought vvith a price: be not seruauntes of men. 4.20.32
31. And they that vse this vvorld, as though they vsed it not: for the fashion of this vvorld goeth avvay. 3.
10.1,4.& 4.19.7
34. The vnmarrried vvoman careth for the things of the lorde, that she may be holy both in body & in spirit,&c. 2.8.43
35. And this I speake for your owne commodities, not to tangle you in a snare,&c. 4.10.2
- 8.1. And as touching things sacrificed vnto idoles, vve knovve, that vve haue knowledge,&c. 4.10.22
5. For though there be that are called Gods, vv whether in heauen, or in earth,&c. 1.13.11
6. Yet vnto vs there is but one God, vv which is the father, of vv hom are all things, and vve in him: and one lorde Iesus Christ,&c 1.13.11.& 2.3.
6.& 2.14.3.& 2.15.5
9. But take heede lest by any meanes this povver of yours bee an occasion offalling to them that are vv eake. 3.
19.11.& 4.0.22
- 9.1. Am I not an Apostle? am I not free? haue I not seene Iesus Christ our lorde? are ye not my vv orke in the lorde? 3.14.15. & 4.1.14. & 4.17.
17.& 4.17.29
2. For ye are the scale of my Apostleship in the lorde. 4.1.6
5. Or haue vve not povver to leade about a vvife being a sifter, as vv ell as the reste of the Apostles, and as the brethren of the lorde, and Cephas? 4.12.25
12. Neuerthelesse, vve haue not vsed this povver: but suffer all things, that vve should not hinder the Gospell of Christ. 3.14.15
16. And vv oe is vnto me, if I preach not the Gospell. 4.3.6
19. For though I be free from all men, yet haue I made my selfe seruaunt vnto all men, that I might vv inne the more. 3.19.12
20. And vnto the Ievves I become as a Ievve, that I might vv inne the Ievves,&c. 4.19.26
22. To the vv eake I become as vv eake, that I may vv inne the vv eake: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all meanes saue some. 3.
19.12
- 10.1. Moreover, brethren I vvould not that ye should be ignoraunt, that all our Fathers vv ere vnder the cloude, and all passed through the sea. 2.10.5
2. And vv ere all baptized vnto Moses, in the cloude, and in the sea. 4.15.9

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3. And did all eate the same spirituall meate. 4.14.23.& 4.18.20
4. And did all drinke the same spirituall drinke, for they dranke of the spirituall rocke that folloved them:& the rocke vvas Christ.1.13.10.& 2.9.1.& 4.14.26.& 4.17.15,21,22
5. But vvith many of them God vvas not pleased: for they vv ere ouerthouven in the vvildernesse. 4.14.24
11. And all these things came vnto them for ensamples,& vv ere vvritten to admonishe vs, vvpon vvhom the endes of the vvorld are come.2.10.5.& 3.2.22
12. VVherefore let him that thinketh he standeth,take heede lest he fall. 3.2.40.& 3.24.6
13. There hath no tentation taken you, but such as appeareth to man,&c. 3.20.46
16. The cuppe of blessing vv hich vve blesse, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? the breade vv hich vve breake, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? 4.17.10.& 4.17.15.& 4.17.22.& 4.17.38.& 4.18.8
17. For vve that are many, are one bread and one body, because vve all are partakers of one breade. 4.17.14
23. All things are lawfull for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawfull for me, but all things edifie not. 3.19.12
25. VVhatsoever is solde in the shambles, eate ye, and aske no question for conscience sake. 3.19.11
28. But if any man say vnto you, this is sacrificed vnto idoles, eate it not, because of him that shevved it, and for thy conscience, &c. 3.19.16.& 4.10.4
29. And the conscience I say, not thine, but of that other, &c. 3.19.11.& 4.10.4
31. VVwhether therefore ye eate or drinke, or vvhatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God. 3.20.44
32. Geue none offence, neither to the Ievves, nor to the Grecians, nor to the Church of God. 3.19.18
- 11.4. Euery man praying or prophesying hauing any thing on his head, dishonoreth his head. 4.19.26
5. But euery vvoman that praieth or prophesieth bareheaded, dishonoreth her head. 4.10.29
7. For a man ought not to couer his head: forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the vvoman is the glory of the man. 1.15.4
16. But if any man lust to be contentious, vve haue no such custome, neither the Churches of God.4.10.31
20. VVhen ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eate the lordes supper. 4.18.12
22. Haue ye not houses to eate and drinke in? despise ye the Church of God,&c. 4.10.29
23. For I haue receaued of the lorde that vv hich I also haue deliuered vnto you,&c. 4.17.35,50
24. And vvhen he had geuen thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eate: this is my body, vv hich is broken for you: this do you in remembrance of me. 4.17.1 & 4.17.20
25. After the same maner also he tooke the cup, vvhen he had supped, saying: this is the newve Testament in my blood,&c. 4.17.20
26. For as often as ye shall eate this bread, and drinke this cup, ye shevve the lordes death vntill hee come. 4.16.30.& 4.17.37
28. Let a man therefore examine himself, and so let him eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup.4.1.15.& 4.16.30.& 4.17.40
29. For he that eateth and drinketh vnvvorthely, eateth & drinketh his owne damnation, because he discerneth not the lordes body.4.1.15.& 4.16.30.& 4.17.33,34,40
31. For if vve vvould iudge our selues, vve should not be iudged. 3.3.18
32. But vvhen vve are iudged, vve are chastened of the lorde, because vve should not be condemned vvith the vvorld

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- world. 3 4. 33. & 3. 8. 6
22. 3. VVherefore, I declare vnto you, that no man speaking by the spirit of God, calleth Iesus execrable, &c. 2. 2. 20
6. And there are diuersities of operations, but God is the same, vvhich vvorketh all in all. 2. 3. 6. 9
8. For to one is geuen by the spirit, the vvord of vvifedome, and to an other the vvord of knowvledge, by the same spirit. 4. 3. 11
10. And to an other diuersities of tounges, & to an other the interpretation of tounges. 1. 13. 14. & 3. 2. 9
11. And all these things vvorketh euen the selfe same spirit, distributing to euery man severally as hee vvill. 1. 13. 14. & 4. 13. 3
12. For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body vvvhich is one, though they be many, yet are but one body: euen so is Christ. 1. 13. 16. & 3. 7. 5. & 3. 16. 2. & 4. 17. 23
13. For by one spirit are vve all baptized into one body, vvwhether vve be Iewes or Grecians, &c. 4. 14. 7. & 4. 15. 15. & 4. 16. 23
25. Left there should be any diuision in the body: but that the members should haue the same care one for an other. 3. 20. 20
28. And God hath ordeined some in the Church, as first Apostles, secōdly Prophets, thirdly teachers, then thē that do miracles: after that, the giftes of healing, helpers, &c. 4. 3. 8. & 4. 11. 1. & 4. 20. 4
31. But desire you the best giftes, and I vvill yet shewve you a more excellent vvay. 3. 2. 9
13. 1. Though I speake vvith the tounges of men and Angells, and haue not loue, I am as sounding brasse, or a tinckling Cymball. 2. 5. 4
2. If I had all faith, so that I could remoue mountaines, and had not loue, I vvere nothing. 3. 18. 8
3. And though I feede the poore vvith all my goodes, and though I geue my body that I be burned, and haue not loue, it profiteth me nothing. 4. 12. 13
4. Loue suffereth long: it is bountifull: loue enuieth not: loue doth not boast it selfe: it is not puffed vp. 3. 7. 5. 6
9. For vve knowve in parte, and vve prophecie in parte. 3. 2. 20
10. But vvhen that vvvhich is perfect, is come, then that vvvhich is in part, shall be abolished. 3. 2. 13
12. For novve vve see through a glasse darkly: but then shall vve see face to face, &c. 3. 22. 11. & 4. 18. 20
13. And nowve abideth faith, hope, and loue, euen these three: but the chiefest of these is loue. 3. 18. 8
14. 15. VVhat is it then? I vvill pray vvith the spirit, but I vvill pray vvith the vnderstanding also. &c. 3. 20. 5. & 3. 20. 32
16. Els, vvhen thou blestest vvith the spirit, howve shall he that occupieth the roome of the vnlearned, say Amen at thy geuing of thankes, &c. 3. 20. 33
29. Let the Prophets speake tvvo or three, and let the other iudge. 4. 8. 9. & 4. 9. 13
30. And if any thing be reueiled to an other that sitteth by, let the first holde his peace. 4. 1. 13
34. Let your vvomen keepe silence in the Churches, for it is not permitted vnto them to speake, &c. 4. 10. 29
40. Let all things be done honestly and by order. 2. 8. 32. & 3. 20. 29. & 4. 3. 10. & 4. 10. 27. 30
15. 6. After that, he vvvas scene of moe then siue hundreth brethren at once, &c. 3. 25. 3
10. But I labored more aboundantly then they all, yet not I, but the grace of God vvvhich is in me. 2. 3. 12. & 4. 1. 6
12. Novve if it be preached, that Christ is risen from the dead, howve say some among you, that there is no resurrection of the dead? 3. 15. 7. & 4. 13. 4

The Table.

13. For if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen. 3.25.3
14. And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching in vaine, & your faith is also in vaine. 3.25.3
16. For if the dead be not raised, then is Christ not raised. 2.13.2
17. And if Christ be not raised, your faith is vaine, &c. 2.13.2 & 2.16.13
19. If in this life onely we haue hope in Christ, we are of all men the most miserable. 3.9.6. & 3.18.4
20. But now we is Christ risen from the dead, and was made the first frutes of them that slept. 2.16.13
21. For sith by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. 2.1.6
22. For, as in Adam all men dy: euen so in Christ shall all be made aliue. 4.16.17
25. For he must reigne till he hath put all his enemies vnder his feet. 3.16.16
28. And when all things shall be subdued vnto him, then shall the sonne also himselfe be subiect vnto him, &c. 1.13.26. & 2.8.30. & 2.14.3. & 2.15.5 & 3.20.42. & 3.25.12
36. Thou foole, that which thou sorrowest is not quickened, except it dy. 3.25.4
39. All flesh, is not the same flesh, but there is one flesh of men, &c. 3.25.8
41. There is an other glory of the Sunne, an other glory of the Moone, an other glory of the Starres: for one starre differeth from an other starre in glory. 4.19.34
45. The first man Adam was made a liuing soule: and the last Adam was made a quickning spirit. 1.15.4. & 3.1.2
46. Howbeit that was not first made which is spirituall, but that which is naturall, & afterward that which is spirituall. 4.16.31
47. The first man is of the earth, earthly: the second man is the lorde from heauen. 2.12.7. & 2.13.2. & 2.13.4. & 4.17.25
50. Fleshe and blood can not inherite the kingdome of God, &c. 4.16.17

51. Beholde, I shew you a secreete thing, we shall not all sleepe, but we shall all be chaunged. 2.16.17. & 3.25.8
 52. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet: for the trumpet shall blow, and the dead shall be raised vp incorruptible, and we shall be chaunged. 2.16.17
 53. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, &c. 3.25.7
 54. So when this corruptible hath put on incorruption, and this mortal, hath put on immortality, &c. 3.25.10
 - 16.2. Euerie first day of the weeke, let euerie one of you put aside by himselfe, and lay vp as God hath prospered him, &c. 2.8.33
 7. For I will not see you now in my passage: but I trust to abide a while with you, if the lord permit. 1.17.11
- ## II. CORINTHIANS.
- 1.2. Grace be with you, and peace from God our father, and from the lorde Iesus Christ. 1.13.13
 3. The father of mercie, and the God of all comfort. 3.20.37
 6. And whether we be afflicted, it is for your consolation and saluation, which is wrought in the induring of the same sufferings, which we also suffer: or whether we be comforted, it is your consolation and saluation. 3.5.4
 12. For our reioicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicitie and godlie purenes, and not in fleshlie wisdom, &c. 3.2.41 & 3.17.14
 19. For the sonne of God Iesus Christ, who was preached among you by vs, &c. 4.17.50
 20. For all the promises of God in him, are yea, and are in him amen, &c. 2.9.2. & 3.2.32. & 3.20.17. & 4.14.20
 22. Who hath also sealed vs, and hath giuen the earnest of the spirit in our heartes. 1.7.4. & 3.1.3. & 3.2.36. & 3.24.1
 23. Now we, I call God for a record vnto my soule, that to spare you, I came

The Table.

- came not as yet to Corinthus. 2.8.24
& 2.8.27
24. Not that vve haue dominion ouer
your faith, but that vve are helpers of
your ioie, &c. 4.8.9
26. It is sufficient vnto the same man,
that he vvas rebuked of many. 3.4.13
7. So that novve contrarie vwise, ye
ought rather to forgiue him, & com-
fort him, lest the same should be
svvalovved vp vvith ouer much hea-
uines. 4.1.29. & 4.12.8
8. VVherefore, I pray you, that you
vvould confirme your loue tovards
him. 4.12.9
16. To the one vve are the sauour of
death, vnto death: and to the other
the sauour of life, vnto life, &c. 2.5.5
- 3.3. In that ye are manifest, to be the
epistle of Christ, ministred by vs, and
vvritten, not vvith ynke, &c. 2.8.57
5. Not that vve are sufficient of our
selues, to thinke any thing, as of our
selues, &c. 2.2.25, 27. & 2.3.6
6. VVho also hath made vs able mi-
nisters of the newve Testament, not
of the letter, but of the spirit: for
the letter killeth, but the spirit ge-
ueth life. 1.9.3 & 2.7.2. & 3.1.4. & 4.
1.6. & 4.14.11
7. If then the ministration of death
vvritten vvith letters and ingrauen
in stones, vvas glorious, so that the
childre of Israell coulde not beholde
the face, &c. 2.7.7
8. Howve shall not the ministration of
the spirit be more glorious? 1.9.3
9. For if the ministerie of condem-
nation vvas glorious, much more
doth the ministration of righteou-
nesse exceede in glorie. 4.3.3
14. Therefore their mindes are harde-
ned: for vntill this day remaineth
the same couering vntaken avay in
the reading of the olde Testament,
vvhich vaile in Christ is put avay.
2.10.23
15. But euen vnto this day, vvhen
Moses is read, the vaile is laide ouer
their hartes. 2.10.23
17. Norve the lorde is the spirir, and
vvhere the spirit of the lord is, there
is libertie. 2.2.8
18. But vve all beholde as in a mirror,
the glorie of the lorde, vvith open
face, and are chaunged into the same
Image, &c. 1.15.4. & 1.15.5. & 3.2.20
& 3.3.9
- 4.4. In vvhom the God of this vvorld
hath blinded the mindes, that is, of
the infidels, that the light of the
glorious Gospell of Christ, vvhich is
the image of God, &c. 1.14.13 & 1.
14.18. & 1.18.2. & 2.4.1
6. For God that commanded the
light to shine out of the darkenes,
is hee vvhich hath shined in our
hearts, &c. 2.9.1. & 3.2.1. & 4.1.5. &
4.3.3
7. But vve haue this treasure in earthē
vessels, that the excellencie of that
povver might be of God, and not of
vs. 4.1.5. & 4.3.1
8. VVe are afflicted on euerie side,
yet are vve not in distresse: in po-
uertie; but not ouercome of pouerty.
3.8.9. & 3.15.8
9. VVe are persecuted, but not for-
saken: cast dovne, but vve perishe
not. 3.15.8
10. Euerie vvhere vve beare about in
our body, the dying of the lorde Ie-
sus, that the life of Iesus also might
bee made manifest in our mortall
fleshe. 3.15.5. & 3.15.8. & 3.18.7. &
3.25.3. & 3.25.7
13. And bycause vve haue the same
spirit of faith, according as it is
vvritten, I beleued, and therefore
haue I spoken, &c. 3.2.35
- 5.1. For vve knowve, that if our earthly
house of this tabernacle be destroied,
vve haue a building geuen of God,
&c. 3.25.6
2. For therefore vve sigh, desiring to
be clothed vvith our house, vvhich
is from heauen. 3.9.5
4. Bycause vve vvould not be vnclou-
thed, but vvould be clothed vpon,
that immortalitie might be svva-
lovved vp of life. 1.15.2. & 3.9.5
5. VVho also hath geuen vnto vs the

The Table.

- earnest of the spirit. 2.9.3. & 3.2.36
6. Therefore vve are alwaies bolde, though vve knowe that vvhiles vve are at home in this body, vve are absent from the lorde. 1.15.2. & 3.2.14. & 3.9.4. & 3.25.1. & 3.25.6
7. For vve walke by faith, and not by sight. 3.2.14
8. Neuertheles, vve are bolde, and loue rather to remoue out of the body, and to dwell vwith the lorde. 1.15.2
10. For vve must all appeare before the iudgement seat of Christ, &c. 1.13.11 & 1.15.2. & 3.8.1. & 3.35.7
18. And all things are of God, vvhich hath reconciled vs vnto himselfe by Iesus Christ, &c. 3.2.29. & 3.5.5. & 3.11.4. & 4.6.3
19. For God vvas in Christ, and reconciled the vworld to himselfe, not imputing their sinnes vnto them, &c. 2.12.4. & 2.17.2. & 3.2.3. & 3.4.25. & 3.11.22. & 3.14.11. & 4.1.23
20. Nowe then are vve ambassadors for Christ: as though God did beseeche you through vs, &c. 3.4.27. & 4.1.22. & 4.3.1
21. For hee hath made him to be sinne for vs, vvhich knewe no sinne, that vve should be made the righteousness of God in him. 2.16.5. & 2.16.6 & 2.17.2. & 3.5.2. & 3.11.11. & 3.11.22. & 3.11.23
- 6.8. By honour, & dishonour, by euill reporte and good reporte, &c. 3.8.8
16. For ye are the temple of the liuing God, &c. 1.13.15. & 3.6.3. & 3.16.2
- 7.1. Seing then vve haue these promises, dearly beloued let vs cleanse our selues from all filthines of the fleshe and the spirit, &c. 1.15.2. & 2.5.11. & 2.9.3. & 3.16.2. & 3.25.7
10. For godly sorrow, causeth repentance vnto saluation, not to be repented of: but the vworldly sorrow causeth death. 3.2.7. & 3.4.2
11. For beholde, this thing that ye haue bene godly sorie, vvhich great care it hath wrought in you, &c. 3.3.15
- 8.11. Nowe therefore performe to do it also, that as there vvas a readines to will, euen so ye may performe it of that vvhich ye haue. 2.5.8
16. And thanks be vnto God, vvhich hath put in the heart of Titus the same care for you. 2.5.8
17. Because vve accepted the exhortation, &c. 2.5.8
- 9.6. That he vvhich soweth sparingly, shall reape also sparingly, and he that soweth liberally, shall reape also liberally. 3.18.6
7. As euerie man vvisheth in his heart, so let him giue, not grudgingly, or of necessitie: for God loueth a chearfull geuer. 3.16.3
12. For the ministratiō of this seruice, not onely supplieth the necessitie of the saintes, &c. 3.7.5
- 10.4. For the vveapons of our vvarfare are not carnall, but mightie through God, to cast, &c. 4.8.9. & 4.11.5. & 4.11.10
6. And having ready the vengeance against all disobedience, vvhen your obedience is fulfilled. 4.6.3
8. For though I should boast somewhat more of our authority, vvhich the lorde hath geuen vs for edification, &c. 4.8.1
- 11.14. And no meruaile: for Satan himselfe is transformed into an Angell of light. 1.9.2. & 4.12.12
- 12.2. I knowe a man in Christ aboue fourtene yeares agoe (vvwhether hee vv ere in the body, I can not tell. God knoweth) vvhich vvas taken vp into the thirde heauen. 1.9.1. & 1.14.4. & 4.3.3
4. Howe that he vvas taken vp into Paradise, and heard vvordes vvhich can not be spoken, vvhich are not possible for man to vtter. 1.14.4
7. And lest I should be exalted out of measure, through the abundance of reuelations, there vvas geuen vnto mee a pricke in the fleshe, the messenger of Satan, &c. 1.14.18. & 3.3.14. & 4.17.34
8. For this thing, I besought the lorde thrise,

The Table.

- thrise, that it might departe from
me. 1.13.20
9. And he sayd vnto me, my grace is
sufficient for thee: &c. that the po-
uwer of Christ may dwell in me. 1.3
1.3.& 1.13.20 & 3.3.14
21. I feare least vwhen I come againe,
my God debase me among you, and I
shall bevvayle many, &c. 3.3.18.& 4
1.27
- 23.4. For though he vvas crucified
concerninge his infirmity, yet liueth
he through the pouwer of God. And
vve no dout, are vveake in him: &c. 2
13.2.& 2.14.6.& 2.16.13
5. Proue your selues vwhether ye are in
the faith: examine your selues: knowv
ye not your ovvne selues, howe that
Iesus Christ is in you, except ye be
reprobates? 3.2.39
10. Accordinge to the pouwer vvhich
the Lorde hath giuen me, to edifica-
tion, & not to destruction. 4.8.1
13. The grace of our Lorde Iesus
Christ, and the loue of God, and
the communion of the holy Ghost,
&c. 3.1.2
- ## GALATIANS.
- 1.1 **P**Aule an Apostle not of men, nei-
ther by mā, but of Iesus Christ,
&c. 4.3.13.& 4.3.14
2. And all the brethren that are vvith
me, vnto the Churches of Galatia: 4
1.14
3. Grace be vvith you, & peace from
God the father, and from the Lorde
Iesus Christ. 1.13.13
6. I maruell that ye are so soone re-
moued avvay vnto an other Gospel,
from him that hath called you in the
grace of Christ. 4.1.27
8. But though that vve, or an Angell
from heauē, preach vnto you other-
vvise then that vvhich vve haue prea-
ched vnto you, lette him be accu-
sed. 4.9.12
16. To reueale his sonne in me, that I
should preache him among the Gen-
tiles, &c. 3.22.7
18. Then after three yeares I came a-
gaine to Ierusalem to visite Peter,
- and abode vvith him fiftene dayes.,
6.7.& 4.6.14
21. Then fourtene yeres after, I vvent
vp againe to Ierusalem vvith Barna-
bas, and tooke vvith me Titus also.
4.6.14
3. But neither yet Titus vvhich vvas
vvith me, though he vvere a Grecian,
vvas compelled to be circumcised. 3
19.12
6. God accepteth no mans persone,
&c. 3.23.10
7. VVhen they savv the gospel of the
vncircumcision vvas committed vn-
to me, as the gospel of the circum-
cision vvas vnto Peter. 4.6.7
8. For he that vvas mighty by Peter in
the Apostleship ouer the circumci-
sion, vvas also mighty by me towards
the Gentiles. 4.1.6.& 4.6.7
9. And vvhen Iames, and Cephas, and
John knevve of the grace that vvas
giuen vnto me, &c. 4.6.13
14. But vvhen I savve, that they vvent
not the right vvay to the trueth of
the gospel, I sayd vnto Peter before
al men, if thou, &c. 4.13.3
16. Knowve that a man is not iustified
by the vvorks of the lavv, but by the
faith of Iesus Christ, &c. 3.17.2
19. For I through the lavv am dead to
the lavve, and that I might liue vnto
God, &c. 2.16.7
20. Thus I liue yet, not I novve, but
Christ liueth in me, &c. 4.19.35
- 3.1. O foolish Galatiās, vvho hath be-
vvitched you, that ye shoulde not o-
bey the trueth, &c. 1.11.7.& 4.1.27
& 4.18.11
2. Receiued ye the spirit by the vvorks
of the lavve, or by the hearing of the
faith preached? 3.2.33.& 4.1.6
6. Yea rather as Abraham beleued God,
and it vvas imputed to him for righ-
teousnesse. 3.17.8
8. For the Scriptures foreseeing, that
God vvoulde iustifie the Gentiles
through faith, preached before the
gospel vnto Abraham. &c. 3.11.3
10. For as many as are of the vvorkes
of the lavve, are vnder the curse: for

The Table.

- it is vvritten, cursed is euery manne
that cōtinuerk not in all things, &c.
2.7.5. & 2.7.17. & 2.16.2. & 3.11.19
12. And the lavve is not of faith: but
the man that shall do those thinges,
shall liue in them. 3.11.18. & 3.11.19
13. Christ hath redeemed vs from the
curse for vs, &c. 2.7.15. & 2.8.57
& 2.16.2. & 2.16.6. & 2.16.19. & 2.17
4. & 3.4.27. & 3.11.12. & 3.19.3.
& 4.13.21
16. Novv to Abraham, and to his sede
vv ere the promises made, &c. 2.6.2
& 2.12.3. & 4.14.21
17. And this I say, that the lavv vv hich
vv as foure hundreth and thirty yeres
after, can not disanull the covenant
that vv as confirmed afore of God in
respe& of Christ, that it should make
the promises of no effect. 3.11.20
18. For if the inheritāce be of the lavv,
it is no more by the promesse, but
God gaue it vnto Abraham by pro-
mises. 3.11.17
19. VVherfore then serueth the lavv?
it vv as added because of the trans-
gression, &c. 1.14.9. & 2.5.6. & 2.7.2
21. Is the lavve then against the pro-
mises of God? God forbid, &c. 3.11
19. & 3.4.6
22. But the Scripture hath concluded
all vv der sinne, that the promes by
the faith of Iesus Christ shoulde be
giuen to them that beleue. 3.4.6
24. VVherfore the lavv vv as schoole-
maister to bring vs to Christ, that vve
might be made righteous by faith. 2
7.2. & 2.7.11. & 2.11.5
27. For all ye that are baptised into
Christ, haue put on Christ. 2.11.1. & 3.
1.3. & 4.14.7. & 4.15.6. & 4.16.21. & 4
19.8
28. There is neither Iew nor Grecian:
there is neither bonde nor free: there
is neither male nor female: for ye are
all one in Christ Iesus. 2.11.11. & 4
20.1
- 4.1. Then this I say, that the heire as
longe as he is a childe, differeth no-
thing from a seruauant, though he be
lord of all. 2.11.2. & 2.11.5. & 2.11.13
2. But is vv der tutors & gouernours,
vntill the time appointed of the fa-
ther. 4.10.14
3. Euen so vve, vv hen vve vv ere chil-
dren, vv ere in bondage vv der the ru-
dimentes of the vv orld. 4.10.14
4. But vv hen the fulnesse of time vv as
come, God sent forth his sonne, borne
of a vv oman, &c. 2.16.5. & 2.7.15
& 2.11.11. & 2.12.7. & 2.13.1. & 2.13
3 & 2.17.5. & 4.20.15
5. That he might redeeme the vv hich
vv ere vv der the lavv, that vve might
receiue the adoptiō, &c. 2.7.15. & 3
19.2
6. And because ye are the sonnes, God
hath sent forth the spirit of his sonne
into your heartes, vv hich crieth Ab-
ba, that is, Father. 2.14.5. & 3.1.3. & 3
2.11. & 3.13.5. & 3.20.37
8. But euen then, vv hen ye knevv not
God, ye didde seruice vnto them,
vv hich by nature are not gods. 1.4.3
& 1.12.3
9. But novv, seeinge ye knowve God,
ye are rather knowven of God, &c. 4.
1.27. & 4.10.10. & 4.19.7
10. Ye obserue daies, and monethes, &
times, and yeares. 2.8.33
11. I am in feare of you, least I haue
bestowved on you labour in vaine. 2
8.33
22. For it is vv ritten, that Abrahā had
tvvo sonnes, one by a seruauant, an o-
ther by a free vv oman. 2.11.9. & 4.2.3
24. By the vv hich thinges, an other
thing is ment: for these mothers, are
the tvvo Testaments, &c. 2.11.9
25. For Agar or Sina is a mountaine in
Arabia, and it ansvvereth to Ierusa-
lem that novvis, &c. 3.2.6
26. But Ierusalem, vv hich is aboue, is
free: & is the mother of vs all. 4.1.1
28. VVe are after the manner of Isaac,
children of the promes. 4.16.12
30. Put out the seruauant & her sonne,
&c. 3.18.2
31. Stand fast in the liberty therefore
vv her vv ith Christ hath made vs free:
&c. 3.19.2. & 3.19.14. & 4.10.8. & 4
10.9. & 4.20.1
4. VVho-

The Table.

4. VVho so euer are iustified by the lavv, ye are fallen from grace. 3.19.14
5. For vve through the spirite, vvayte for the hope of righteousnes through faith. 3.2.43
6. In Christ Iesus neither circumcision auaileth any thinge, nor vncircumcision, &c. 3.11.20
13. For brethren, ye haue bene called vnto liberty: only vse not your liberty, &c. 3.19.11
14. For all the lavve is fulfilled in one vvord, vvwhich is, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. 2.8.53
17. For the fleshe lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, &c. 2.7.5. & 2.2.27
19. Moreouer the vvorkes of the flesh are manifest, vvwhich are adultery, fornication, vncleannesse, vvantonnesse, 2.1.8. & 3.14.1. & 4.13.10
- 6.10. VVhile vve haue theretore time, let vs doe good vnto all men, &c. 7.6. & 3.20.38
14. But God forbid, that I shoulde reioyce, but in the Crosse of our Lord Iesus Christ, vvherby the vvorld is crucified vntome, and I vnto the vvorld. 2.16.7
15. For in Christ Iesus, neither circumcision auaileth any thinge, nor vncircumcision, &c. 4.14.24
17. From hencefoorth let no man put me to businesse: for I beare in my bodie the markes, &c. 3.18.7. & 3.25.8
- himselfe, &c. 2.12.5. & 3.11.4. & 3.18.2
6. To the praise of the glory of his grace, vvherevvith he hath made vs accepted in his beloued. 2.17.2. & 3.32. & 3.11.4
7. By vvhome vve haue redemption through his blood, &c. 3.4.30
9. And hath opened vnto vs the mystery of his vvill, accordinge to his good pleasure, &c. 4.14.2. & 4.19.36
10. That in the dispensation of the fulnesse of the times, he might gather together in one all things, both vvwhich are in heauen, and vvwhich are in earth, euen in Christ. 2.12.5. & 3.20.21
13. In vvhom also ye haue trusted, after that ye heard the vvord of truth, euen the gospel of your saluatiō, &c. 1.7.4. & 2.9.3. & 2.10.3. & 3.1.4. & 3.2.36 & 3.24.1. & 3.24.8
14. VVhich is the earnest of our inheritance, vntill the redemption, &c. 3.24.8
17. That the God of our Lorde Iesus Christ, the father of glory, might giue vnto you the spirite of vvisedom, &c. 2.2.21
18. That ye may knowv, vvhat the hope of his callinge, and vvhat the riches of his glorious inheritance is in the sainctes. 3.2.16. & 4.8.11
20. VVhich he vvrought in Christ, vvhen he raised him from the deade, &c. 2.16.15
21. Far aboue all principality, and power, and might, & domination, and euery name that is named, &c. 1.14.5 & 2.15.5 & 2.16.15
22. And he hath appointed him ouer all thinges to be the heade to the Church. 2.15.5. & 4.6.9
23. VVhich is his body, euen the fulnesse of him that filleth all in all thinges. 2.15.5. & 3.20.38. & 4.1.10 & 4.17.9
- 2.1. That vvhere dead in trespasses, and sinnes, &c. 3.24.10
2. VVherein, in time past ye vvalked, accordinge to the course of this vvorld, and after the Prince that re-

EPHESIANS.

- 1.3. **G**Race be vvith you, and peace from God our father, & from the Lord Iesus Christ. 1.13.13
3. VVhich hath blessed vs vvith all spirituall blessing in heavenly things in Christ. 3.22.10
4. As he hath chosen vs in him, before the foundation of the vvorld, that vve shoulde be holy, &c. 2.3.8. & 2.8.53. & 2.12.5. & 2.16.4. & 3.15.5. & 3.17.15. & 3.19.2. & 3.22.1. & 3.23.12. & 3.24.3. & 3.24.5
5. VVho hath predestinate vs to be adopted through Iesus Christ vnto

The Table.

- Ieth in the ayer, &c. 1.14.13. & 1.14
 18. & 2.4.1. & 3.24.10
 3. Among vvhom vve also had our cō-
 uersation in time past, in the lustes of
 our flesh, in fulfilling the will of the
 flesh, & of the minde, &c. 2.1.6. & 2
 1.11. & 4.16.17
 4. But God vvhich is riche in loue,
 through his great loue vvhervvith
 he loued vs. 3.14.5
 5. Euen vvhē vve vvere dead by sinnes,
 he quickened vs, &c. 2.5.19
 6. And hath raised vs vp together, &
 made vs to sit together in the heauē-
 ly places in Christ Iesus. 2.16.16. & 3
 4.6. & 3.25.1
 8. For by grace are ye saued through
 faith, & that not of your selues: it is
 the gift of God. 3.13.2. & 3.14.11
 9. Not of vvorkes, least any manne
 should boast himselfe. 3.13.2
 10. For vve are his vvorkemanshippe
 created in Christ Iesus vnto good
 vvorkes, &c. 2.3.6. & 3.21. & 3.14
 5. & 3.15.7. & 3.23.13
 11. VVherefore remember that ye be-
 ing in time past Gentiles in the flesh,
 and called vncircumcision, &c. 4.14
 12. & 4.16.15
 12. That ye vvere, I say, at that time
 vvithout Christ, and vvere alienates
 from the common vveth of Israell,
 &c. 1.4.3. & 1.5.12. & 2.6.1. & 3.24.10
 & 4.14.12. & 4.16.3. & 4.16.24
 14. For he is our peace, vvhich hath
 made of both one, &c. 2.7.17. & 2.11
 11. & 3.2.28. & 3.2.32. & 3.13.4. & 4
 16.13
 16. And that he might reconcile both
 vnto God in one body by the crosse,
 &c. 2.17.2
 19. Nowve therefore, ye are no more
 strangers and foreners: but Citizens,
 &c. 3.25.1
 20. And are built vpon the foundatiō
 of the Apostles and Prophets, &c. 1
 7.2. & 4.3.1. & 4.2.4. & 4.6.5
 21. In vvhome all the buildinge cou-
 pled together, growveth vnto an ho-
 lie Temple in the Lorde. 3.15.5. & 3
 16.2
 3.2. If ye haue heard of the dispen-
 sation of the grace of God, vvhich is
 giuen me to you vvard. 4.14.2
 7. VVhereof I am made a minister by
 the gift of the grace of God, &c. 3
 22.7
 10. To the intent, that novv vnto prin-
 cipalities, and povvers in heauenlie
 places, &c. 1.18.3. & 2.11.12. & 3.24
 16
 12. By vvhom vve haue boldnesse and
 entraunce by confidence, &c. 3.2.15
 & 3.13.5. & 3.20.12
 14. For this cause I bowve my knees
 vnto the father of our Lorde Iesus
 Christ. 3.2.15
 15. Of vvhom is named the vvhole fa-
 mily in heaven and in earth. 2.14.7
 16. That he might graunt you accor-
 ding to the riches of his glory, that
 ye may be strengthened, &c. 2.12.5
 17. That Christ may dwell in your harts
 by faith, &c. 2.9.3. & 2.12.5. & 4.17.5
 18. That ye, beinge rooted and groun-
 ded in loue, may be able to compre-
 hende vvith all sainctes, &c. 2.12.5
 & 3.2.14. & 3.14.19
 19. And to knowv the loue of Christ,
 vvich passeth knowledge, &c. 3.12.5
 4.2. VVith long suffering, supporting
 one an other through loue. 4.12.11
 & 4.12.13
 3. Indeuouringe to keepe the vnitie of
 the spirit in the bonde of peace. 4.12
 11. & 4.12.13
 4. There is one body, and one spirite,
 &c. 4.1.3. & 4.3.1. & 4.6.10
 5. There is one Lord, one faith, & one
 baptisme. 1.13.16. & 4.2.5
 7. But vnto cuerie one of vs is giuen
 grace, &c. 2.15.5. & 3.1.2. & 4.6
 10
 8. VVhen he ascended vppe on hie, he
 ledde captiuitie captiue, &c. 1.13.11
 & 2.16.16
 10. He that descended, is euen the same
 that ascended far aboue all heauens,
 &c. 2.16.14. & 4.3.2. & 4.6.10
 11. He therfore gaue some to be Apo-
 stles, & some to be Prophets, &c. 4.1
 15.5. & 4.3.4. & 4.6.10. & 4.8.12
 12. For

The Table.

12. For the gathering together of the
Sainctes, that for the vvorke of the
ministry, &c. 4.1.5
13. Till vve all meete together, in the
vnity of faith, &c. 4.14.8
14. That vve be no more hencefoorth
children, yvaueringe & caried avay
vvith euerie vvinde of doctrine, &c.
4.3.1
15. But lette vs follovv the trueth in
loue, and in all thinges growve vp in-
to him, &c. 2.16.15. & 3.1.1. & 3.1.3.
& 4.3.2. & 4.6.9. & 4.17.9
16. By vvhom all the body being cou-
pled and knitte together by euerie
ioynt, &c. 2.13.1. & 4.6.9
17. This I say therefore, and testifie in
the Lorde, that ye hencefoorth vvalke
not, &c. 2.3.1
18. Hauing their cogitation darkened,
and being straungers, &c. 2.3.1
20. But you haue not so learned Christ.
3.2.6. & 3.6.4
22. That is, that ye cast of, concerning
the cōuersation in time past, the old
man, &c. 3.3.8. & 3.6.4
23. And be renevved in the spirite of
your minde. 2.1.9 & 2.3.1. & 3.3.8
& 3.7.1
24. And put on the new man, vvhich
after God is created, &c. 1.15.4
27. Neither giue place to the deuill. 1
14.18
28. Let him that stole, steale no more,
but let him rather labour, &c. 3.24
10
30. And greue not the holy spirite of
God by vvhom, &c. 2.5.8
- 5.1. Be ye therefore follovvrs of God,
as deere children. 3.6.3
2. And vvalke in loue, euen as Christ
hath loued vs, and hath giuen him-
selfe, &c. 2.17.5. & 4.19.23
6. Lette no manne deceiue you vvith
vaine vvordes, for such thinges, &c.
3.2.27
8. For ye vvete once darkenesse, but
are novv light in the Lorde, &c. 3.16
3. & 3.24.10
24. Avvake thou that sleepest, & stand
vp from the deade, and Christ shall
giue thee light. 2.5.19
23. For the husbände is the vvines
heade, euen as Christ is the heade of
the Church, &c. 3.6.3 & 4.6.9
25. And gauē himselfe for it. 4.1.17. & 4
8.12
26. That he might sanctify it, & cleanse
&c. 3.3.11. & 3.6.3 & 4.1.13. & 4.15.2
& 4.16.22
27. That he might make it vnto him-
selfe a glorious Church, not hauing,
&c. 3.3.11. & 4.1.10
28. So ought menne to loue their
vvives as their ovvne bodies, &c. 4
19.35
29. For no manne euer yet hated his
ovvne flesh, but nourisheth, and che-
risheth it, euen as the Lord doth the
Church, 4.19.35
30. For vve are members of his body,
of his flesh, &c. 2.12.2. & 2.12.7. & 3
1.3. & 4.17.9
32. This is a great mistery, but I speak
concerning Christ and concerning
the Church. 4.12.24
- 6.1. Children obey your parentes in
the Lorde: &c. 2.8.36. & 2.8.38. & 4
20.29
4. And ye fathers, prouoke not your
children to vvraoth, &c. 4.20.29
9. Neither is there respect of persons
vvith him. 3.23.10
10. Finally my brethren be stronge in
the Lorde: &c. 2.5.8
12. For vve vvrestle not against fleshe
and blood: &c. 1.14.13. & 1.17.8
13. For this cause, take vnto you the
vvhole armour of God, &c. 1.14.13
& 2.5.12
16. Aboue all take the shield of faith,
vvherevvith ye may quench all, &c.
3.2.21. & 3.20.12
18. And pray alvvay vvith all manner
of prayer and supplication in the spi-
rit: &c. 3.20.5. & 3.20.7. & 3.20.12
19. And for me, that vtterance may be
giuen vnto me: that I may open my
mouth boldly: &c. 3.20.20

PHILIPPIANS.

- 1.1. Paul & Timothe the seruantes of
Iesus Christ, &c. 4.3.7. & 4.3.8

The Table.

4. Alwayes in all my prayers for all you, &c. 2.2.25
 6. I am persvaded of this same thing, that he that hath begon this same good vwork in you, &c. 2.3.6 & 3.18
1. & 3.24.6
 20. As I hartily looke for, and hope, that in nothing I shalbe ashamed, but that vvith all confidence, &c. 3.2.43
 23. For I am greatly in dout on both sides, desiring to be loosed and to be vvith Christ, &c. 3.9.4
 29. For vnto you it is giue for Christ, that not onely ye shoulde beleue in him, &c. 2.7.5
 - 2.2. Fulfil my ioy, that ye be like minded, hauing the same loue, &c. 4.2.5
 3. That nothing be done through cōtention, or vaine glory : but that in meekenesse, &c. 3.7.4
 5. Let the same minde be in you, that vvas euen in Christ Iesus. 4.2.5
 6. VVho beinge in the forme of God, thought it no robbery, &c. 1.13.11
& 1.13.24
 7. But he made himselfe of no reputation, & tooke on him the forme of a seruauant, and vvas made like vnto men, &c. 1.13.24. & 2.13.2. & 2.16.5.
& 4.17.25
 8. He humbled himselfe, and became obedient vnto the death, &c. 2.13.2
& 2.14.3. & 3.15.8. & 4.14.21
 9. VVherefore God hath also highly exalted him, & giue him a name, &c. 2.11.12. & 2.13.2. & 2.15.5. & 2.16.15
& 2.17.6
 10. That at the name of Iesus shoulde euery knee bow, &c. 1.13.24. & 2.11.12
& 2.14.3. & 3.5.8
 11. VVherefore my beloued, as you haue alwayes obeyed, not as in my presence, &c. 2.5.11. & 3.2.23. & 3.18.1
 13. For it is God that vworketh in you both the vwill, and the deede, &c. 2.2.27. & 2.3.6. & 2.3.11. & 2.5.11. & 3.2.23. & 3.11.12
 15. That ye may be blamelesse, & pure, and the sonnes of God vvithout rebuke, &c. 3.17.15
 17. Yea and though I be offered vp vpon the sacrifice, and seruice of our faith, I am glad & reioyce vvith you all. 3.2.6
 20. For I haue no manne like minded, vvho vvill faithfully care for your matters. 4.6.15
 21. For all seke their ovvne, & not that vvhich is Iesus Christes. 4.6.15
 35. An Ebreuve of the Ebreuves, by the lavv a Pharisee. 3.24.10
 6. Concerning zeale, I persecuted the Church, &c. 3.24.10
 8. Yea, doutlesse I thinke all thinges but losse, for the excellent knowvledge sake of Christ Iesus my Lorde, &c. 3.11.13. & 3.25.2
 10. That I may knowv him, & the vertue of his resurrection, &c. 2.16.13
& 3.8.1. & 3.15.8. & 3.25.2
 12. Not as though I had already attained to it, either vvere already perfect: but, &c. 4.8.11
 13. But one thing I do: I forgette that vvhich is behinde, &c. 3.14.13. & 3.25.1
 15. Let vs therefore as many as be perfect, be thus minded: & if ye be otherwise minded: &c. 3.2.4. & 4.1.12
 20. But our conuersation is in heauen, from vvhence also vve looke for the sauour, &c. 3.25.2. & 4.17.27. & 4.17.29
 21. VVho shal chaunge our vile body, &c. 3.25.4. & 3.25.8. & 4.17.29
 43. Yea, and I beseeche thee, faithfull yoke felovv, help those vvomen that laboured vvith me in the gospel, &c. 3.24.9
 6. Be nothing careful, but in all thinges lette your requestes be shewed to God, in prayer and supplication, &c. 3.20.28. & 3.20.40
 12. And I can be abased: and I can abounde euery vvhere in all thinges I am instructed, &c. 3.10.5. & 3.19.9
 18. I vvas euen filled, after that I had receiued of Epiphroditus, &c. 4.18.16
- C O L O S S I A N S.
- 1.4. SInce vve hearde of your faith in Christ Iesus, and of your loue toward all saintes. 2.10.3. & 3.18.3
5. For

The Table.

5. For the hopes sake, vvhiche is layed vp for you in heauen, &c. 3.18.3. & 3.25.1.
9. For this cause vve also, since the day vve hearde of it, cease not to pray for you, &c. 2.2.25.
10. And increasing in the knowvledge of God. 3.2.25.
12. Geuing thanks vnto the father vvhiche hath made vs, &c. 3.12.1.
13. VVho hath deliuered vs, from the povver of darkenes, &c. 3.15.6.
14. In vvhome vve haue redemption through his blood, &c. 2.17.5. & 3.4.30. & 3.15.5.
15. VVho is the image of the inuifible God, the firste borne of euerie creature. 2.2.30. & 2.6.4. & 2.12.4. & 2.12.7. & 2.14.2. & 2.14.5.
16. For by him vvere all things created, vvhiche are in heauen, & vvhich are in earth, things visibie and inuifible, &c. 1.14.10. & 2.12.7.
18. And he is the head of the bodie of the Church, &c. 2.12.7. & 4.6.9.
20. And by him to reconcile all things vnto him selfe, &c. 1.14.10. & 2.17.2. & 3.4.27. & 3.15.5.
21. And you vvhiche vvere in times past strangers and enimies, by cause your mindes, &c. 2.16.2. & 3.14.6.
22. Hath he novve also reconciled, in the bodie of his flesh, &c. 2.16.2.
24. Novv reioyce I in my sufferings for you, &c. 3.5.2. & 3.5.4. & 4.12.5.
26. VVhiche is the mysterie hid since the vvorlde began: and from all ages, but novve is made manifeste vnto his sainctes. 2.7.17. & 2.11.13. & 3.2.14. & 4.14.2.
- 2.2. That their heartes might bee comforted, & they knit together in loue, &c. 3.2.14.
3. In vvhome are hid all the treasures of vvifedome & knowvledge. 2.12.4. & 2.15.2. & 3.2.13. & 2.11.5. & 3.11.12. & 4.8.7. & 4.10.8. & 4.18.20.
8. Bewvare lest there bee any man that spoyle you through Philosophie, &c. 4.10.8. & 4.10.24.
9. For in him dvvelleth all the fulnes of the Godhead bodelie. 1.13.13. & 3.11.5.
10. And ye are cōplete in him, vvhich is the head of all principalitie, and povver. 1.14.5. & 4.6.9.
11. In vvhome also ye are circumcised vvith circumcision made vvithout handes, &c. 4.14.24. & 4.16.11.
12. In that ye are buried vvith him in baptisme, &c. 3.15.8. & 4.15.5. & 4.16.21.
13. And ye vvhiche vvere dead in sinnes, and in the vncircūcision of youre fleshe, &c. 2.7.17.
14. And puttinge out the hande vvritinge of ordinaūces that vvas against vs: &c. 2.7.17. & 2.17.5. & 3.4.25.
15. And hath spoyled the principallities and povvers, and hath made a shevve of them openlie, &c. 2.16.6.
16. Let no man therefore condemne you of meate & drinke or in respecte of an holy day, &c. 2.8.33.
17. VVhiche are but a shadowe of thinges to come: but the bodie is in Christe. 2.7.16. & 2.8.31. & 4.14.22. & 4.14.25.
19. And holdeth not the head, vvhere of all the body is furnished and knit together by ioyntes, &c. 2.15.1.
20. VVherefore if ye be dead vvith Christ from the ordinaūces of the vvorlde, &c. 4.10.9. & 4.10.13. & 4.19.7.
21. Touche not, nor taste not, &c. 4.10.13.
23. VVhiche thinges haue indeede a shevve of vvifdome, in volūtary religiō, &c. 4.10.11. & 4.10.24. & 4.13.2.
- 3.1. If then ye be risen vvith Christe, seeke those thinges vvhiche are aboue &c. 3.6.3. & 4.17.36.
2. Set youre affections on thinges vvhich are aboue & not on thinges vvhiche are on the earthe. 4.17.36.
3. For ye are dead, and your life is hid vvith Christ in God. 2.16.7. & 2.16.13. & 3.25.1.
5. Mortifie therefore youre members vvhiche are on the earthe, fornicatiō, vncircūcision, &c. 2.16.13. & 2.16.6.

The Table.

6. For the vvhich thinges takes the vvrath of God commeth on the children of disobedience. 3.2.27.
9. Lie not one to an other, seinge that ye haue put of the olde mā,&c. 3.3.8
10. And haue put on the new, vvhich is reneved,&c. 1.15.4. & 2.12.9. & 3. 3.9.
11. VVhere is neither Greciā nor Iewve, circumcision nor vncircumcisiō, Barbarian,&c. 4.20.1.
14. And aboute all these things, put on loue,&c. 2.8.53. & 3.18.8. & 4.13.13.
16. Teaching, and admonishinge your ouerne felues, in psalmes, and hymnes &c. 3.20.32.
20. Children, obey your parentes,&c. 2.8.3.6.
24. knowinge that of the Lorde, ye shall receiue the rewarde of the inheritance,&c. 3.18.2
25. Neither is there no respect of persons. 3.2.10.
- 4.3. Praying also for vs, that God may open vnto vs the dore of vterance &c. 3.20.20.
17. And say to Archippus, take heede to the ministerie, that thou halt receiued,&c. 4.3.7.

I. THESSALONIANS.

- 2.18. **T**herefore vve vvoulde haue come vnto you (I Paul)&c. 1. 17.11.
19. For what is our hope, or ioy, or crowne of reioycing? 3.25.10.
- 3.5. Euen for this cause, vvhen I could no longer forbear, I sent him that I might knowe of your faith,&c. 3.20. 46. & 4.1.6.
12. And the Lorde increase you, and make you abounde in loue one to vuarde an other,&c. 2.5.6.
13. To make your hearts stable, and vnblameable in holines before God, &c. 3.12.15
- 4.3. For this is the vvill of God, euen your sanctification,&c. 3.16.2.
7. For God hath not called vs vnto vncleannes, but vnto holines, 3.16.2.

- & 3.19.2. & 3.23.13.
15. For this say vve vnto you by the vvord of the Lorde, that vve vvhich, liue, and are remayning in the comming of the Lorde, shall not preuent thote vvhiche slepe. 3.25.8.
16. For the Lorde him selfe shall descend from heauen vvith a shoute, & vvith the voyce of the Archangell, & vvith the trōpet of God:& the dead in Christ shal first rise. 1.14.8. & 2.16. 17.
17. Then shall vve vvhiche liue and remaine, be caught vp vvith them also in the cloudes, to mere the Lorde in the ayer:& so shall vve euer be vvith the Lorde. 2.16.17.
- 5.2 For you your selues knowe perfectly, that the day of the Lorde shall come, euen as a thefe in the night. 4. 19.34.
9. For God hath not appointed vs vnto vvrath, but to obtaine saluation by the meanes of our Lorde Iesus Christ. 3.16.2.
17. Pray continuallie. 3.20.7. & 3.20. 28.
- 18 In all thinges geue thanks, for this is the vvill of God in Christ Iesus to vuarde you,&c. 3.20.28.
19. Quenche not the spirite. 1.9.3. & 2.5.11.

20. Despise not prophceying. 1.9.3.
23. Nowv the verie God of peace sanctifie you throughout: and I pray God that your vvhole spirit and soule and bodie, may be kept blameles vnto the comming of our Lorde Iesus Christe. 3.6.3. & 3.17.15. & 3.25.7

II. THESSALONIANS.

- 1.4. **S**O that vve our selues reioyce of you in the Churches of God bycause of your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulatiōs that ye suffer. 3.2.11
5. VVhiche is a token of the righteous iudgement of God, that ye may be counted vvorthie of the kingdome of God, for the vvhiche ye also suffer 3.2

The Table.

- 3.2.11.& 3.18.7
6. For it is a righteous thinge vvith God, to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you. 3.9.6.& 3.18.7.& 3.25.4.
7. And to you vvwhich are troubled, rest vvith vs vvhen the Lorde Iesus shall shevve him selfe from heauen vvith his mightie Angels. 3.18.7.
9. VVhich shall be punished vvith euermlasting perdition, from the presence of the Lorde, and from the glorie of his pouwer. 3.25.12.
10. VVhen he shall come to be glorified in his Sainctes, and to be made merueillous in all them that beleue (because our testimony tovvwarde you vvvas beleued) in that day. 3.25.10.
11. VVherefore, vvee also pray allvvayes for you, that our God may make you vvorthie of his callinge, and fulfill all the good pleasure of his goodnes, and the vvorke of fayth vvith pouwer. 2.5.8.& 3.2.35.
- 2.3. Let no man deceiue you by any meanes: for that day shall not come, except there come a departinge first, and that that man offinne be disclosed, euen the sonne of perdition. 4.5.7
4. And exalteth himselfe againste all that is called God, or that is vvorshipped so that hee dothe sit as God in the Temple of God, &c. 4.3.13.& 4.7.25.& 4.7.29.& 4.9.4.
9. Euen him vvwhose comminge is by the vvorking of Satan vvith all pouwer & signes, & lying vvonders. 1.14.17.
11. And therefore God shall sende them strong delusion, that they shoulde beleue lyes. 1.14.17. & 1.18.2.& 2.4.5
12. That all they might be damned, vvwhich beleue not the truth, but had pleasure in vnrighteousnesse. 1.18.2. & 2.4.5.
13. But vve ought allvvayes to geue thanks to God for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, bycause he hath chosen you from the beginninge to saluation, thorovve sanctification of the spirit, and beleife of the truth. 3.1.2.
14. VVherunto he called you by our Gospell, to the obtaininge of the glory for our Lorde Iesu Christ. 2.10.3.
- 3.6. VVe do commaund you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ that ye vvithdrawv your selues from euery brother that vvalketh inordinately, &c. 4.1.26.
10. For euen vvhe vve vvvere vvith you this vve vvwarned you of, that if there vvwere anie that vvoulde not vvorke, that he shoulde not eate. 4.16.19.
12. Those that bee suche maner of persons, vve commaunde, and beseeche for our Lorde Iesus Christ, that they vvorke vvith quietnes, and eate their ovvne bread. 4.1.26.
14. And if there be anie that follovv not our counsell, note by a letter, and haue no cōpanie vvith him, that he may be ashamed. 4.13.5
15. Yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother. 4.12.10.
1. T I M O T H E.
- 1.5. THe ende of the lavve, is loue out of a pure heart and good conscience, & of faith vnfained. 2.5.6.& 2.8.51.& 3.2.12.& 3.19.16.& 4.10.4
5. knowing that the lavv is noe put for Iust men, but for the lavvles and disobedient, and for those that vvill not be ruled, for the vvicked, &c. 2.7.10
13. I, I saye vvwhich vvvas first a blasphemmer, and a persecuter, and a doer of vvrong: but he had mercie of mee, for I did it ignorantly, not beleuing. 3.3.22
15. Christ Iesus came into the vvorlde to saue sinners, of the vvhiche I am cheifest. 3.12.5.
17. To the king eternall, immortall, inuisible, the onely vvise God, be honor and glory, &c. 1.13.11.24.
19. Having sayth & a good conscience the vvhiche being put avvay, some haue made shipvvracke of faith. 3.2.12.
- 2.1. I exhort therefore, that first of all prayers, supplications, intercessiōs, & geuyng of thanks be made for all men. 3.20.19.& 4.20.28

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2. For kinges and for all that are in authoritie, that vve may lead a quiet & peaceable life in all holinesse and honesty. 4.20 5.27.
4. VVho vould haue all men to be saued, & to come to the knowvledge of the truth. 3.24.15.
5. One God & one Mediator betwene God and man, the man Christ Iesus. 2.12.1. & 2.17.5. & 3.20.17.20. & 4.12.25.
6. VVho gaue him selfe a raunsome for all men, I saye Christ that testimony ordained in due time. 2.17.5. & 3.4.30.
8. I vwill therefore that the men pray euery vvhere lifting vp pure handes vvithout vvraeth or doubting 3.10.29. & 3.25.7. & 4.19.2.
- 3.2. A Bishop ought to be vnblameable, the husband of one vvife, vvatchfull, sober, settled, harborous, apt to teach. 4.3.12. & 4.4.7.10. & 4.5.1. & 4.2.23.24.
9. Holding the mysterie of the fayth vvith a pure conscience. 3.2.13. & 4.19.36.
15. VVhich is the Church of the liuing God, the pillar & ground of all truth. 4.1.10. & 4.2.1.10 & 4.8.12
16. And vvithout controuersie great is the mysterie of godlinesse, God vvvas made manifest in fleshe. 1.13.11. & 4.14.2.
- 4.1. The spirite speaketh euidently, that in the latter times some shal depart from the faith, and shall geue heede to spirites of error, and to doctrine of deuills. 4.9.14.
2. Teaching lies through hipocrisie, vvhoose conscience is marked vvith a hote iron. 4.9.14.
3. Forbidding mariage, and cōmaunding to abstaine from meates vvwhich God hath created to be receaued vvith thanks geuing of the faithfull and of them that hath knowen the truth. 4.9.14. & 4.12.23
4. For vvhatsoeuer God hath created is good, nor nothing is to be refused if it be taken vvith thankes geuing. 3.19.8.
5. For it is sanctified by the vvorde of God and prayer. 3.19.8. & 3.20.28.
6. Being nourished vp in the vvordes of fayth, & in good doctrine, vvwhich thou hast continually folloved. 3.21.1.
8. But godlinesse is profitable vvwhich hath promise of this life & of the life to come. 2.9.3. & 3.2.28. & 3.20.44.
10. Therefore vve labour and are reproched, bicause vve hope in the liuing God, vvwhich is the fauour of all mē, but most cheefly of the faythfull. 3.8.8
13. Attend vnto reading, exhortation, and doctrine, vntill I come. 1.9.1.
14. Neglect not the gift that is in thee vvwhich vvvas geue thee to prophecie vvith laying on of the handes of the Elders. 4.3.16. & 4.19.28
- 5.9. Let not a vviddovv be taken into the number that is younger then 60. yeares olde, that hath bene the vvife of one husband. 4.3.9.
12. Therefore to be condēned, bicause they haue forsaken their first faith. 4.13.18.
17. The Elders that rule vvell, are vvorthy double honor, but most cheefly those that doe labour in the vvordes and doctrine. 2.8.35. & 4.11.1.
20. Those that offend, reprove openly, that the rest maye feare. 4.12.3.
21. I charge thee before God & our Lord Iesu Christ, and the electe Angels, that thou keepe these thinges vvithout preferring one before another, and do nothing partially. 1.14.9.16. & 3.23.4.
22. Lay handes sodenlie vpon no man neither be partaker of other mens sinnes 4.3.12.15.
- 6.4. He is puffed vp and knowveth nothing, but doteth about questions and strife of vvords, of vvwhich there riseth enuie, strife, railinges, and euill surmising. 1.13.3.
10. For the roote of all euill is the loue of money, the vvwhich vvwhilest some lusted after, they haue erred from the faith,

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faith, & pearced themselves through
vvith many sorrowes. 3.2.13

16. VVho onely hath immortalitie,
dvelling in the light that none can
attaine vnto, vvhom neuer man sawv,
neither yet can see, vnto vvhome be
honor and pouer euerlasting, Amen.

1.6.3. & 1.18.3. & 3.2.1

17. Charge those that be riche in this
vworld, that they be not hie minded,
and that they put not trust in vncer-
taine riches, but in the liuinge God,
vvho giueth all things abundant-
ly to enioy. 3.18.6

20. O Timothee, keepe that that is co-
mitted vnto thee, & auoide profane
and vaine babblings, and oppositions
of science falsely so called. 1.16.8

II. TIMOTHEE.

1.1 **P**Aule the Apostle of Iesus Christ,
by the vvill of God, according
to the promise of life vvich is in
Christ Iesus. 2.9.3

6. I do put thee in remembrance that
thou stirre vp the gift of God vvich
is in thee, by the laying on of my
handes. 4.3.16

9. VVho hath saued you and hath cal-
led you vvith an holy calling, not ac-
cordinge to our vvorkes, but accor-
dinge to his ovvne purpose & grace,
&c. 2.12.5. & 3.14.5 & 3.22.3. & 4.1
26

10. But novve is made manifest by the
appearing of our Lorde Iesus Christ,
vvho hath abolished death, and hath
brought life & immortality to light
through the gospel. 2.9.2. & 3.25.1

12. For the vvich cause also I suffer
these things, neither am I ashamed: I
knowve vvhom I haue beleued, and I
am persvaded, he is able to keepe
that I haue committed vnto him a-
gainst that day. 3.2.3.1. & 3.25.4

14. That vvorthy thing that vvvas co-
mitted vnto thee, keepe through the
holy Ghost vvich is in vs. 3.2.3.3

18. The Lord graunt him, that he may
finde mercy vvith the Lorde in that
day. 3.25.10

2.10. Therefore I suffer all thinges for

the clef^t sake, that they might also
obtaine the saluatiō that is in Christ
Iesu, vvith eternall glory. 3.5.4

12. If vve be dead vvith him, vve shall
also liue vvith him: and if vve suffer,
vve shal also raigne vvith him. 3.15.8

13. If vve beleue not, yet abideth he
faithfull: he can not deny himselfe. 1
4.2. & 3.20.36

16. Stay profane babbling about vaine
things, for they vvill procede to more
vngodlines. 3.2.13

19. The foundation of God standeth
sure, hauinge this seale, The Lorde
knowveth vvho be his, &c. 3.22.6.

& 4.1.2, 8

20. In a great house there be not on-
ly golden and siluer vessels, but also
of vvoodde and of earth, and some of
them be to honor, and some to dis-
honor. 3.15.8

25. Instruēt them vvith meekenes that
ge contray minded, if that God vvil
giue them at any time repentaunce,
that they may knowve the trueth. 1.14

18. & 2.3.21. & 3.24.15

26. And that they vvich be taken in
the snare of the devill, in the vvich
they be helde captiue, may, &c. 1.14
18. & 3.3.21

3.7. Euer learning, but they can neuer
come to the knowvledge of the trueth.
3.2.5

8. And as Iannes and Ian bres vvith-
stode Moses, so they vvithstand the
trueth, men corrupt in minde, & re-
probate touching the faith. 3.2.13

16. The vvhole Scripture is given by
inspiration of God, and is profitable
to teach, to reprove, and to correct,
&c. 1.9.1. & 2.7.14

17. That the man of God may be per-
fect, being perfectly instructed to e-
uery good vvorke. 1.9.1

4.1. I charge thee therefore before
God, & before the Lord Iesus Christ,
vvho shall iudge the quicke and the
dead at his glorious comming in his
kingdom. 2.16.17

8. It remaineth, that there is a crowvn
laid vp for me, vvich the Lord that

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- righteous iudge shall giue vnto me in that day. 3.18.5.& 3.25.4
16. At my first ansvvering no man assisted me, but all forsooke me. 4.6.15
- TITVS.
- 1.1. **P**aul a seruau't of God, and an Apostle of Iesus Christ according to the faith of the elect of God, and knowlledge of the trueth, vvhich is accordinge to holinesse. 3.2.12 & 3.22.10
5. For this cause I left thee in Creta, that thou shouldst go forward to amende those thinges that remaine, & that thou shouldst appoint euery vvhere Elders, as I haue comma'ded thee. 4.3.7,9,15
6. If any be blamelesse, lette it be the husbände of one vvife, hauinge children that be faithfull, &c. 4.3.12.&4.12.23
7. A Bishoppe must be blamelesse, as the stevvard of God, &c. not greedy of filthy laker. 4.5.19
9. A holder of that faithfull vvorde vvhich serueth to teach, that he may exhort by sound doctrine, & confute them that speake there against. 4.3.6
13. This vvitness is true: vvherefore reprove them earnestly, that they may be found in faith. 3.2.13
15. All thinges is pure to the pure: but to the defiled & faithlesse, nothing is pure, &c. 3.19.9.& 4.13.9.& 4.17.40
- 2.2. That old men be sober, shewing theselues vvorthy to be reuerenced, and temperate, sounde in faith, loue, and patience. 3.2.13
11. For the grace of God that bringeth saluation to all men hath appeared. 2.12.4. & 3.7.3. & 3.16.2. & 4.1.26
12. Teaching vs, that vvickednes being forsaken and vvorldly lustes, vve should liue soberly, righteously, and holily, in this present life. 3.16.2 & 3.25.1
13. Looking for that blessed hope, and for that glorious comminge of the glory of that great God & Sauour euen Christ Iesus. 3.9.5. & 3.16.2
14. Put them in minde that they be

- subiect to principalities, and obey powvers, that they be prepared to euery good vvorke. 4.20.23
4. But vvhen the bountifulnes & loue of God our Sauour towardes man appeared. 2.5.17. & 3.14.5. & 4.1.26
5. Not by the vvorks of righteousnes that vve had done, but according to his mercy he saved vs, by the vvashinge of regeneration, &c. 1.13.14 & 2.5.17. & 3.4.25. & 4.15.2.5. & 4.16.20. & 4.17.23
7. That beinge iustified by his grace, vve should be made heires according to the hope of eternall life. 3.15.6
9. But stay foolish questions & genealogies, & contentions, & braylings about the law, for they are vnprofitable and vaine. 2.1.25
- HEBREVVES.
- 1.1. **G**od many times & diuersly spake to the fathers by the Prophets. 2.9.1. & 2.15.1. & 4.8.7
2. In these later daies he spake to vs by his sonne. 1.13.7. & 4.8.7. & 4.18.20
3. VVho being the brightnesse of his glory, and the ingraued forme of his person, and beareth vp all thinges by his mighty vvorde, hath by himselfe purged our sinnes, &c. 1.13.2.12. & 1.16.4. & 2.2.20. & 2.14.3
4. Being made so much more excellent then Angels, by howe much he hath obtained a more excellent name. 1.14.9
6. Let all the Angels of God vvorship him. 1.13.11,13
10. And thou, O Lorde, in the beginning hast laid the foundations of the earth: and the heauens be the vvorks of thy handes. 1.13.11,13,26
14. Be they not all minist'ring spirits sent forth to minister for their takes that shalbe heires of saluation? 1.14.9 & 3.20.23
- 2.5. He hath not put in subiection to the Angells, the vvorld to come, of vvvhich vve speake. 1.14.9
9. But vve see Iesus crowvned vvith glory and honor, vvvhich vvvas made a little vvhile inferior to Angels, by reason

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- reason of suffering death, that by Gods grace he might tast of death for all men. 1.13.26.& 2.16.7
11. For he that sanctifieth, and those that are sanctified, are all of one: vvhwherefore he is not ashamed to call them brethren. 2.13.2
14. That he might destroy through death, him that had the empire and power of death, that is, the deuill, &c. 1.14.18.& 2.13.1,2.& 3.11.12
15. And that he might deliuer all them, vvhich for teare of death vvere all their life time subiect to bondage. 2.16.7
16. For in no vvise he tooke the Angels, but he tooke the seede of Abraham. 1.14.9.& 2.13.1,2
17. In all thinges it became him to be made like to his brethren, that he might be mercifull, and a faithfull high priest in thinges concerninge God. 2.13.1.& 2.16.2,19
- 3.14. VVe be made partakers of Christ, if vve keepe sure vnto the ende that beginnunge vvhervvith vve are vpholden. 3.2.16.
- 4.9. There remaineth therefore a rest to the people of God. 2.8.29
14. Hauinge therefore a great high priest, that hath entred into heauen, euen Iesus the sonne of God, let vs hold this profession. 2.7.2.& 4.14.21
15. VVe haue not a hie priest that can not be touched vvith the infirmities of our fleshe, but vvvas in all thinges reſpected in like sort, yet vvithout sin. 2.12.1,7.& 2.13.1.& 2.16.12.& 4.17.24
16. Lette vs approche therefore vvith boldnes vnto the throne of grace, that vve may receiue mercy, & finde grace to helpe at time of nede. 3.10.12,17
- 5.1. Euery hie priest is taken from amongest mē, & is ordained for men, in thinges pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifice for sinnes. 2.12.4
4. Neither doth any man take this honor vnto himselfe, but he that is called of God, as vvvas Aaron. 4.3.10 & 4.15.22.& 4.18.9,14
5. And so Christ tooke not to himselfe this honor, to be made hie priest, &c. 4.14.21.& 4.18.2
6. Thou art a priest for euer, after the order of Melchisedec. 4.19.28
7. VVhich in the dayes of his flesh did offer vppe prayers and supplications, vvith strong cryinge and teares vnto him, that vvvas able to saue him from death, and vvvas also heard in that vvwhich he feared. 2.16.11
8. Although he vvvere the sonne, notwithstanding he learned obedience by those thinges that he suffered. 3.8.1
10. And called of God an hie priest, after the order of Melchisedec. 4.18.2
- 6.4. For it can not be that those vvwhich vvvere once lightened, and haue tasted of the heavenly gifts, and vvvere made partakers of the holy Ghost 2.11.& 3.3.21,23
6. If they fall, that they should be reſtored againe by repentance, &c. 3.3.21
10. For God is not vninit, that he should forget your vvorkes, and labour of loue, vvwhich ye sheved to vvards his name, &c. 3.18.7
13. For vvhen God made the promise to Abraham, vvhen as he coulde svvere by none greater, he svvore by himselfe. 2.8.25
16. For men verily svveare by him that is greater then themselves, & an oath for confirmation is an ende of strife amongest them. 2.8.27
- 7.3. VVithout father, vvithout mother, vvithout kindred, and hauinge neither beginnunge of his dayes, nor ende of his life, but is likened to the sonne of God, and continueth a priest for euer. 4.19.28
7. But vvithout all controuersie, that vvwhich is the least is blessed of him that is the greater. 4.18.3
11. If there had bin a ful perfection by the Levitical priesthood, &c. 2.11.4
12. The Priestthode therefore beinge chaunged, it must nedes be, that there be a chaunge of the law. 3.4.4.& 4.6.1
17. Thou art a priest for euer, after the order of Melchisedec. 4.18.2

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19. The lawe sanctified nothinge, but the bringing in of a better hope did it, by the vvhich vve come neere to God. 2.7.17.& 2.11.4
21. But this, he is made vvith an othe by him that said vnto him, The Lord hath svvorne and vvill not repent, thou art a priest for euer,&c. 4.18.2
22. Iesus is made so much greater surety of a better Testament. 4.18.2
24. And he, because he abideth for euer, hath an euerlasting priesthoode. 2.15.6
25. VVhereby he is able to saue those vvhich come vnto God by him. 2.16.16
31. But this is the sum of that vvhich vve haue spoken: that vve haue such an high Priest, that sitteth on the right hand of the throne of maiestie in heauen. 2.16.15
5. See, quoth he, that thou make all things according to the paterne that vvas shewed thee in the mountaine. 2.16.1
6. But novv our hie priest hath obtained a more excellent office, in as much as he is the mediator of a better Testament,&c. 2.16.12
- 9.1. The first testament had also ordinances of religion, and a vvordly sanctuary. 4.14.21
7. But into the seconde vvent the hie priest alone once euery yeare, not vvithout blood vvhich he offered for himselfe and for the people. 2.7.17.& 2.15.6
8. VVherby the holy Ghost thisignified, that the vvay into the holiest of all, vvas not yet opened, vvhist as yet the first tabernacle vvas standing. 2.7.17.& 2.15.6
9. VVherein vvere offered giftes & sacrifices that coulde not make holy, cōcerning the conscience of him that did the seruice. 2.7.17.& 2.11.4.& 4.14.25
11. But Christ being come a hie priest of good things to come,&c. 2.16.16 & 4.14.21.& 4.18.2
12. Neither by the blood of goates & calues, but by his ovvn blood entred he once into the holy place. 2.17.4.& 4.18.3
13. For if the blood of bulles & goates, & the ashes of an heifer sprinklinge them that are vncleane, sanctifieth as touching the purificatiō of the flesh. 2.17.4
14. How much more shall the blood of Christ, vvhich through the eternall spirite offered himselfe vvithout spot to God,&c. 2.16.6.& 3.16.2.& 4.14.21
15. And for this cause he is the mediator of a nevve Testament, that through death,&c. 2.7.17.& 4.17.4
16. For vvhere a testament is, there must be the death of him that made the testament. 4.18.5
22. And all things almost accordinge to the lawe, vvas purified by blood, & vvithout shedding of blood there vvas no remission. 2.15.6.& 2.17.4
26. But novv once in the ende of the vvorld hath he appered to put avay sin by the sacrifice of himselfe. 4.18.3
27. And as it is ordained for men that they shal once die,& after that cometh the iudgemēt. 2.16.17.& 3.25.8
28. So Christ vvas once offred to take avay the sinnes of many, and vnto them that looke for him, shall he appeare the second time vvithout sinne vnto saluation. 3.25.2
- 10.1. For the lawv hauing the shadowv of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can neuer vvith those sacrifices vvhich they offer yearely, sanctifie the commers thereto. 2.7.16,17.& 2.11.4.& 4.14.23
2. For vvould they not then haue ceased to haue bin offered because that the offerers once purged, shoulde haue hadde no more conscience of sinne. 3.19.15.& 4.10.3.& 4.14.23
4. For the blood of bulles and goates can not take avay sinne. 4.14.25
7. Then I said, loe, I come (in the beginning of the booke it is vvritten of me) that I shold do, o God, thy vvil. 2.16.5
8. Aboue, vvhen he said, sacrifice, and offerings, & burnt offerings, & sinne offerings, thou vvouldest not haue, neither hast thou pleasure therein vvhich

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- which are offered by the law, &c. 2. 16. 5
10. By the vvhich vwill vve are sanctified, euen by the offering of the body of Christ once made. 3. 6. 3. & 4. 18. 3
14. For vwith once offering he hath consecrated for euer, those that are sanctified. 3. 5. 2. & 4. 18. 3
19. VVherefore brethren, seing vve haue liberty to enter the holy place through the blood of Iesus. 3. 20. 20
20. By the newv and liuing vvay vvhich he hath prepared for vs through the vaile, that is, his fleshe. 3. 20. 18
26. If vve sin vvillingly after that vve haue receaued the knowvledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sinne. 3. 3. 21, 23. & 4. 18. 3
27. But a fearful looking for of iudgement, and violent fitt vvhich shall deuoure the aduersaries. 3. 25. 12
29. Of how much more sorer punishment thinke ye, shall he be vvorthe, vvhich treadeth vnder foote the sonne of God, and coueteth the blood of the testament as an vnholly thing, vvherevwith he vvas sanctified, and doth despise the spirit of grace. 3. 3. 21
36. Ye haue neede of patience, that after ye haue done the vvill of God, ye might receaue the promises. 3. 2. 37
11. 1. Nowe faith is the ground of things that are hoped for, and the euidence of things that are not sene. 3. 2. 41. & 3. 25. 1
3. By faith vve vnderstand, that the vworld vvas made by the vvord of God, in such sort, that the things that vve see, vv ere not made of things that did appere. 1. 5. 13 & 1. 6. 1. & 1. 16. 1
6. VVithout faith it is vnpossible to please him, for he that commeth to God must beleue that God is, & that he doth reuward them that seke him. 3. 11. 15. & 3. 14. 4. & 3. 20. 40
7. By faith vve being vvarned of God of the things vvhich vv ere as yet not seene, &c. 3. 2. 30
9. By faith he abode in the lād of promise as a straunger, &c. 2. 10. 13
17. By faith Abraham offered vp Isaac,
- vwhen he vvas tried, and he that had receaued the promises, offered his onely begotten sonne. 3. 19. 6
21. He vvorshipped God leaning vpon his staffe. 1. 11. 15
13. 3. Consider him therefore that endured such speaking against of sinners, least ye should be vvearied and faint in your mindes. 3. 3. 15
5. And you haue forgotten the exhortation, vvhich spekerh vnto you as vnto children: My sonne, despise not the chastening of the lorde, neither faint in thy mind vwhen thou art reprobued of him. 3. 4. 32
8. For if you be vvithout correction, vvhereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sonnes. 3. 8. 6
9. Moroeuer, vve haue had the teachers of our bodies, vvhich corrected vs, and vve gaue them reuerence, should vve not much rather be in subiection vnto the father of spirits, that vve might liue? 1. 15. 2
17. For ye knowe howe that aftervvard vwhen he vvould haue inherited the blessing, he vvas reiectēd, for he found no place to repent, although hee sought the blessing vvith teares. 3. 3. 24
18. For ye came not to the mount that might be touched, nor vnto burning fire, nor to blacknesse, and darknesse, &c. 2. 11. 9
22. But ye came to the mount Sion, and to the Citie of the liuing God, the celestiaall Ierusalem, and to the cōpany of innumerable Angels. 1. 14. 9
23. To the congregation of the first borne vvhich are vvritten in heauen, and to God the iudge of all. 3. 25. 6
13. 4. Mariage is honorable amongst all men, and the bed vndeiled: but vvhooremoēgers and adulterers God vvill iudge. 4. 9. 14. & 4. 12. 25. & 4. 13. 3
8. Iesus Christ the same yester day, and to day, and also for euer. 2. 10. 4
15. By him therefore let vs daily offer vp to God the sacrifice of praise, that is, the frute of the lips, vvhich con-

The Table.

16. **Teſſe his name.** 3. 20. 28. & 4. 18. 16, 17
 16. To do good, and to diſtribute for-
 get not: for with ſuch ſacrifices
 God is pleaſed. 3. 24. 36. & 3. 7. 5. & 3.
 15. 4. & 4. 18. 17
 19. Obey your guides and be ruled by
 them, for they watch for the helth
 of your ſoules, as ſuch that ſhall giue
 account thereof. 1. 15. 2
 3. 2. **M**Y brethren, count it for an ex-
 ceeding joy ſo often as you
 fall into diuers temptations. 3. 20. 46
 12. Bleſſed is the man that ſuffereth
 temptation, for vwhen he ſhall be
 tried, he ſhall receaue the crowne of
 life. 3. 17. 10
 13. Let no man vwhen he is tempted
 ſay, that he is tempted of God, for
 God can not be tempted with euils,
 neither doth he tempt any man. 3.
 14. 10
 14. But eche one is tempted vwhen he
 is dravven away by his owne con-
 cupiſcence, and is enticed. 3. 20. 46
 15. Then vwhen luſt hath conceived,
 it bringeth forth ſinne, and ſinne
 vwhen it is finiſhed, bringeth forth
 death. 3. 3. 13
 17. Euery good gift and euery perfe-
 ct gift commeth from aboue from the
 father of lightes, vwith vvhom there
 is no variableneſſe, neither ſhadowe
 by turning. 1. 13. 8. & 2. 2. 21. & 4.
 14. 10
 21. VVherefore lay apart all malicioſi-
 neſſe and ſuperſtatie of malicioſi-
 neſſe, and receaue vwith mekenefſe
 the vword that is ingrafted in you,
 vvhich is able to ſaue your ſoules.
 4. 17. 25
 23. Hath not God choſen the poore of
 this vworld, that they ſhould be riche
 in faith, and heires of the kingdome
 vvhich he promiſed to thoſe of vvhō
 he is beloued. 3. 23. 10
 10. For vvhoſoeuer ſhall keepe the
 vvhole lawe, and yet faileth in one
 point, he is gilty of all. 3. 14. 10. &
 3. 18. 10
 24. VVhat auailleth it him my brethren,
 O

- though a man ſay he hath faith, vwhen
 he hath no vvorkes, can the faith
 ſaue him? 3. 2. 9, 13
 19. Thou beleueſt there is one God,
 thou doeſt vell, & the deuils beleue
 and tremble. 3. 2. 10
 21. VVas not Abraham our father iu-
 ſtified thorowve vvorkes, vwhen he
 offered vp Iſaac his ſonne vpon the
 altar? 3. 17. 11
 4. 30. You aſke and you receaue not, be-
 cauſe you aſke amiſſe that ye might
 conſume it on your luſtes. 3. 20. 7
 6. But the Scripture offereth more
 grace, and therefore ſaith, God re-
 ſiſteth the proude, and geueth grace
 to the humble. 2. 2. 10. & 3. 12. 5
 8. Dravve ny to God, and he vvill
 dravve ny to you: cleaſe your hādes
 ye ſinners, and purge your hartes ye
 vvauering minded. 3. 3. 16
 11. He that ſpeaketh euill of his bro-
 ther, ſpeaketh againſt the lawe, and
 condemneth it: but if thou cōdemne
 the lawe, &c. 4. 10. 7
 12. There is one lawe geuer that is
 able to ſaue and to deſtroy. 4. 10. 7
 14. VVho can not tell vvhat ſhall be
 the next day, for vvhat is your life?
 it is euen a vapor, &c. 3. 20. 28
 15. For that ye ought to ſay, if the lord
 vvill, and if vve liue, vve vvill do this
 or that. 3. 20. 28
 5. 12. Before all things, my brethren,
 ſvveare not, neither by heauen,
 neither by earth, neither any other
 othe, but let your yea be yea, and
 your nay nay, &c. 2. 8. 26
 13. Is any man afflicted amongeſt you?
 let him pray: is any man merry? let
 him ſing Pſalmes. 3. 20. 7
 14. Is any ſicke amongeſt you? let him
 ſend for the Elders of the Church,
 and let them pray for him, &c. 4. 19.
 18, 21
 15. And the praier for faith ſhall ſaue
 the ſicke, and the lord ſhall raiſe him
 vp, and if he haue committed ſinne, it
 ſhall be forgiven him. 3. 20. 11
 16. Acknovvledge your fautes one
 to an other, & pray one for an other,
 that

- that ye may be healed : for the praier of a righteous man auaieth much, if it be feruent. 3.4.6.12. & 3.20.27
17. Elias vvas a man subiect to those things that vve be, and he praied earnestly that it might not raine, and it rained not on the earth for the space of three yeare and sixe monethes. 3.20.26

I. PETER.

- 1.2. **T**O the elect according to the foreknowledge of God the father vnto sanctificatio of the spirit, through obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Iesus Christ, grace and peace be multiplied vnto you. 3.1.1. & 3.14.6. & 3.22.6. & 4.15.2
3. Blessed be God the father of our lord Iesu Christ, vvho of his great mercy hath begot vs againe into a liuely hope, by the resurrection of Christ Iesu from death. 2.16.13
5. VVho are kept by the povver of God through faith to saluation, vvwhich is prepared to be declared in the last time. 3.2.42. & 3.18.3
7. That the triall of your faith, being much more faithfuller then the triall of golde vvwhich perisheth, although it be tried by fire. 3.8.4
9. Receauing the ende of your faith, euen the saluation of your soules. 1. 15.2. & 3.18.3. & 3.25.1
11. Searching vvhen or vvhat time the spirite vvwhich testified before of Christ, vvwhich vvas in them, should declare the suffering that should come vnto christ, &c. 1.13.18. & 2.9.1
12. Vnto vvhom it vvas reueiled, that they should not minister vnto themselves, but vnto vs the things vvwhich are novv shewed vnto you by them. 2.9.1. & 2.11.6
15. But as he, vvwhich hath called you is holy, so be you holy in all maner of conuersation. 3.6.3
16. Be you holy, for I am holy. 3.6.3
18. Knowing that ye vv ere not redeemed vvith corruptible things, as siluer and gold, from your vaine conuersation, receaued by the traditiōs

- of the fathers. 2.17.5
19. But vvith the precious blood of Christ, as of a lambe vndefiled and vvithout spot. 2.17.5. & 3.6.3
20. VVhich vvas ordained before the foundation of the vvorld, but vvas declared in the last times for your sakes. 3.22.6. & 4.18.20
21. VVhich by his meanes do beleue in God that raised him vp from the dead, and gaue him glory, that your faith and hope might be in God. 2.16. 3. & 3.2.1.43
22. Seing your soules are purified by obeying the truth through the spirit, vvith brotherly loue vvithout fauoring. 1.15.2. & 2.5.11
23. Being borne againe, not of mortall seede, but of immortall, by the word of the liuing God, vvho liueth and endureth for euer. 1.10.7. & 4.1.6. & 4.16.18.3
25. And ye as liuely stones, be made a spirituall house, &c. 4.6.5. & 4.18.16
9. But ye are a chosen generation, a kingly priesthoode, a holy nation, a people that God hath chalenged to himselfe, that you should shewe forth the vertues of him vvwhich hath called you from darknesse into his vvonderfull light. 2.7.1. & 3.13.2. & 4.18.17. & 4.19.25
11. Beloued, I pray you as pilgrimes and strangers, that you abstaine from the lustes of the fleshe, vvwhich strue against the soule. 1.15.2
13. Be you subiect vnto euerie ordinance of man for the lordes sake, vvwhether it be to the King, as to the superior. 4.20.23
17. Honor all men, loue brotherlines, feare God, honor the King. 4.20.7
21. Christ hath suffered for vs, leuing vs an example that vve should follove his steppes. 3.16.2
24. VVho bore our sinnes vppon his body on the crosse, that vvee being dead to sinne, might liue to righteousness : by vvwhose stripes ye are healed. 2.16.6. & 2.17.4. & 3.4.26. & 3.4.27. & 3.4.30. & 4.14.21

The Table.

25. You were as strayed shepe, but now ye be touned to your shepherde and bishop of your soules. 1. 15. 2 & 3. 25. 6
 3. 7. Likewise ye Husbands, vse your selues, as it becommeth men of knowlledge, geuing honor to the womā, as to the weaker vessel, &c. 4. 20. 29
 18. For Christ suffered once for sinnes, the iust for the vniust, that he might bringe vs to God, and was put to death concerning the flesh, but liued according to the spirit. 2. 13. 2
 19. By the which hee also went, and preached to the spirits that were in prison. 2. 16. 9
 21. To the which also the figure that nowe saueth vs, euen Baptisme greeth (not the puttinge away of the filthe of the fleshe, but in that a good conscience maketh request to God) by the resurrection of Iesus Christ. 3. 19. 15. & 4. 10. 3. & 4. 14. 4. & 4. 14. 24. & 4. 15. 2. & 4. 16. 21
 4. 3. It is enough for vs that in the foreparte of our life, we haue liued according to the lust of the Gentiles, when we walked in, &c. 3. 15. 8 & 3. 24. 11
 8. Before all things haue feruent loue amongst you, for loue couereth the multitude of sinne. 3. 4. 31 & 3. 4. 36
 10. Let euery man as he hath receaued the gift, minister the same one to another, as good disposers of the manifolde graces of God. 3. 7. 5
 11. If any man speake, let him speake as the wordes of God. 3. 8. 8. & 4. 8. 9
 17. For time is come, that iudgement must beginne at the house of God, if so be it begin first with vs, what shall be the ende? &c. 3. 4. 34
 3. 1. The elders which be amongst you, I beseeche also that am an elder, &c. 4. 6. 7
 2. Feede the flocke of God which dependeth vpon you. 4. 6. 3. & 4. 10. 17
 3. Not as though ye were lordes ouer Gods heritage. 4. 4. 9. & 4. 10. 7
 5. God resisteth the proude, & geueth grace vnto the humble. 3. 12. 5
 6. Humble your selues vnder the mighty hand of God, that he may exalte you in due time. 3. 2. 40
 7. Hauing all your care cast vpon him, hee careth for you. 1. 17. 6
 8. Be ye sobre, and vvarche, for your aduersarie the Deuill, as a roaring Lion vvalking about, seeketh vyhom he may deuoure. 1. 4. 18. & 1. 14. 13. & 3. 20. 46
 10. And the God of all grace, which hath called vs vnto his eternall glory in Christ Iesus, after ye haue suffered a little, make you perfect, &c. 3. 20. 46
11. PETER.
1. 4. **V**Hereby most great and precious promises be geuen vs, that by them we should be partakers of the godly nature, &c. 3. 11. 10. & 3. 25. 10
 5. Therefore geue euen all diligence thereunto: therunto ioine moreouer vertue to your faith, & with vertue, knowlledge. 2. 5. 11
 10. Wherefore brethren, giue rather diligence to make your callinge and election sure: for if you do these things, you shall neuer fall. 3. 15. 8
 14. Seeing I knowe the time is at hande, that I must lay downe this my tabernacle, as the lord Iesus declared vnto me. 3. 25. 6
 19. We haue also a most sure word of the prophets, to the which you do well that you take heede, as vnto a light that shineth in a darke place vntill the day dawne, &c. 1. 9. 2
 21. For the propheticie came not in olde time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moued by the holy Ghost. 1. 13. 7. & 1. 13. 18
 2. 1. There were false prophets amongst the people, as amongst you there shalbe false teachers, &c. 4. 9. 4
 4. If God spared not the Angells that sinned, but cast them downe into hell, and deliuered them into the chaines

chaines of darkenesse, &c. 1.14.16. & 1.14.19.
9. The Lorde knowveth howv to deli-
uer the godly out of temptation. 3.
20.46

19. Of vvhome foeuer a man is ouer-
come, eue of the same he is brought
into bondage. 2.2.8.

3.4. VVhere is the promise of his com-
ming? for since the fathers died, all
things continu v alike from the
beginning &c. 3.2.42.

8. Dearly beloved, be not ignorant
of this one thing, that one day is vvith
the Lord as a thousand yeares, and a
thousand yeares as one day. 3.2.42.

9. And vvould haue no man to perishe,
but vvould haue all men to come to
repentance. 3.24.15.

II IOHN.

1.1. THAT vvwhich vvvas from the be-
ginninge, that vve haue heard,
that vve haue seene vvith our eyes,
that vve haue behelde, and that our
hands haue handled of the vvorde of
life. 2.14.2. & 2.14.7. & 4.17.8.

7. That if vve vvalk in the light as he
is in the light, vve haue mutuall fel-
lovvship, and the blood of his tonne
Iesu Christe purgeth vs frō all sinne.
2.17.4. & 3.5.2. & 4.14.21

9. If vve confesse our sinnes, he is faith-
full and iust, so that he vvill forgeue
vs our sinnes, &c. 3.4.9. & 3.20.9.

10. If vve say vve haue no sinne, vve
make him a liar, &c. 3.20.45

2.1. If any man haue sin, vve haue an
aduocate vvith the father Iesus
Christ the righteous. 3.4.26, & 3.20.
17.

3. He is the propitiation for our sinnes
and not for oures onely, but for the
sinnes of the vvhole vvorld. 2.17.2.
& 3.4.26 & 3.20.20.

12. I vvrite vnto you litle children, by-
cause your sinnes be forgeuen you
for his name sake. 2.17.5. & 3.4.26.

18. Litle children, it is the last time, &
as you haue heard, Antichrist shall
come. 4.18.20,

19. They vvvent out from, vs but they
vvvere not of vs: for if they had ben of
vs, they vvould haue continued vvith
vs, &c. 3.3.23. & 3.24.6.7.

20. But ye haue an ointement frō him
that is holie, & you knowv all things.
3.1.3.

23. VVhofoeuer denieth the sonne,
the same hath not the father. 2.6.4.

27. But the ointment that you haue
receaued of him, abideth in you, nei-
ther neede you that any man teache
you, but as the same oyntment tea-
cheth you, &c. 3.1.3.

3.1. Beholde, vvhat loue the father
hath shewed on vs, that vve should
be called the sonnes of God, for this
cause the vvorld knowveth you not
bycause it knowveth not him. 3.6.3.
& 3.20.36.

2. Dearly beloved, vve are nowve the
sonnes of God, but yet it dothe not
appeare vvhat vve shall be: and vve
knowv, that vvhen he shal appeare,
vve shal be like him: for vve shall see
him as he is, &c. 2.9.3. & 3.2.14. &
3.11.10. & 3.25.10. & 4.18.20.

3. And euery man that hathe this hope
in him, purgeth him selfe euen as he
is pure. 3.16.2.

8. He that committeth sinne is of the
deuill, for the deuill sinneth from the
beginninge, but the sonne of God,
&c. 1.14.15. 78. 19. & 3.15.8.

9. VVhofoeuer is borne of God sinneth
not: for his seede remaineth in him,
neither can he sinne, bycause he is
borne of God. 2.3.10. & 2.5.11.

10. In this are the children of God
knowen, and the children of the
deuill, &c. 1.14.19. & 3.16.2.

15. VVho so hateth his brother, is a
mankiller, & ye knowv that no man-
killer hath eternall life abiding in
him. 2.8.39.

16. Hereby haue vve perceiued loue,
that he laid downe his life for vs,
therfore vve ought also to lay downe
oure lyues for the bretheren. 3.14.2.

20. For if our hearts condemne vs, God
is mightier the our heart, & knowveth

The Table.

- all things. 3.4.18.
 22. And vvhathfoeuer vve aske, vve receiue of him, bycause vve kepe his commaundements, &c. 3.20.7.10.
 24. He that kepeth his commaundements, dwelleth in him, and hee in him: and by this vve knowv, that hee dwelleth in vs, euē by the spirit that he hath geuen vs. 3.1.4.& 3.2.39.
 4.1. Derely beloued, beleue not euery spirite, but proue the spirits whe-ther they bee of God, &c. 4.9.12.
 3. VVhat spirite soeuer confesseth not that Christ Iesus is come in the flesh is not of God. 4.17.32.
 10. Herein is loue, not that vvedoued God, but that he loued vs, &c. 2.17.2.& 3.14.6.
 11. Derely beloued, if God so loued vs, vve ought to loue one an other. 3.16.2.
 13. By this vve knowv that vve dwell in him and he in vs, by cause he hath geuen vs of his spirite. 3.14.& 3.24.2.
 18. There is no feare in loue, but perse& loue casteth out feare, for feare hath paynfulnes, and he that feareth, &c. 3.2.27.
 19. VVe loue him, bycause he loued vs first. 2.16.3.
 3.4. VVhatfoeuer is borne of God, ouercommeth the vvorlde, and this is the victorie that ouercōmeth the vvorlde, euen your sayth. 1.18.3.& 2.5.11.& 2.2.31.
 6. This is that Christe Iesus vvhiche came by vvater and blood, &c. 4.14.22.
 7. There be three vvhiche beare vvitness in heauē, the Father, the VVord, and the holy Ghost, and those three be one. 3.1.1.
 8. And there be three that beare vvitness in earth, the spirite, the vvater & the blood: and these three agree in one. 3.1.1.
 12. He vvhich hath the sonne, hath life, but he that hath not the sonne of God hath not life in him 3.14.4.& 3.15.6.
 4. And this is the assurance that vve

- hane in him, that if vve aske any thing according to his vvill, he heareth vs, &c. 3.20.5.
 15. And if vve knowve that he heareth vs, vvhathfoeuer vve aske, vve knowv that vve haue the petition that vve haue desired of him. 3.20.52.
 18. He that is borne of God, kepeth himselfe. 2.5.11.
 19. VVe knowve vve be of God, and the vvhole vvorlde lyeth in vvickednes. 3.2.14.
 20. The same is verie God and life eternall. 1.13.11.26.
 21. Babes kepe your selues from idols, Amen. 1.11.13.
 I I. I O H N.

- 1.7. **M**Anie deceiuers are entred into the vvorlde, vvhiche confesse not that Iesus Christ is come in the fleshe. 4.17.32.
The generall Epistle of Iude.
 1.6. **T**He Angels also vvhich kept not their first estate but left their ovvne habitation, he hath reserued in euerlasting chaines vnder darke-nes, vnto the Iudgement of the great day. &c. 1.14.16. & 1.14.19, & 3.25.6
 2. Yet Michaell the Archangell, vvhen he stroue against the deuill, and disputed about the bodie of Moses, durst not blame him vvith cursed speaking, but sayd, the Lorde rebuke thee. 1.14.8. & 1.14.19.

- The Revelation of S. Iohn.*
 1.5. **T**O him that loued vs, and vvas- shed vs from oure sinnes by his blood. 4.14.21
 6. And made vs kinges and priestes to God his father. 2.15.6. & 4.18.17
 5.13. And all the Creatures that are in heauen, and on the earth, & vnder the earth, and in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I, saying, &c. 3.5.8
 7.14. These be they that came out of great affliction, and haue vvashed their longe robes, and haue made them vvwhite in the blood of the Lābe. 3.5.2.
 13.5. And a mouth vvas giuē him that spake great chinges & blasphemies. 4.7.

The Table.

- 4.7.25.
 14.13. Blessed are the dead hereafter, those I say, that dye for the Lordes sake. Euen so sayeth the spirit: for they rest from their labours. 3.5.10.
 18.6. Revvard her as she hath revwarded you, and double vnto her double accordinge vnto her vvorkes. 3.9.6.
 19.10. And I fell before his feete, that I might vvorship him: but he sayed vnto mee, see thou doe it not, I am thy fellow seruante & one of thy bretheren vvhich hath the testimonie of Iesus: vvorship God. 1.12.3. & 1.14.10
 20.4. And I sawe seattes: and they sat vppon the, & Iudgement vvas geuen vnto them, and I sawe the soules of them that were beheaded for the vvitnes of Iesus, and for the vvord of God, & vvhich did not vvorship the beast neyther his Image, neither had taken his marke vpon their foreheads, or on their handes, and they liued, and reigned vvith Christe a thousand yeares. 3.25.5.
 21.27. And there shall enter into it no vncleane thing, neither vvhatsoever vvorketh abomination or lies: but they that are vvritten in the Lambes booke of life. 4.16.17.
 22.8. But I, vvhen I had heard & seene these thinges, I fell dovne to vvorship before the seate of the Angell vvhiche sheved me these thinges. 1.12.3. & 1.14.10.
 9. But he sayd vnto mee, see thou doe it not, for I am thy fellowve servaunt, and one of thy bretheren the Prophets, &c. 1.14.10.
 18. If any man shall adde vnto these thinges, God shall adde vnto him the plagis that are vvritten in this booke. 4.9.2.
 19. And if any man shall deminishe of the vvordes of the booke of this prophecie, God shall take avay his parte out of the booke of life, &c. 4.9.2.

FINIS.





